A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

VOLUME VIII

1800–1910
Western Impact: Indian Response

SISIR KUMAR DAS

First Published 1960
Reprinted 1991

Contents

Preface xi

Abbreviations xiv

Prologue 1

I THE IDEA OF AN INDIAN LITERATURE 1

II INDIAN LITERARY HISTORY: THE BASIC FRAMEWORK 11

III MODALITIES 15

IV PERIODIZATION 17

PART ONE

1 Factors of Change 23

I LINGUISTIC SITUATION 23

II INTERVENTION OF ENGLISH 28

III PRINTING AND ORAL TRANSMISSION 32

IV CHANGE IN PATRONAGE 39

V PRO-PHANE AND META-PHANE 44

1800–1835

2 The Process of Transition 49

I CONTINUITY OF THE TRADITION 49

II THE SANSKRITIC COMPONENT 50

III THE PERSO-ARABIC COMPONENT 58

IV INNOVATIONS FROM WITHIN 64

3 The Emergence of the Other Harmony 67

I INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS OF INDIAN PROSE 67

II INDIAN PROSE AND THE ROLE OF THE FOREIGNERS 70

III TRANSLATIONS 75

IV JOURNALISM AND INDIAN PROSE 77

V INDIAN ENGLISH LITERATURE 78

1835–1857

4 The Old Order: Stability and Change 83

I LITERARY RESPONSE TO BRITISH EXPANSION 83

II 'INTERPRETERS BETWEEN US AND THE MILLIONS WHOM WE GOVERN' 85

III LITERATURE UNINTERRUPTED 89

IV THE REDOLENCE OF A COURT LITERATURE 91

V A POET BETWEEN TWO EMPIRES 95

5 The Onset of the Western Impact 100

I RESPONSE TO THE CHANGING REALITY 100

I DIFFUSION OF WESTERN KNOWLEDGE 102

III PROSE AND THE NEW READER 104

IV WOMEN 110

V THE GROWTH OF FICTION 113

VI THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW DRAMA 117

1857–1885

6 Patriotism, Communalism and Language Tension 125

I THE REBELLION OF 1857 AND INDIAN LITERATURE 125

II MUSLIM ATTITUDE TO WESTERNIZATION 132

III THE LANGUAGE OF POWER 135

IV LINGUISTIC HEGEMONY 137

V THE BATTLE BETWEEN HINDI AND URDU 140

7 Poetry: Old and New 145

I THE MANIFESTO OF NEW POETRY 145

II TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS 148

III THE NEW NARRATIVE POEMS 154

IV NEW LYRICS 159

V CONFLICTS AND RECONCILIATION 161

8 Explorations into New Forms and Ideas 165

I EXPERIMENTS WITH STYLE 165

II VARIOUS FORMS OF PROSE LITERATURE 166

III JOURNALS AND PROSE LITERATURE 168

IV WOMEN AND THE DEPRESSED CLASS 170
V PROSE AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS 172
VI HISTORY 173
VII TRAVELOGUES 177
VIII TRANSLATIONS 178

9 The New Stage: The New Plays 183
I THE SEARCH FOR A NEW THEATRE 183
II PARALLEL STREAMS OF DRAMA 190

10 The Novel 197
I THE DIDACTIC AND THE MARVELLOUS 197
II BANKIM AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES 203

1885–1910

11 The Literary Panoroma 219
I THE BACKDROP 219
II LITERARY INTERACTIONS 222
III RESPONSE TO NEW SITUATIONS 232
IV THE WRITER AND THE READER 248

12 The Varieties of Prose 255
I MODELS OF PROSE 255
II PROSE AND JOURNALS 258
III BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY 260
IV AUTOBIOGRAPHY 268
V TRAVELOGUE 269

13 Indian Drama in Transition 271
I TWO STREAMS OF INDIAN DRAMA 271
II THE IMPACT OF THE PUBLIC THEATRE 278
III MYTHOLOGY AND HISTORY 281

14 The World of Fiction 287
I PAST: PRIDE AND PREJUDICE 287
II PRESENT: REAL AND IDEAL 293
III THE SHORT STORY 302

15 Many Voices of Indian Poetry 311

I THE CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO TRADITIONS 311

II EPIC TRADITION 312

III NEW NARRATIVE POEMS 314

IV THE NEW QUEST 317

Epilogue 330

Appendices 341

Notes and References 371

Select Bibliography 397

PART TWO

A Chronology of Literary Events

Introduction 411

Chronology 419

Indexes 773

I NAME INDEX 773

II TITLE INDEX 791

III SUBJECT INDEX 806

IV INDEX OF ORGANIZATIONS 813

Abbreviations

AHIL	*A History of Indian Literature*, *ed.* Jan Gonda, Wiesbaden
adapt.	adaptation/adapted
CIL	*Comparative Indian Literature*, *ed.* K. M. George, Macmillan India, Madras
ed.	editor/edited by
EIL	*Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature*, *ed.* A. Datta, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi
Est.	Established
IHIL PP.	Integrated History of Indian Literature: Project Paper
IHIL Q.	Integrated History of Indian Literature: Questionnaire
MIL	*Makers of Indian Literature*, series of biographies, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi
MS.	Manuscript
NBIL	*The National Bibliography of Indian Literature*, ed. B. S. Kesavan and V. Y. Kulkarni, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi
tr.	translation/translated by

Prologue

I THE IDEA OF AN INDIAN LITERATURE

It is not possible to write a literary history of India without a framework that accommodates not only the diverse literary traditions existing in the country but also the complexities of its multilingualism. The literary historian would certainly be free from many problems had the mode of identification of a literature been solely linguistic. Literatures have been, and still are, identified by languages in which they are composed. Sanskrit literature is a literature written or spoken in the Sanskrit language, and Greek literature in the Greek. No literature is conceivable without this language-literature equation, and none has ever denied that. A closer scrutiny, however, reveals that this relationship is only a necessary, and not sufficient, condition for the identity of literature; it raises several issues that demand a fresh examination of this relationship, and perhaps inclusion of some other parameter, and eventually a change in the perspective of the literary historian.

The language-literature equation, essential though it is, is not sufficient for the literary historian, particularly for one dealing with Indian literature. It is insufficient even for those who habitually identify literature only by their affiliation to a particular language simply because of the fact that changes in the geographical distribution of a language can lead to the emergence of diverse literatures within that language. Either one has to accept that all literary texts written in the English language, whether by an American or an Australian, an African or an Asian, are components of one literature, or one must accept that American literature, Australian literature, Indo-English literature, Afro-English literature, despite their linguistic unity, are separate literatures. The separateness is conceded because these literatures have been produced by and intended for a particular group of people. A literary history, as distinct from a chronology, is expected to deal with the phenomenon of changes in the literary tradition, in the relationship among the participants in the literary production, in the modes of transmission of literature and in the canons of criticism and taste in a given society. It may be possible for a critic to treat texts as isolated documents of individual creative power, unique and timeless, and to judge and evaluate them as totally autonomous structures. But the literary historian can neither accept the Crocean assertion that "a work of art is always *internal*" and the critic can "put (it) into any order he pleases", nor can he talk only about the chronological arrangement of texts and their relation without any reference to the context of general history. For

him the texts are not only interrelated and often interdependent, but also a part of the total history of the community which creates them. One need not be apologetic if this is reminiscent of Taine's triad of milieu-race-moment so long as it is not reduced to a crude positivistic determinism. If literary history wants to go beyond taxonomy, its primary concern has to be the understanding of relations between the texts of one period and those of another, and the conditions under which the texts are produced. These relationship cannot be adequately established within a linguistic and stylistic history alone but are to be explored in the general history of the people who value that literature.

The very idea of national literature is partly a recognition of the relationship existing between the people and the literature, but only partly. The crucial nature of the relationship may not always be clearly defined in terms of nationality as a political concept alone. Greek literautre is a literature of a people, certainly not politically united but sharing a communality which one can call *sāhitya*, a feeling of togetherness as inhabitants of Hellas. It would be too facile to think Aeschylus of Athens and Pindar of Sparta as creators of one literature because both wrote in the same language, which assumes that any work written in a particular language automatically becomes a part of that literature. It is not the language alone, but a communality that goes beyond the exigencies of politics, makes the tragedian and the odemaker partners of the same literature. It is the identity of the people, which may or may not be politically-determined, that gives a literature its distinctiveness. The Greeks divided in political terms created a single literature not simply because they wrote in one language. The Americans and the British spoke the same language, yet they created different literatures. Neither political nor linguistic unity is a guarantee of a unified literature.

Literary History of Canada published by University of Toronto Press in 1965, with its subtitle 'Canadian Literature in English' only proves the first part of my statement. The editors have taken the trouble of explaining that

> Although "Canadian" has a clear reference in external matters, it often has to be qualified when the reference is an internal one and the context is historical, sociological or cultural. "English-Canadian" and "French-Canadian" are commonly used to emphasize a "bicultural", certainly a bilingual, situation in a land settled by people of many different origins. We employed "Canadian literature in English" here, rather than "English Canadian literature", because the former term puts the name of the country first and suggests unity rather than division. We still hope for "Canadian literature in French" to be given treatment paralleling our work in an "Histoire de la littérature canadienne-francaise.

Despite the editors' anxiousness to focus on "unity rather than division", the linguistic identity of different groups in Canada has been foregrounded,

their political identity notwithstanding. The literatures of that country have been identified not in terms of language alone, but more in terms of people. The unity of Canadian literature, one can argue, is more directly linked with the political structure within which different linguistic groups operate, rather than a common literary heritage. Similar is the case of Swiss literature. Manfred Gsteiger in an article presented at a recently held seminar on "Swiss Literature"—the organizers obviously wanted to debate the idea of the unity in diversity, *diversa in uno* of Swiss literature—pointed out that in certain periods of the literary history of Switzerland the idea of unity was indeed stressed. At the end of the eighteenth century Doyan Bridel talked of "a littérature romande" more or less imitating the contemporary *Helvetismus* of the Swiss Germans with the intentions of realising a Swiss national literature. *Helvetismus* means, as explained by Fritz Ernst, the eminent comparatist of the first half of our century, the consciousness of national unity beyond a regional, linguistic and religious level. At present, however, this idea has been abandoned and the concept of a single Swiss literature is only a political, not a cultural reality.[1]

The very concept of India as a geographical territory is a fluid one, the India of Ashoka is not the India of Akbar, and the India of our times is not identical with the India that the British ruled. In addition to its instability of the geo-political boundaries, the diversity of its population in respect of religion and language, both are prime co-ordinates of communal identity, make the idea of an Indian literature appear to be politically motivated at its worst and a theoretical contrivance at its best, but without any real evidence.

Many scholars, both Western and Indian, for the last one hundred years or so have been speaking about an Indian literature, although their perceptions on the subject are not identical.[2] There is a super-ordained perception of Indian culture which gives precedence to unity over diversity. The perception insists on the acceptance of the authority of *one* central power; it either minimizes or dismisses altogether all deviations and diversities. Albrecht Weber's *The History of Indian Literature* (1852) written in German, during the hey-days of Orientalism, for example, is an account of Sanskrit literature alone. Even Maurice Winternitz, the first European scholar of Indian literature who realized that 'the history of Indian literature in the most comprehensive sense of the word is the history of a literature which not only stretches across great periods of time and an enormous area, but is also one which is composed in many languages',[3] concentrated on Sanskrit literature in the main. Even those for whom Sanskrit literature was not synonymous with Indian literature, shared a super-ordained perception of Indian literature claiming the dominance of *one* intellectual, ethical and aesthetic tradition, neglecting all variations.

But there is an equally important perception of Indian literature, a

perception emerging internally, which recognizes the relationship between different literatures, each having its own peculiar character and temperament, and identifies certain features cutting across the limitations of ethnic, religious and linguistic boundaries. This perception of a unity is not constructed merely in response to a colonial rule, nor is it a mere by-product of the national movement. It is not a part of the pernicious political ideology that identifies one of the Indian traditions as national and everything else as 'regional'. It is as old as the Indian civilization. A sense of unity of the Indian people and hence the Indian culture, derived from a wide-ranging factors, geographical and historical, ritualistic and behavorial, is present in Indian life since the early phases of the Indian history. In the Bhishma Parva (IX Section) of the *Mahābhārata* Sanjay describes *Bhāratavarṣa*, a geographical and cultural territory, identifiable by its rivers Ganga, Sindhu, Sarasvati, Godavari, Narmada, Vitasta, Sarayu etc., by its mountains, Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Vindhya etc., and its provinces, such as Kuru-Panchal, Surasen, Matsya, Dasharna, Koshal, Madra, Kalinga, Kashi, Videh, Kashmir, Sindhu, *Gandhar*, Dravid, Keral, Karnataka, Chol, Konkana, Andhra etc. Sanjay also mentioned its multi-ethnic population, the Aryans and the Mlecchas. One finds the echoes of these words in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (II, iii), which also celebrates a multi-ethnic country known as *Bhāratavarṣa*. One should not think that this conception is associated only with the ancients or with the Hindu India. This continued in the medieval period as well. Shankar Dev, the great Assamese poet, for example invokes the idea of India—*dhanya dhanya bhāratavarṣa*—as a unified cultural zone. This idea was shared by the great Muslim thinkers too. Amir Khusrau wrote a masnavi known as *Nuh-Sipihr* (Nine Skies) around 1318. (It is also known as *Sultan-Nameh*.) The third Sipihr[4], i.e. the third chapter, is devoted to India. It deals with its climate, flowers, fruits, birds, animals, knowledge and sciences, and languages and religions. He talks about its languages, Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kubri, Dhur-Samundri, Tilangi, Gujar, Maabri, Ghouri, Bengali, Oudhi, Dehlvi, 'around it within the boundaries of this land are the languages of India'. This conception of India has withstood the changes in the political boundaries of the country and has been sustained independent of political unity. The perception of the unity of India prompted our religious leaders and poets to create a territory, which they described as *Bhāratavarṣa*, more stable and abiding than a political concept of nation and state, and that has been a part of the psyche of the Indian people. Indian literature is an expression of that psyche. Indian literature is a record of memorable utterances of the Indian people, again an entity which is not determined by political exigencies but defined by a feeling of communality that runs through centuries. It is this sense of communality, *sāhitya*, which is the force unifying the Indian people and their activities,

social, religious and intellectual, a force that brings the diverse creative urges together. Like Indian music and painting and sculpture Indian literature is also a unified universe despite its various linguistic manifestations.

In addition to this sense of communality which is manifested in the conception of *Bhāratavarṣa*, the idea of an Indian literature is a natural outcome of India's multilingualism. Communities distinguishable from one another in respect of religion or economic status were often divided in respect of languages. While one finds a vast body of both Buddhist and Jain literatures preserved in Pali and Arddha Magadhi respectively, an equally vast body of literature by these religious groups were produced in Sanskrit. Buddhist and Jain literatures were written in more than one language. The unity of these literatures, which no one denies, is not derived from the unity of languages, but of thought and ideas. The Ashokan inscription hewn on the rocks in various dialects current in the country form a single universe of expression, their linguistic distinctiveness notwithstanding. The unity of literary expressions despite their linguistic varieties can be further illustrated from the plays written in Sanskrit where several languages have been employed. Kalidasa's famous play *Śakuntalā*, for example, is a linguistic mosaic where four languages—Sanskrit, Saurasheni, Maharashtri and Magadhi—have been used. May be that the Prakrits used in that play were mutually intelligible and that they were equivalent to what we call social dialects, the fact remains that Sanskrit and the Prakrits are different in their linguistic structures and have divergent history. One must not fail to see that such a literary text, as *Śakuntalā* is, could be produced in a complex multilingual situation where different languages did not divide people into exclusive groups but could encourage people to interact with one another and to transcend linguistic barriers. Moreover, such a text also questions the sufficiency of the language-literature equation which has been accepted as the sole criterion of the identification of a literature. *Śakuntalā* is as much a part of Sanskrit literature as of the Prakrit literatures.

Vidyapati of the medieval time wrote in three different languages, may be due to social constraints or inner compulsions, but the literature created by him emanated from one single and indivisible sensibility. His works are assigned to three different literatures, Sanskrit, *Avahatta* and Maithili, because of the languages in which they are written. The validity of such differentiation need not be questioned, but the language-literature equation is pathetically inadequate in dealing with such phenomena so widely spread in the Indian sub-continent. During the last two thousand years one finds many Indian poets writing in more than one language, sometimes the writer starts writing in a particular language and switches to another, and in some cases the writer prefers to remain bi-lingual. The Siddhacharyas wrote their *dohās* in *Avahatta*, and some songs in newly

emerging vernaculars, as evidenced by the collection of *caryā* songs. Were they producing two literatures or one? If language be one's sole criterion their writings belong to two different literatures; if sensibility and imagination and thought are one's criteria, they form a single unit of literary expression. The validity of the former criterion is accepted throughout the world but the validity of the latter has not been given proper recognition. If the indivisibility of the world of Vidyapati, or of Premchand in our times, is denied because of the writer's multilingualism we tend to deny the possibility of diverse manifestation of the power and imagination of an individual artist. If one accepts the fact that an artist can express in diverse forms and themes and styles, without impairing unity of vision, one also has to accept the possibility of a writer expressing himself in more than one language, and whatever he writes is an expression of a single mind, and hence all his works irrespective of the languages in which they are written belong to one literary universe. What is true of an individual writer can also be valid for a community. Or in other words, we can talk of a multilingual literature.

This is not a claim for sometimes fantastic, it is only an extension, a readjustment, a reformulation of the relationship between a literature and a language and a people. Early Christian fathers had a vision of literature written at least in three languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. No doubt, it is a restricted literature, a theological literature for the Christendom. It is a literature none the less. In our tradition we find a work such as the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* a multilingual text, wherein poems written in different languages find a place while their linguistic distinctiveness poses no difficulty in becoming components of a larger whole. Much of the Jewish writing was done in Aramaic and Greek in the ancient times along with Hebrew. The *Mishnah* was writeen in Hebrew but the *Talmud* in a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. In the middle ages Jewish writers used Arabic and Latin as well. But what makes all these works written in different languages parts of one ideological and semiological unit is the relationship between the people and its expressions. Such a view of literature cannot be dismissed on the ground that the unifying force therein is only theological and not aesthetic.

The unity among various linguistic manifestations can be seen at other levels also. Not only do the generic and thematological enquiries necessarily lead one go beyond linguistic barriers, but semiological considerations entailed in the literatures produced by a community also show the fragility of one-language one-literature criterion. Anna Balakian's *History of the Symbolist Movement* (Budapest, 1981), for example, is an attempt to trace the growth of a literary movement in European literatures cutting across the linguistic and geographical boundaries. It is not to suggest that Balakian shares the cause of a multilingual literature I am arguing

for, but certainly here is an exercise to understand the relationship between autonomous literatures and of a literary phenomenon unifying them.

In a recent study of the Renaissance in different literatures of Europe, Cope and Krailsheimer[5] observe in defence of their presentation of their materials involving many languages. "The map . . . is composed of six divisions, very unequal in size but treated more or less similarly, and within each of these divisions there are further divisions, usually national and linguistic, the purpose of such an arrangement being to juxtapose like with like and thus facilitate comparisons and contrasts."[6] The editors have, however, maintained national and linguistic identities which are coterminous in most of the European countries. But at least this presents a total picture of a movement which cannot be studied and understood within a monolingual and national frameworks. These are examples of a growing awareness of the necessity of multilingual framework in understanding the processes of the literary history. In respect of India this is almost an imperative At least one such attempt to write the literary history of a people was made by Gerald Brenen, the author of *The Literature of the Spanish People* (1953) He wrote in the preface to this work:

> This is the history of a literature. Unlike most such histories, however, *it does not confine itself to books written in one language, but describes the literary productions of a people*—in this case the Spanish people—*in whatever languages they may have been written*, from the earliest times to the present day.

Accordingly, he treats the Latin literature of the Peninsula, written during the Roman and Visigothic periods, "but only in so far as it can be considered to be truly Spanish", and discusses the brilliant and sophisticated literature that was written in Arabic, known as the *jougleurs*, as well as the Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry as part of the Spanish literary traditions.

Indian literature, however, is a more complex phenomenon. Unlike the Spanish people who used Latin or Arabic or Portuguese at some period of their history along with Spanish, the Indian people have been using several languages simultaneously for several thousand years. Some of these languages are distributed over a large geo-physical space, some confined to smaller areas, but all forming separate linguistic zones, and literatures written in each of these languages have a distinct regional (which can be defined in geographical as well as in cultural terms) character. What, then, is the nature of Indian literature? Is it to be understood as a confederation of literatures accommodating all literatures produced by the Indian people; or as a relation between a national literature or Pan-Indian literature (to be identified by the language which is either recognized as national or indeed Pan-Indian) and a regional literature?

Several literary historians have treated Indian literature as a confederation of various literatures. Louis Renou[8] and Suniti Kumar Chatterji[9]

have presented, *mutatis mutandis*, this view of Indian literature. The same manner of presentation has been adopted by Nagendra and Gokak and also in the fifth volume of the *Cultural Heritage of India*.[10] While Renou and Chatterji have written accounts of different literatures written in Indian languages themselves, Nagendra and Gokak have compiled essays on different literatures written by experts in those languages. This has been done on a grand scale by Ian Gonda, the general editor of a series entitled *A History of Indian Literature* which is divided into several volumes, each devoted to a particular Indian literature.[11] All these are useful in varying degrees to different types of readers and scholars, and some of the volumes edited by Gonda are superior to many histories of literatures written by Indian scholars in respect of information and presentation.

But all of them present Indian literature as a sum total of all literatures produced in Indian languages. Either these scholars believe, or they give the impression to the readers, that Indian literature is an aggregate of literatures: Assamese + Bengali + Gujarati + Hindi + ... This I should call, without implying any derogatory connotation, an arithmetical approach. The history of literature written in this framework does not tell us if these literatures, Assamese and Bengali and Gujarati and Hindi and so on, have any relation with one another. If they are expressions of isolated linguistic groups, without any interdependence and interrelation, then there is hardly any justification for the idea of an Indian literature. But if they are not exclusive expressions of different but interrelated linguistic groups, then the idea of an Indian literature can emerge from the explorations of those relations. The task of the literary historian should start there.

R. W. Fraser was, perhaps, one of the first students of Indian literature to think differently and to make a feeble attempt to present Indian literature as a single unit.[12] His obsession with the ancient Indian literature, however, prevented him from exploring the possibility. The arithmetical approach insists on the importance of the growth of each language-literature but it is inadequate to take care of the interrelationship between the languages and literatures. The various movements that slowly stretched beyond the region of their origin and surfaced in languages other than the one in which they first appeared cannot be treated in their totality within this framework. Not only are the accounts of these movements presented in this framework fragmentary, but their regional-linguistic distinctiveness gets obliterated. They appear to be isolated facts of individual history. The Bhakti movement, for example, which had various manifestations in different parts of the country can hardly be treated in isolation within the confines of one language and one region. When Indian literature is viewed in its totality it ceases to be a mere conglomeration of different literatures, and acquires a huge literary complex. Or to put it differently

it is like a group of dialects distributed over a large territory, each distinct from the other in certain features of sound and grammar, and yet controlled by an overall pattern. Phenomena such as texts where more than one language is used, or styles like *maṇi-pravāla*, born out of the interaction between two languages, or bilingual authors and literary movements cutting across geographical and linguistic areas, all point out a continuous interaction between languages and a remarkable similarity in the responses to socio-political changes, and patterns of literary innovations all over the country. A common core of metaphors and symbols, myths and legends, conventions and norms has evolved during the last thousand years and despite all diversities, linguistic and non-linguistic, the literatures produced in different languages tend to converge, as do the various language families,[13] at several points. Any literary history that ignores these facts or fails to take account of them will present only a fragmented view of Indian literary activities. The understanding of the totality of the Indian literary activities and the complexities entailed in them requires a different framework altogether, different not only from that of single language-literature, but also from the Pan-Indian and the regional one.

Several Western scholars have written histories of 'Indian literature' which are actually histories of Sanskrit literature entirely or predominantly, even when they were aware that Sanskrit could not be equated with Indian literature as a whole.[14] We are not sure whether some of them thought, as some of the Indian scholars think, that a literature written in a language not confined to a particular zone was the only one to qualify as the real Indian literature. The possibility of the existence of such a notion appears to be strong by the frequent use of 'national' and 'regional' languages these days by Indian scholars. Sukumar Sen's pronouncement in the preface to his *Bhāratīya Sāhityer Itihās* (1962) written in Bengali is an indicator. He writes,

> my subject matter is the literature that is not written in any regional language (prādeśik bhāṣā) but in a language that was not the property of any particular region, a language that was used in all regions and the literature of which belonged equally to all regions—that is to say, Vedic, Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali, various Prakrits, Apabhramsa and Avahatta—the literature of all these ancient and medieval Indo-Aryan languages is what I have described here.

If geographical distribution is considered to be the factor responsible for the Pan-Indian status of Sanskrit, its confinement to a small group of educated people makes it a language of limited operation. Ramvilas Sharma[15] has gone into this question in detail, analysing the place of Sanskrit in the Indian social hierarchy and also its continuity as a vehicle of literature in the twentieth century as well. How can a literature with a narrow social base be identified as the only 'national' literature? The same question can be asked about the claims of the champions of Indian-English

writings. What Sanskrit was to ancient India, English is to modern India. Both languages are associated with the ruling power and both divorced from the people at large. This is not to deny the copiousness and opulence of both Sanskrit and English, and the role that these great languages have played in Indian history as sources and transmitters of thought and power. But neither Sanskrit in the ancient period nor English in the modern time acted as the vehicle of expression of all classes of people though they were not confined to a particular territory.

On the other hand a language confined to a region is not necessarily an exclusive property of that region. It is evidenced by the fact that many writers in India write in two languages, and some writers write in an acquired language in preference to the first language. What is even more important is that the priority of the Pan-Indian language over the 'regional' may lead to the total eclipse of the latter by the former, resulting in a gross misunderstanding of the richness and variety of Indian literature produced by the Indian people through ages. The dichotomy of the Pan-Indian and the regional may be as useful a critical category of differentiation or identification as the categories such as *mārgi* and *deśī*, *vaidik* and *laukik*, *abhijāta* and *lok* are. But when they are used as super-ordained categories to obliterate the diversities of Indian creative life they cease to be useful and tend to be dangerously misleading. To identify any one language-literature as the sole representative of the Indian people is essentially wrong because the Indian people speak in many languages, and all attempts to overlook that fact stem from the ingrained perception of the language-literature-nation equation. Such an equation has no validity in the study of the history of Indian literature if it does not emerge from below, but is imposed from above. Such a concept cannot be adequately handled within a framework of history that views Indian literature either as an aggregate of all that has been written and spoken in Indian languages in isolation from one another or as a hegemonic phenomenon where one and only one literature is supreme.

What we have been arguing for so far is the shifting of the literary historians' focus from language to people. Such a shift is necessitated by the reality of the Indian linguistic situation. That does not mean that the essential correlation between a language and a literature is either questioned or minimized. All Indian languages and the literatures produced in them have acquired two identities, one linguistic and the other a cultural one cutting across language. The histories of individual literatures such as Tamil or Marathi, Hindi or Kashmiri are either investigations of the genesis of certain literary phenomena or of the evolution of a literary order, or, in the words of Jurij Tynjanov, "of literary changeability",[16] within a monolingual framework. When these literatures are viewed as components of a larger whole—Indian literature—they acquire another identity. Both

the identities, however, are mutually exclusive. The idea of an Indian literature does not undermine the uniqueness of individual literatures but aims to look at the creative urges and achievements of the Indian people in their multiple linguistic manifestations. And that is the reason why Indian writings in Persian and English, although neither is an Indian language, should be considered part of Indian literature. A history of Indian literature, whether it will be teleological or evolutionary or a history of the *rezeptionsgeschichte* is a matter of the aptitude of the historian, but it is a history of the total literary activity of the Indian people, an account of all literary traditions, great and little, their ramifications and changes, their recessions and revivals, dominance and decline. When texts and their authors are seen as parts of larger literary traditions their linguistic identity would not appear as an insurmountable barrier, but they form cohesive groups identifiable in terms of commonness. All texts within a general framework of the Bhakti tradition, to give an example, form a legitimate corpus of literature, irrespective of their linguistic affiliation, and a study of those texts, either synchronically or diachronically, allows the historian to discover the relationship between them.

Professor Nagendra describes Indian literature as "the artistic expression" of a "collective consciousness of India" or "the Indian world view "[17] There is hardly any scope for difference of opinion if we allow the 'collective consciousness' to surface from within rather than imposing certain categories, which many scholars do, from above. "Indian literature is one though written in many languages" will remain a clever but tired rhetoric until the uniqueness of the "many languages" is brought to the foreground. An anxiousness to discover unity ignoring the varieties will inevitably present Indian literature as a monolithic structure with certain predictable patterns. That view of Indian literature is not merely partial, but false. It is partial because it ignores the plurality of traditions and ideologies within which writers operate, and it is false because the monolithic structure is a contrived one without any relation to Indian reality.[18]

II INDIAN LITERARY HISTORY: THE BASIC FRAMEWORK

Literary history has been under severe attack during the last few decades. One of its fiercest adversaries, F. E. Bateson, wrote that "literary history has provided an umbrella of respectability under which are still crowded teachers of literature who have outgrown their adolescent enthusiasms without acquiring a mature critical sense."[19] And René Wellek writes, "Croce and Ker are right. There is no progress, no development, no history of art except a history of writers, institutions, and techniques. This is, at least for me, the end of an illusion, the fall of literary history."[20]

One of the main reasons, if not the most important reason, of the

concerted and to a great extent violent attack on literary history in the West is the failure—at least that is what a group of critics feels—of the historical method "to develop a critical instrument for dealing with works of literature as existent object." The other argument, voiced quite strongly by René Wellek, is that most of the literary histories tend to merge into general history and literary works are either reduced to source materials of social history or to a species of knowledge. The usefulness of literary history is denied or doubted because of the exaggerated faith in the autonomy of literary work and consequently of a total misunderstanding of the relationship between a work of art and the reality. Literary history is neither a substitute for literary criticism nor by itself sufficient for the study of literature. It provides a method of establishing the relationship between the literary activity and other human activities on the one hand, and makes diversity of data available to the literary theorists and critics on the other.

Because of sharp differences between the positivist and the hermeneutic approaches to literary history, Professor Fokkema in a recent article has suggested that the historian should clarify the areas he wants to work in, since "the sources and production of the text, its structure, the world represented in the text, thematic and compositional conventions, the distribution and reception of the text, the aesthetic effect"[21] etc.—the major topics of literary history—cannot all be treated at the same time. It is certainly difficult to deal with all these areas with equal justice at the same time, but it is not always possible to deal with some of these areas in isolation from the others. The distribution and reception of the text, for example, is intimately related with the world represented in the texts, or with its artistic effect or thematic and compositional conventions.

Literary history, like any other history, is an account of genesis as well as of change of certain phenomena. It assumes the existence of a general pattern at a particular time—without ignoring the uniqueness of literary works—and tries to record the exercises towards innovations and to account for them wherever possible. Ferdinand de Saussure distinguished between the external and the internal facts in the history of language[22]—literary history also has these two aspects. This reminds one of Wellek and Warren's two approaches to the study of literature: extrinsic and intrinsic. While it is possible to keep these two approaches separate in criticism, they overlap quite often in a historical study. The study of the evolution or innovations or any kind of identifiable change in the metrical system or style and genre and thematics would lead one to the study of the interplay of forces which are not strictly literary. Literary history being a part of general history can hardly ignore it. If one dismisses the idea of evolution in literature, or even relationship between texts, then the internal history—a story of development explainable without any

reference to non-literary phenomena—is automatically invalidated. The external history—a story of the literature in relation to the changes in society and of the participants involved in the literary production—is as valid as any other history.

The history of Indian literature as presented here is going to be an external history, that is, an account of forms and themes as created by a community and how they have been replaced by another set of forms and themes, of the conditions under which they were produced and the possible reasons of the decline of some of the forms and of the preference to others. In other words, it is going to be an account of the literary activities of a people.

We are not going to attempt the internal history of the Indian literature, not because we are not aware of its importance, but because we are yet to develop a critical apparatus to apprehend its complexities. Any kind of evaluation must be preceded by description. Moreover, when one looks at the Indian literary situation, whether in its broadest perspective comprising all the languages spoken in the sub-continent or in its narrowest form, taking each language separately, one notices the simultaneous presence of various traditions, old and new, and diverse literary canons. Poems which were composed several centuries ago in different languages in India are not exclusive objects of study of scholars, they are still as living and vigorous as the poems composed today to one section of people. Modes of transmission of literature are still diverse and canons of literary taste and value are far from uniform. The small section of the English educated people—small in percentage to the total population of the country but numerically big enough as a group—has created a new literature and adopted Western literary canons. Although it has not been able to dislodge the canons fixed through centuries, it has brought about new perceptions of literature in sharp contrast with them.

During the last three thousand years or so, from the time of the compositions of the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* to the present day, there have been radical changes in the modes of transmission of literature. The period when the Vedic hymns were composed, was a period not only of oral transmission but entirely of an oral tradition. Unlike other oral literatures, where the texts were in constant flux, the Vedic literature, through such marvellous mechanism of memorization, resisted interpolations and changes and stabilized its texts. Later when the oral tradition was replaced by a written one, the written texts were transmitted orally: the Sanskrit poetics distinguished between two types of poetry, *dṛśya* and *śravya*, poetry to be seen and poetry to be heard. During those days when written literature was transmitted mainly orally and partly through scribes, reception and survival of texts were almost entirely controlled by the patrons and other intermediaries, mainly the singer and the reciter. Despite the

laudatory attempts of philologists to reconstruct or to identify a text, fixed for all time, the Indian readers created their own texts according to their needs or under certain social compulsions. Without a literary history there will be no way of knowing how texts were changed, distorted, multilated, and yet acted as "monuments" for the writers and the readers.

When the very conception of literature and the canons of evaluation have changed with the changes of ideologies and also with the innovations in the language and metre and genre, it is preposterous to judge and evaluate them only in terms of their relevance to the aesthetic principle of our own times disregarding their role in history. Eliot talked about the relation of the modern to the dead poets and artists and its necessity "as a principle of aesthetic, not merely historical criticism."[23] Such a criticism is possible only when the texts are seen against a certain background and a relation between them is established.

The internal history is naturally an evaluative history and eventually it merges into criticism. Internal history has to identify the "mouments" of literature as opposed to "documents."[24] If we have not attempted to do so, it is not because of our refusal to make such distinctions but mainly because of our inability to do so. Certain texts once considered "monuments" have often appeared denuded of their glory, and texts that failed to attract contemporary attention have been acclaimed by the posterity. Critics may take sides with literary absolutists or with literary relativists, but a historian whose avowed responsibility is to narrate and interpret literary facts with reference to a given time can hardly take any extreme position. While we are aware of the necessity of constructing an internal history which will analyse and interpret the existing order on the basis of 'monuments', we are more concerned here with the understanding of the 'documents' themselves, their role in history and how documents become monuments. In addition, an external history can provide us with the knowledge of the mechanism of production of literature, the role of the individuals, 'the makers of literature', and the role of other participants. They are irrelevant in an internal history which can afford to deal only with the texts, the end-product of the literary activity.

Our objective, then, a very modest one to say the least, is to present a chronological record of the literary activity in the broadest sense by the Indian people, and to see the relation between the literary activity and the changing objective conditions. We have chosen a period when the well-ordered literary universe was suddenly confronted by serious challenges. A change in the political system followed by restructuring of economic organization, educational policies, religious institutions created a moral and an emotional crisis. A new literature emerged out of that crisis, although it did not replace the old order completely. All literary activities had to pass through a process of readjustment which took place within a

colonial situation. The impact of the West mediated by a colonial power was not restricted to literary activity alone, it was an impact of one civilization on another under an unfortunate historical circumstance. The Indian response to this situation was naturally not uniform, there was stubborn refusal and reluctance, enthusiastic welcome and passionate attraction, slow acceptance and painful resignation; and the new literature was created out of their interactions. Our exercise is towards the understanding of the process of readjustment of a literary order confronted by the forces from within as well as from without.

III MODALITIES

Even to think of writing a multilingual literary history which any literary history of India must be, at a time when histories of literature written by single authors have become things of past with little probability of revival, and this branch of scholarship has been served with death warrants, may be considered an act of fool-hardiness. We have tried to argue why we need a history of Indian literature and also why the history of Indian literature has to be a multilingual history. Still one can remain sceptical, even if one is sympathetically inclined to the arguments, about the feasibility of such a history. I shall, therefore, devote the last section of this chapter to the modalities of the preparation of this history.

This volume has been prepared with the help of a team of scholars, all of them bilinguals and some conversant with as many as four languages. The work was divided into two phases, the first being the preparation of chronology of literary events during this period, i.e. from 1800 to 1910. The chronology forms the second part of this volume. In a preface to that part I have elaborated the scheme followed there. I need not add anything more to what I have said there, except that this chronology is an integral part of this history; it is apparently a collection of isolated pieces of information, but it contains components of a larger unified pattern. The claims for objectivity in any history depend upon the nature of consensus: the possibility of disagreement is maximum in the realm of interpretation and minimum at the level of facts; their authenticity is verifiable without any intervention of subjectivity. The interpretation of facts will vary and change but the true value of the materials presented in the chronology will be least disputed and will remain as the most stable and dependable source of history.

The second phase of the preparation of the history consisted of arrangement of materials in a logical order and a search for their meaningful relation among themselves and to the social reality. The same group of scholars, with a few changes, worked in this phase too. Since the twenty-three languages—Assamese, Bengali, Dogri, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada,

Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Persian, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu—involved in this history do not have uniform development, nor have all of them detailed account of their development in this period, two different methods were followed. For some languages notes were prepared containing information about the modes of transmission of literary texts, the participants in the literary activity and the languages involved in the literary life of the people in addition to the socio-religious and political background of that time more or less as outlined in a working paper prepared by me.[25] It was agreed upon, as suggested in this paper that topics were to be identified to give a comprehensive picture of the whole period.

Topics will naturally vary from period to period but it is desirable if they conform to some basic pattern. The basic pattern need not be imposed from outside but it will emerge automatically once we observe the process of continuity and those of change operating in each period. In each period we will notice the legacy of the earlier period, the continuity of some traditions and themes and forms and motifs, occasionally with the vigour they earlier had, but generally losing their spontaneity and power. We will also find in each period certain emerging trends, some innovations in form and style and in thought-pattern. Voices of conservatism and of change, of revivalism and of radicalism are present in every period, and out of their interactions is generated a new power which keeps the history of literature, as indeed the history of any other human activity, moving. Once this dynamics of history of Indian literature emerges out of the description of texts and movements, the history of Indian literature will not be a mere taxonomy of facts but a living account of the creative process of the whole nation.[26]

While reports were prepared by scholars for eleven languages, on the lines suggested above, information in respect of other languages was collected on the basis of a questionnaire.[27] Questions were divided into several groups: (a) the linguistic situation in different regions in India, (b) modes of transmission of different literatures, (c) the participants in the literary activities—patrons, authors, readers/audience and, intermediaries, (d) literature and society, (e) tradition-influence-innovation, (f) themes and forms.

But as a corrective to individual prejudices, another questionnaire—a shorter version of the questionnaire meant for the members of the team—was also prepared and circulated among a large number of scholars and specialists in different languages and literatures all over the country. It was done mainly to know the varieties of responses on different topics, to arrive at a general consensus wherever that was possible and to project differences of opinion on certain issues wherever that was necessary.

Apart from the chronological information, the reports prepared by the members of the collaborating team form the basis of this history. However, I could not depend exclusively on these reports, but treated them as

additional material to the already existing histories of individual literatures and monographs and papers on different aspects of Indian literature. I tried to collect as much material as possible from all sources available to me, before consolidated them into a coherent narrative. This narrative, however, is neither a summary nor a mechanical juxtaposition of available materials, but an interpretative account regulated by a concept of change in literary history. Changes can be central as well as peripheral, gradual and sudden, confined to a sub-system or affecting the whole system. In certain cases the mechanisms of change are clear, identifiable and explainable, but there are cases that defy any simplistic causality. It is, therefore, not merely a chronological account of a series of past events but also an exercise in understanding the nature of the literary activities of a community.

IV PERIODIZATION

Finally, a few words must be said about the periodization, more as an explanation than as a defence. Any attempt to make clear-cut divisions between one period and another in literary history is bound to be futile. All periodizations are arbitrary, and yet insisted upon more for convenience than for any other reason. But when a particular point of time is chosen, certain rationalizations are needed if only to highlight the advantages of that choice.

We wish we could use exclusively literary criteria in demarcating different periods. But it is difficult to depend entirely on them and they are not always so easy to determine either. Therefore, one need not be apologetic about taking recourse to general history. "It would be foolish," wrote René Wellek, "to deny the implication of literary history in general history: any reflective person even centuries ago must have noted the changes in literature that came with the fall of Roman Empire, the advent of Christianity, or the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."[28] Indian critics have noticed the changes in their own literature coinciding with the change in political power and in patronage, or in the linguistic scene or with the advent of religious and social movement. The recognition of these facts, external though they are, does not prevent either the historian or the critic from appreciating literary texts, their individuality and design and value.

We have chosen the year 1800 as a starting point, but the beginning of a history is unlike the Aristotelian doctrine of the beginning of a play, which is not a necessary consequent of anything else. We have reasons to believe that the nature of literary activity throughout India as it was before 1800 did not change substantially even after fifty years in most parts of the country. But signs of significant changes and a few factors that brought

those changes appeared in or around that year. The major factors are a change in the mode of transmission of texts, a change in the language situation, introduction of a new system of education and the Indian attitude to the English language and the British rule. The main reason for choosing 1800 is that it was the year of the establishment of the Serampore Mission Press. Despite the fact that the first printing press was established in the mid-sixteenth century in Goa, it was in 1800 that printing press was firmly established in the country and India entered a new era of communication. It took about a hundred and ten years to complete the process to bring the whole country within the orbit of printing. "A regular printing press, Veshnath Press, was set up in Kashmir only in 1910," informs T. N. Kaul, one of the members of our team. It must be pointed out, however, that the date 1910 has been chosen not simply to indicate the final phase of introduction of printing in India, signalling the death knell of the manuscript tradition in all the major language areas.

We find three more dates 1835, 1857 and 1885 convenient to subdivide the whole period into four phases. 1835 is important because the English language was given a new status in Indian society that year and that momentous decision played a vital role in Indian intellectual and creative life. Similarly 1857 was the year when English education entered another phase of its history—three universities were founded in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and that was the year when India registered its first most violent protest against a foreign domination. 1885, the year of the foundation of the Indian National Congress, is a landmark in the history of freedom struggle with which Indian literature was actively involved. And 1910 is the year of the culmination of the first phase of organized revolutionary terrorism, when fifteen Indian revolutionaries were found guilty of conspiracy to wage war against the King Emperor. It was also the year when Aurobindo Ghose, the mentor of the revolutionary groups, left politics and took to a life of spiritual quest.

It is not that we have been guided entirely by political or educational or social factors and neglected the literary facts altogether. The mixing up of criteria, literary and extra-literary, is not necessarily a failure in schematization but a recognition of complexities entailed in the periodization in literary history. The dates chosen by us are not totally without literary importance. The year 1800 is remembered for the establishment of the College of Fort William, an institution where serious experiments with prose began, and the potentiality of prose as a vehicle of literary and intellectual expression was realised.

Similarly 1835 is also interesting from a literary point of view it being the year of the publication of the first Indo-English fiction. It is a coincidence that the year, considered to be a landmark in the history of the expansion of the English language in India, also saw the publication of a

story in English written by an Indian visualizing an Indian uprising against the British rule. This is mentioned not to claim either any greatness for this forgotten work nor to attach greater significance to this year 1835 than already claimed for it, but to point out that the year contained seeds of literary innovations. Similarly, 1857 is not only a date important in political or social history, it was the year of the publication of the first Marathi novel *Yamunā Paryaṭan*, and the first social play in Assamese *Rām Navamī*, on the theme of widow remarriage, and of *Strībodh*, the first monthly magazine in Gujarati exclusively for women. 1885 is also not a political date alone. This is the year of the death of Bharatendu Harishchandra, a man who revolutionized Hindi theatre and brought a new consciousness in Hindi poetry; and also the year when Hari Narayan Apte and Keshavsut appeared on the Marathi literary scene. The year 1910 too witnessed the publication of several significant texts including the Malayalam poetical work *Badhira Vilāsam* by Vallattol, which was a turning point in his poetical career; the Hindi poem *Jayadrath Vadh* by Maithili Sharan Gupta and three works of Rabindranath Tagore, *Rājā*, a new play different from the contemporary Indian dramatic trends, *Gītāñjali*, a collection of poems which can be described as a culmination of the traditions of Indian religious poetry, and the complete text of *Gorā*, a novel which spelt out a new vision of Indian nationalism.

All these are important facts in any literary history But events that happened on these particular dates do not necessarily have any causal relation among them. None the less, I mention them to indicate that the dates demarcating the periods of the literary history of India are not entirely unrelated to literary activities. The periods and the sub-periods are not to be regarded as something absolute, but as a convenient temporal framework. Whether it is also adequate for the purpose of presenting the literary materials and literary processes can be determined from the account presented in the following pages. R - 5176

Part One

CHAPTER 1

Factors of Change

1 LINGUISTIC SITUATION

Multilingualism has been a fact of Indian society in every phase of its history. Not only are there many languages in the country but some of them are distributed over large geographical areas. Yet there was a system through which communication was made possible and no linguistic area remained completely isolated from the other.[1] Linguists claim that "if one draws a straight line between Kashmir and Kanyakumari and marks, say, every five or ten miles, then one will find that there is no break in communication in any two consecutive points. Communication breaks down only in extreme points of the scale."[2] A network of interdependence among regions and communities has evolved, as it were, to facilitate the process of communication.

Any multilingual society slowly develops a system where different languages used by different communities finally make adjustments among themselves, occasional tensions notwithstanding. Such systems evolve partly because of the natural desire of communities to communicate among themselves and partly because of the intervention of the ruling authority assigning greater importance to a particular language. The authority is often a political one, the king, the state, the ruling bureaucracy, but can be associated with other sources of power as well, the religious, the social, the intellectual, and the economic. Hundreds of thousands of speakers of tribal languages in India are obliged to speak one of the major languages spoken in their areas for sheer economic reasons in order to be able to communicate in the job market. The system to which I am referring develops into a functional hierarchy: different languages are assigned to different functions and acquire prestige and status according to the nature of their functions. The language of the ruling power naturally gets the highest priority and languages that are confined to domestic situations alone are at the lowest tier. Sanskrit, Persian and English have enjoyed the highest status in different periods of Indian history, old, medieval and modern respectively, both as the language of the ruling elite and as a medium of intellectual communication. Other languages of India, the literary languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian family in particular, however, were not confined to mundane situations alone but employed in other areas of social activity. Rarely were they used in

administration or in higher education—Assamese, Manipuri, Marathi and Tamil were of course used in royal courts—but they were the primary vehicle of literary expression. By the end of the eighteenth century the multilingual situation in India, undoubtedly a very complicated one, had become stable.

The Status of Sanskrit

Sanskrit remained the most prestigious language among the Hindus, though it was studied by a very small section of the people. It was the language of the Brahmins and of the upper caste Hindus. It has little functional value for the common man, except that the religious books of the Hindus were written in it, and Sanskrit *mantras* were obligatory in Hindu rituals. But the rituals were performed and religious scriptures were interpreted by a small group of priests and scholars. None the less, the prestige of Sanskrit at the end of the eighteenth century was overwhelming and it continued to remain so throughout the period we are talking about. Sanskrit, the language of the gods and of the ancient sages, had a special attraction for the Hindu mind; it acted as a source of energy to various literatures through centuries and acquired a new prestige when the Orientalist movement began in Europe.

The early British administrators, Warren Hastings in particular, realised the cultural value of Sanskrit and encouraged young civilians to study it. After the publication of the English translation of the *Gita*[3] by Charles Wilkins in 1785, and *The Code of Gentoo Laws* (1776) by N. B. Halhed—which was an English translation of the Persian rendering of the Hindu laws written in Sanskrit[4]—and particularly after the historic speech made by Sir William Jones at the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1786 declaring that "the Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity is of wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either" and suggesting the affinity between all the three and several other European languages,[5] Sanskrit became an object of special attraction and admiration among the Western scholars. Jones translated the *Śakuntalā* in 1789 into English and Georg Forster into German in 1791 to which Goethe responded with a spontaneous quatrain.

> Shall I embrace the blossoms of Spring, the fruits of the autumn
> All that enchants and that charms, all that nurtures and fills,
> Shall I embrace in a name all heaven and the whole of the earth
> Call I, Sakontala, thee—all is comprised in one name.

Johann Gottfried Herder wrote in excitement: "a real blossom of the Orient, and the first, most beautiful of its kind! . . . . Something like that, of course, appears once every two thousand years. . . ."[6] These were the

signs of the great impact that Sanskrit was about to make on European scholarship. The 'discovery' of Sanskrit by the Western scholars created a new ferment giving rise to new sciences like comparative philology and comparative mythology, and culminating in a special area of scholarship—Indology. The impact of the Orientalists, quickly felt in India, was partly responsible for the growth of a new pride among the Indian intellectuals for their glorious past. And slowly Sanskrit became a symbol of Hindu cultural pride and superiority.

Although Sanskrit was no body's mother-tongue, a small group of scholars continued to write in it in the nineteenth century and produced a large corpus of poems and plays and scholarly treatises confined exclusively to an infinitesimal small coterie without any impact on the literary activities of the people at large. Whatever be the quality of the Sanskrit literature of the nineteenth century and its relation with the living speeches of the people, Sanskrit continued to exert its powerful presence. People venerated it for its antiquity and Indophiles inadvertently created the myth that it was the Ur-Sprache, the mother of all Indo-European languages. Writers still searched for literary models and critics resorted to the canons of literary evaluation in Sanskrit literature. As we shall see later, a new group of writers considered the Sanskritic dominance insidious and detrimental to the growth of a new literature. The Sanskrit language, and to some extent Sanskrit literature, thus played a crucial role in Indian linguistic and literary life. The extent of its influence and dominance will be revealed as we proceed. The language was continuing; people studied it in different parts of the country, scholars used it in their regular debates and symposia and writers wrote in it. The Orientalists 'discovery' of Sanskrit did not affect its position in the language-hierarchy, but vindicated the Hindu attitude towards the language. The Hindu rulers and landlords in different parts of the country—Benaras, Mithila, Kashmir, Travancore, Tanjore, etc., the places known as centres of Sanskritic learning—patronised the Sanskrit language and the British Government also founded a few institutions for the preservation and development of Sanskrit studies. But what is significant in the history of Indian literature in this period is not the state of Sanskrit learning but the relation that Sanskrit maintained with other Indian languages and literatures. The Indian literary scene was partly controlled by that relation.

The Status of Persian

Apart from Sanskrit, two other languages that enjoyed great prestige in India in the early nineteenth century were Arabic and Persian. Arabic, being the language of the *Quran* and the Islamic law, and Persian being the court language of the Mughal empire, formed the hard core of education, not only for the Muslims but also for the Hindus seeking positions

of power and prestige in the administration. A man like Rammohan Roy, coming as he did from a traditional Hindu Brahmin family, had a thorough schooling in Arabic and Persian. When the College of Fort William was established, it employed the largest number of teachers for Persian, which also attracted the largest number of students. Among the two languages, Arabic and Persian, the former though it enjoyed great prestige did not have many votaries, while the latter enjoyed popularity among the elite. The Muslim rulers in different parts of the country made it the court language—Persian was also the language of the Sikh kingdom of Ranjit Singh—and all significant Urdu writers also wrote in Persian. Ghalib was so proud and confident of the excellence of his Persian writings that he declared

> Look at my Persian, there you see the full range of my artistry—
> And leave aside my Urdu verse, for there is nothing there of me.[7]

While Sanskrit was not a spoken language and was confined mainly to the Brahmins, Persian, a living speech had a much wider distribution in respect of different communities. A language of the elite undoubtedly it was, but that elite consisted of both Hindus and Muslims. Its area of operation was also wider, it being the language of the administration and the judiciary. By the end of the eighteenth century, Persian had become an inseparable part of Indian life; not only had there emerged a respectable body of Indo-Persian literature, but a large number of poetic forms and themes had been successfully grafted in various languages of India—Punjabi, Sindhi, Kashmiri, not to speak of Urdu. While translations from Persian into various Indian languages were a continuous activity throughout the nineteenth century, Indian writers of Persian enriched that literature by translating and adopting from Indian literatures. Abdul Hakim Khan's translation of the *Janam Sākhī* from the Punjabi in 1806, Nawab Wali Mahemmod Khan Wali Leghari's (b. 1751) masnavi *Hīr-wa-Rānjhā* (1812), based on the tragic tales of Punjab, Sada Sukh Shaiq's *Kān-e-Jud* (1829 ?), an adaptation of the *Siṅghāsan Battisī*, or Ibrati's *Aijāz-ul Mohabbat* (1831 ?), a Persian rendering of the story of Nala and Damayanti from the *Mahābhārata* are a few examples. Looking at the various imitations, adaptations and translations from Persian into various Indian languages and the Indian-Persian writings during the first four decades of the nineteenth century one must conclude that Persian was used in the widest possible sphere of linguistic activities in India. The number of works on history, both ancient and contemporary, topographical accounts of cities, astronomy, philosophy, drinks and eatables, religion and theology, dictionary, in addition to creative literary works, many of which are of high order, is quite enormous.

Every Indian language had various functions in society but the language

of intellectual communication was by and large Persian. In 1803 Rammohan Ray wrote his first work *Tuhfāt-ul-Muwahhidin*, an essay on monotheism in Persian with a preface in Arabic, and as late as in 1820 one notices another Persian pamphlet published in support of Rammohan. The number of Persian journals published in the first half of the nineteenth century is an indication of the size of the reading public. Rammohan Roy started a Persian newspaper, the *Mirāt-ul-Ākḥbar* (1822)[8], from Calcutta, then a stronghold of Persian learning, where existed a renowned Madrasa founded by Warren Hastings. Two other Persian newspapers *Jām-i-Jahān-Nāma* and *Shāms-ul-Akḥbar* appeared soon after that. *Bengal Herald* or *Weekly Intelligence* was published in four languages, one of them being Persian. *Zubdut-ul-Ākḥbar* (1833) edited by Munshi Wajid Ali Khan—a newspaper patronised by the Raja of Bharatpur, the Raja of Alwar, and the Nawabs of Jhujjur, of Joura, of Hyderabad—and *Syad-ul-Ākḥbar* (1841), an organ of the Sunni Sect, were also in Persian.[9] None of these publications continued for long but they are fair indicators of the importance and prestige of the Persian language in the country. Persian, however, was soon replaced by English, and although many Indian poets continued to write in it—Iqbal is one of the last great Indian writers of Persian—throughout the nineteenth and also in the twentieth centuries it receded into the background leaving indelible traces on several Indian languages and literatures. Like Sanskrit, though in a limited way, it acted as a source of power to different Indian languages, and like Sanskrit again it became identified with the cultural ethos of one community.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, then, the writers' choice of medium was either one of these two prestigious languages, Sanskrit and Persian, or one of the many Indian languages. These Indian languages, other than Tamil which had the longest literary history distinguished both by its antiquity and by the quality of literary achievement, were comparatively younger. Many of them—Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi, Malayalam, Maithili, Punjabi, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu and Sindhi in particular—by the end of the eighteenth century had produced a copious literature, and Urdu, the youngest of all the Indian languages, was in its glorious youth. Several other languages such as Kashmiri and Dogri, Rajasthani and Manipuri and Konkani, though they did not have as rich a harvest as the afore-mentioned languages, were also used as vehicles of literary expression by a large number of people. Apart from these languages with a written tradition, there were many languages which had developed a large body of oral literatures, consisting of songs and tales and verses reflecting a distinct world of thought and imagination. While these languages remained outside the pale of the elite literary tradition, they had, nevertheless, a vibrant literature of their own. The Christian missionaries translated the Bible, introduced

the writing system for the first time and founded the basis of a prose literature in these languages. The list of translations of the Bible published by the Serampore Mission between 1800 and 1834 shows that the Christian scripture was printed in Avdhi, Baloochi, Bhageli, Bikanir, Garowali, Jaypuri, Khasi, Kumayuni, Konkani, Marwari, Multani, Palpa and various other less known dialects and languages.

In terms of the number of languages spoken in the country, the situation was complex indeed and yet in terms of the hierarchy between the languages among different groups there was a stable pattern which did not allow India to be reduced into a veritable Tower of Babel. Sanskrit and Persian, as pointed out before, acted as a common link between a section of the educated community and mutual intelligibility among the languages either because of their geographical proximity or socio-cultural connections kept the linguistic differences to the minimum. It was a time when the state borders were not drawn according to linguistic lines and as a result people of one linguistic community had greater necessity for linguistic interactions. Bilingualism was an accepted fact of life. And the writers in India functioned within it. Bilingualism, however, did not mean equal prestige for both the languages. Many poets wrote both in Sanskrit and in their mother-tongues; or in Persian and Sindhi or Urdu; in many cases in their mother-tongue and Braj, a literary dialect of Hindi. In the Dogri speaking area, for example, none was considered a prestigious writer, unless one wrote in Braj. The importance of a particular language was a result of the relative higher status enjoyed by it because of the number of its speakers and the area of use. Urdu enjoyed a special privilege in certain parts of the country because of its connection with the power elite. Hindi, similarly, had an advantage of number, and Tamil of its antiquity. But there is hardly any evidence of the existence of any kind of tension among the linguistic communities and of any serious problem faced by the writers regarding the choice of their medium.

II INTERVENTION OF ENGLISH

The accepted, and more or less stable, hierarchy of languages was first disturbed by the intervention of the English language. It came to India at a time when Portuguese had established itself firmly in Goa and was regarded as the lingua franca between the various contending European communities in the coastal areas. By the close of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, the Portuguese language had receded to its own colony, as did the French, and English became the undisputed European language in India. Many people were quick to recognize its importance and those who were first to learn it belonged to the three port-towns, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and particularly Calcutta, the capital of the British

India. The early learners had no interest in English literature; in fact, no one thought English to be a language superior to Sanskrit or Persian, but what they found in it was promise for a better financial status. Although Cavelly Venkata Boriah's "Accounts of the Jains" published in 1809—the first extant evidence of Indian writing in English[10]—and Rammohan Ray's translations of the *Vedānta* and some of the Upaniṣads[11] were available in 1816 very few people showed any particular enthusiasm for English literature. But a small group of people certainly found that even a scanty knowledge of English was a passport to affluence. With the promise of a brighter economic career English entered the Indian society. The British Government, not particularly interested in changing the existing linguistic hierarchy, encouraged its officers to learn Indian languages rather than expect the Indians to learn a new language.

Several British intellectuals, however, favoured a change in the policy. David Brown, who later became the Provost of the College of Fort William, submitted a petition to the Governor-General in 1788 for the establishment of English schools in Calcutta.[12] Wilberforce[13], the evangelical leader, advocated the introduction of English in India, and Charles Grant wrote elaborately on the issue.[14] In 1792, he wrote a treatise, *Observation on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals, and on the means of improving it*, wherein he strongly pleaded for the introduction of the English language in India in order to ensure as much the efficiency of the British administration as the improvement of the intellectual and moral life of, what he thought, a degraded population.[15] His arguments favouring the introduction of the English language in India, however, were not seriously conceded till a favourable public opinion in India was created and a person of T. B. Macaulay's eminence pleaded the case wih conviction. Brown and Grant believed that the Indian society steeped in darkness could be enlightened only through the propagation of the Gospel and Western education. This view had much in common with the ideas of C. E. Trevelyan and M. Elphinstone, two distinguished servants of the East India Company posted in Western India. Much useful work was done by the Christian missionaries and also a few individuals. David Hare, the free-thinking watchmaker from Ireland Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, and Rammohan Ray, a polyglot theologian, are some of the important names who evinced a great interest in the teaching of the English language among the younger generation.

Several schools came up, and six years before Rammohan Ray wrote the letter to Lord Amherst pleading eloquently for the introduction of English education, Hindu College (later named Presidency College) was established by some of the prominent citizens of Calcutta. We will talk later about the spread of English education and its relation with the

emerging urban elite in India in greater detail. But what is important to realize is that even before 1835, the year Bentinck accepted Macaulay's Minute on Education, English had penetrated some of the urban areas; a section of Indian youth, small but powerful, had began to realize its potentiality, and a few Indians had accepted it as a medium of intellectual and creative activity. Rammohan Ray wrote a large number of books in English between 1816 and 1833, the year of his death in England; and what came to be known later as Indian-English literature had already germinated. Henry Derozio, the remarkable teacher of the Hindu College, published his first book of poems in English, *The Fakeer of Jungheera* in 1828, and Kashiprasad Ghosh *The Shair or Ministrel and Other* poems in 1830. Cavelly Venketa Ramaswami (1765–1840), the elder brother of Boriah to whom reference has been already made, wrote *Biographical Sketches of the Dekan Poets* (1829).[16] These are significant evidences of the increasing influence of English among the new Indian intelligentsia.

English eventually dislodged Persian from its towering position and by the middle of the nineteenth century it changed the existing language hierarchy completely. Not only was it accepted by a group of Indians as yet another medium of creative writing, but it started exerting irresistible influence on various languages in the country. The relative prestige of the Indian languages among themselves was partly determined, by the extent to which they were influenced by English. The concept of modernity in literary history was also related to the relation that each Indian language and literature developed with English. Sanskrit and Persian literary models were labelled as traditional and medieval, and those found in English, irrespective of any period, as modern. Strictly from a linguistic point of view the emergence of English resulted in the replacement of Persian, without effectively changing the existing relationship between the language of the elite and the languages of the people. The languages of the people, however, at least some of them, assumed different roles and were used by the people in areas they were never employed before. Sociopolitical changes created new demands on the Indian languages and the new educated community felt obliged to exploit their latent potentialities.

During such experiments writers and scholars, looked for inspiration to sources they thought rich and appropriate. Certain groups of people looked towards Sanskrit or Persian, according to their cultural needs and compulsions, and some towards English. In a sense this was natural and to some extent necessary. But this was also the beginning of a change in the linguistic situation which reflected tensions among different communities, linguistic as well as social and religious. Sanskritization became a deliberate choice among many linguistic groups, their motivations being the preservation of linguistic purity and the achievement of a special

identity by seeking closer affiliation with the venerable speech. More or less, this is also equally applicable to the other extreme choice, that of Persianization. Both the processes created tensions first within one language community, and finally between two religious communities. There was, however, no conscious anglicization of the Indian languages, except the borrowing of lexical items, which grew in number continuously, and a few imitations of syntactic structure. But what created a crisis in the literary situation, causing rift within several languages, in terms of style and formal structures, and also among the languages in some cases, is the emergence of a different value-systems emanating from the English language itself. It was not merely yet another instrument of communication, but a vehicle of a new culture. Besides that, the English language was introduced with a motive to control the country politically and socially. It united the country in the same way Sanskrit or Persian had done, but it also divided the country, in a different way. Sanskrit or Persian divided the population into two groups, one familiar with a dead classical language and/or a living prestigious speech, and the other group using exclusively the indigenous languages which were neither mediums of higher education nor of the administration of the country. English made both Sanskrit and Persian irrelevant and modern Indian languages were reduced to the status of "vernaculars", a group of crude downright speeches. The Sanskritists, who had always despised the modern Indian languages, *bhāṣās*, and construed them inappropriate as vehicle of higher thought, felt that Sanskritization was the surest way to uplift them. The English-educated Indian, too, equally scornful of these vernaculars remained indifferent to them. Neither the classicists nor the anglicists, with noted exceptions, understood the genius of these languages, the nature of their relation with the people and the traditions of the country. Their experiments with these languages, almost invariably, were exercises in unimaginative prescriptions imposed on them. The Indian languages as literary mediums had to struggle in this situation for a long time to come.

The point of departure in the history of modern Indian literature, then, is the establishment of the English language in Indian society and the beginning of Indian response to English education and English literature. What is known as modern literature, even if we refrain from making any value judgment, is a product of the changed linguistic scene and of the educational system about which we will talk later. Persian, too, was a foreign language imposed upon India by an imperial power, but the Pathans and the Mughals who accepted India as their home, also accepted Indian languages as their own. There was a time when Urdu, in its struggle for a dignified status, fought a silent battle against Persian. With the decline of the Mughals, the prestige of Persian also declined. By the middle of the eighteenth century many Persian scholars, realized that Persian

was not their mother tongue and they must enrich Urdu. It is a different story, however, that the attempts towards the enrichment and refinement of Urdu created the process of Persianization, and estrangement from other Indian languages.[17] The hierarchy between Persian and the Indian languages was a hierarchy of linguistic functions, clearly defined; but the hierarchy between English and the Indian languages was not merely linguistic but based on a relationship between the ruler and the ruled.

III PRINTING AND ORAL TRANSMISSION

The most important event that revolutionized the literary production by changing the relationship between the author and the audience and the nature of the transmission process of texts was the advent of the printing press. Joshua Marshman (1769–1837), William Ward (1769–1823) and William Carey (1761–1834), three Christian missionaries of the Baptist Mission started a printing press at Serampore, then under Danish protection, in January 1800, with the intention of printing the Bible in the different languages of India. Within a decade, that press, known as the Serampore Mission Press, grew into a massive organization, the greatest type foundry in Asia.[18]

It was not the first printing press in India nor was it the first to print a book written in an Indian language. The first ever printed work in an Indian language, which happens to be Tamil, was set in the Roman alphabet in Lisbon in 1551. Three years later, when the first book was printed in India, its language was Portuguese, its author St. Francis Xavier. The books printed between 1557 and 1588 in Goa were all written in Portuguese. A press at Quilon established during this period published a Tamil translation of St. Xavier's Portuguese work but there was a complete lull during the next many decades. The second phase of Indian printing began with Danish initiative, particularly with the zeal of the protestant missionaries, the best known among them being Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. The Danish Mission established at Tranquebar in 1706 started a printing press seven years later. The third phase of Indian printing began in Madras. As a result of Anglo-French rivalry in Karnatak, a printing press was taken by Sir Eyre Cooke as booty from Pondicherry, which was brought from France by Comt de Lally, a colourful personality of that time. The East Indian Company installed the press at Vepory, a suburb of Madras, under the charge of Johann Fabricius of the Danish Mission. He printed his own work *A Malabar and English Dictionary* in 1779. In 1793, a Tamil translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which is the first translation of an English work in any Indian language, was published from this press.

About this time the first printing press was established in Bengal by the East India Company with Charles Wilkins as its superintendent. Wilkins, a nephew of the British printer and engraver R. B. Way, often

eulogized as one who "gave to Asia typographic art", cut the Bengali types with the help of a local blacksmith, Panchanan. These types were first used in Halhed's *A Grammar of the Bengal Language* in 1778. These sporadic exercises in printing and publishing were finally stabilized with the establishment of the printing press at Serampore.

It is mainly through the labour and efficiency of Panchanan, whom Carey successfully persuaded to come over to Serampore, and his talented son-in-law, Manohar, that the Serampore Mission Press was able to establish the foundry to make elegant types and founts in almost all the eastern languages of the world. This year, 1800, should be considered the most significant year in the history of printing and publishing in India. Printing was finally established as the most powerful medium of transmission of knowledge and information. The geographical configuration of the early printing presses in India followed an interesting pattern. They were established on the coast line of the peninsula, first along the West Coast—Goa, Cochin, Punnaikkayal and Ambalakkada. The Indian incunabula then extended along the east coast, beginning with Tranquber and Madras and finally reaching Serampore and Calcutta.

The impact of the Serampore Mission Press was far reaching. Not only did it print translation of the Bible into different Indian languages and text-books prepared by the teachers of the College of Fort William but also published literary journals and newspapers and edited classics of earlier centuries. Its extensive printing programme included almost all the languages of India and was responsible for the decline of the oral and scribal tradition. The process was slow, but steady. Printing presses began to emerge in different parts of the country, mainly in major towns. Certain language areas, of course, remained outside the incunabula for a long time and in some areas the facilities for printing came as late as the first decade of this century. In Orissa, to give an instance, the first press was established in 1837—Orissa Mission Press—for publication of Christian tracts. It was only in 1866 that the Cuttack Printing Press came into existence under an Indian proprietorship which published the Oriya periodical, *Utkal Dīpikā*, and in 1868 Fakir Mohan Senapati, the great Oriya novelist, established the Utkal Printing Company at Balasore.[19] The printing presses started by the Christian missionaries, interested more in the propagation of Christian tracts, had limited impact on the literary activity of the people. The Bellary Press (1825), The London Missionary Society Press (1840), The American Mission Press (1845)—for example, all helped the growth of Telugu literature to some extent, but the impact of printing was really felt when the printers took interest in Indian literature as well. The Madras Vernacular and School Book Publishing Society (1820), for example, published classics of Sanskrit and Dravidian languages, as did the Serampore Mission or the Sikandra

Press of Agra, Durgaram Mehta's lithography press in Surat, the Savanur Press at Dharwad or the press established by Nawal Kishore in Lucknow. And there was an immediate effect on the reading public. Mainly through the enterprise of the missionaries and a few learned societies, printing made some inroads in the urban life, but many areas, denied of such facilities, remained outside the pale of its influence. The literary activities in Rajasthani or Maithili, Dogri or Kashmiri or Manipuri—to give some examples, continued within the scribal tradition. Even the areas where printing presses were established the scribal tradition as well as the oral transmission did not die out immediately.

The details of the transition from the scribal age to that of printing are not very distinctly known. It appears that the Indian aristocrat, unlike his European counterpart during the infancy of European printing, welcomed the democratic character of the printed texts in preference to the manuscripts prepared by scribes who alone could ensure the distinctiveness of individual copies. During the Mughal days, artists had created manuscripts of great beauty. There are hundreds of manuscripts, collected from different parts of the country and written in different languages and scripts, which are indeed memorable works of illumination. The world of the manuscript, with its glories of the art of illuminators, slowly began to fade with the advent of printing, though its vestiges lingered on in some areas. The manuscript tradition did continue in those places where the establishment of printing presses was not economically viable, because of low rate of literacy and also because of the existing social hierarchy within bilingual areas. The educated readers of Maithili or Rajasthani, for example, being equally proficient in Hindi, were served by the Hindi printing press. No publisher thought of printing primarily in a language where readership was limited, and hence there was delay in the growth of printing in many areas. Even then it is fairly clear that the oral and scribal transmission system faced a serious challenge for the first time in Indian history.[20] A considerably large area came within the orbit of the printing press by the first half of the nineteenth century: the older modes of communication began to recede, without putting much resistance, to the countryside and continued to stay among people with little knowledge of reading and writing.

The advent of the printing press is one of the most important events in the history of Indian literature as it made literary texts available to a large number of people, and by making the texts available it transformed the nature of transmission of literature. Because of the non-availability of copies of manuscripts in a large number—only a few wealthy persons could engage scribes to make copies for them—even the literate reader had to depend upon the professional group specialized in the oral transmission of texts. Printed texts provided an opportunity or rather a greater

opportunity—the early printed texts were not very low priced—than before to a greater number of readers to enjoy a text in greater privacy and encouraged silent reading. This transition from the status of a "listener" to that of a "reader" was possible because of the availability of the printed text. Whether the change of the status from 'listener' to 'reader' was welcomed by the people or not is a different question. But such a change did affect the process of literary production and literary reception.

The oral tradition with all its associated functions and relationship with other performing arts was directed to all sections of the people. The printed texts, on the other hand, were of little use for the vast majority of the people. With the slow growth of an educated middle class, which discovered the potentiality of the printed word, a new literature grew mainly for their consumption. What Mayadhar Mansingh observes about the modern Oriya literature is true of the whole of Indian literature:

> . . . the old Oriya literature served its purpose in a unique manner as the expression of the mass minds of the Oriyas. . . It had filled Orissa's 50,000 villages with music, recitation, street plays, poetic contests and literary discussions In a word, it had made the whole of Orissan people, women not excluded, literature conscious. It is no compliment to the modern system of education or to the new patterns of literature adopted in imitation of European models, nor to the new writers, that with the printing press and the postal services at their disposal, they have so far failed to make as deep an impression on the masses, as did the old Oriya literature written laboriously on palm-leaves with an iron stylus, and having very limited means of publicity.[21]

There were distinctions between the literature of the elite and that of the common people in the previous centuries as well, but the mode of transmission was more or less identical. There was a written literature but it was orally transmitted. With the introduction of printing the existence of the earlier mode was threatened and slowly wiped out.

All over India, in addition to the class of scribes which was a distinct professional group, there were professionals who read, chanted, recited and sang poetry often to the accompaniment of music and dance. They were known by different names, e.g *Kathak*, *Bhāṭ*, *Cāran*, *Kīrtanīyā*, *Lāvaṇikār*, *Ojhāpāli*, in different parts of the country. They were patronized by local kings, landlords or wealthy traders and farmers, by religious groups and institutions and in some cases by the villagers themselves. They would read poetry, explain and even interpret texts, both secular and religious, to the people. Since poetry reading was not a private affair but a performance for the public, these people would meet either at the courtyard of a temple, or a public place in the village, either by a river side or in the house of a well-to-do patron, where the people of the whole village could assemble. Such performances were held normally in the evening on certain days and during certain festivals. At times such per-

formances would continue for days and weeks. The listeners would sit around the narrator/performer, who would sit or stand on a high pedestal or an improvised stage. The most sophisticated form of poetry reading emerged in the form of *mushaira* within the Urdu speaking community. *Mushaira* is a gathering of poets and their admirers at an appointed place where the poets recite their poems and often discuss them. Quite often there were contests between the poets.

> The institution of Moshairas developed into a high social and literary ceremonial, for which invitations are extended, halls decorated, mirrors hung, and scented candles lit. The poets sat on carpets resting against bolsters and cushions. An essential item of the decorations had been the presidential candle that move from one poet to another as his turn to recite came. This was finally placed before the President of the moshaira who recited last. A regular warrant of precedence had to be observed in the order in which the poets were asked to recite.[22]

This tradition was in full vigour till the middle of the nineteenth century, and it continued in different centres of Urdu literary activities with great enthusiasm. The printing press could not affect it and it is still popular all over the Indian sub-continent, though it has ceased to play the role it once did as an institution regulating the literary taste and forming aesthetic canons. There were similar institutions in other language areas, some comparable with the Urdu *mushaira* in respect of sophistication, some lacking its elegance and style. The Hindu kings in native states patronized poetry recitals and contests, while the common people in the rural and in the urban areas continued to be entertained by professional singers and narrators under different conditions. Two examples of different types from two parts of India can be given here to illustrate the styles and nature of poetic performances that existed in the early nineteenth century.

In the Telugu speaking area there were poets known as *avadhānīs* who excelled in various kinds of performances mostly in the presence of an enlightened audience. The performance known as 'avadhānam' is a form of art which originated during the Prabandha period (sixteenth century), if not earlier. *The Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature* describes it in the following words:

> It is a poetic performance which combines entertainment and enlightenment, amusement and edification. Avadhanam requires spontaneous poetic composition, prodigious memory, melodious voice, resourcefulness and wisdom, varied knowledge and sense of humour. One who is endowed by nature with all these gifts shines as an avadhani or performer of avadhana. Rapidity of versification is the prime requisite of avadhana and the performers boasted that they could compose hundreds of verses in an hour.[23]

There are two forms of avadhānam, śatavadhān and aṣṭāvadhān.[24] In the former one hundred persons sit in the hall, each one of them asks the *avadhānī*, the performing poet, to compose a poem on a specified theme

in a particular metre. The performer has to dictate the first lines of the hundred verses, one after another, to each of the hundred persons assembled. Then, the second lines are dictated by him, and similarly the third and fourth lines completing the verse. Then the performer recites from his memory all the hundred verses one after another.

The 'aṣṭāvadhāna' is a poetic performance where eight scholars sit around the poet, and each one of them asks him to compose poems in different themes and metres. One may ask him to compose a verse avoiding the use of certain sounds, one may ask him to compose in a specified metre, one may ask him to solve a riddle, one may ask totally irrelevant questions. Another may strike a bell and the poet must be able to tell the exact number of strokes. All these go on simultaneously to divert the attention of the poet and also to test his memory, his command over metre and finally his ability to compose verses under extremely odd circumstances. People found such performances highly entertaining and the poets themselves welcomed them as great challenges.

If 'avadhānam' is one of the most complex examples of poetry as performance, 'Kabir laḍāi' (the battle of poets) in Bengal is another example of the performance where two or more poets, instead of one, are involved. 'Kabir laḍāi' became extremely popular in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. The main feature of this performance is a contest between two groups, each headed by a leader-poet at an appointed place, normally the courtyard of a wealthy person, or at a public place during a festival. Both sides are expected to compose songs instantaneously on a particular theme, presenting opposite view-points. Sometime one of the parties would pose a problem and invite the other to solve it. That many of the poets were known as 'dāḍā kabi' (standing poets) indicates the way they extemporized their songs.

Poetry, then, was presented before the audience as a ritual or a part of a ritual, as a performance, as a game, and often as verbal acrobatic. The situation began to change with the spread of printing, growth of a new middle class, decline of the patronage of the feudal elite and change in the literary taste, particularly among the English educated group. The change was rather slow and the existing modes of transmission of literature and the literary culture associated with them left a deep imprint on the emerging literature among the English educated class. The unevenness of development in various literatures in India can be partly explained by the relative strength of the older literary culture in different language areas. The literary games remained popular in areas where traditional values were strong; music and dance followed the rigorous traditional codes, and patronage from the royalty was available. The areas which came under the influence of English saw the quick decline of this kind of literary culture. But the vestiges of the earlier modes, particularly those which had already attained

a sanctity or a distinctiveness, continued despite the social changes. While in some languages today poetry is 'read' but not chanted, in many languages poetry is chanted and sung. The older relation between the poet and the musician is retained. The poetic contests in Bengal died because of the lack of patronage of the English educated elite, the traditional singers in various parts of the country whether in Gujarat or in Maharashtra, in Tamilnadu or in Andhra Pradesh, too, were out of occupation, and operated within a very limited sphere, normally in the rural areas or in the surroundings of the temples and pilgrim-centres. The most important change that printing brought was the change in the status of the 'listener' or 'the audience'. The listener became a reader. The change was not an easy one and one can conjecture with some justification that the practice of reading aloud a printed text to a group continued for a long time. It is not necessarily that the group had only 'illiterate' persons. Even those who could read, might prefer listening to a poem or a story to reading it. Professor Dhiru Parikh[25] tells us that in the nineteenth century Gujarat some writers used to read their prose works before an audience. While the traditional performers of poetry used to sing sitting under a tree or in an open-air theatre, the new writers read their essays in school buildings. We have evidence to show that poetry, and even prose, was read in small groups, but reading as a performance came to a virtual end.

The introduction of printing, along with other innovations in educational system and changes in the occupation of the writers which we shall elaborate later, brought a significant change in the whole relationship among the participants in the literary production. The writer, the audience and the intermediaries (which include the patrons and the persons involved in the transmission and propagation of the texts) had a stable relationship for several centuries. The patrons exerted their influence in the making of the texts; the intermediaries also played an important role, even in the making of the texts. The reciter or the performer and the scribe would often change the text, interpolating materials and thus affecting the structure of the original text and its meaning. That was partly responsible for the renewal of a lease of life for many texts which would have otherwise been forgotten or lost. The intermediaries changed the language, interpreted the text for a new audience and interpolated materials to sustain the interest of the new generation. The printing assured the fixity of a text and minimized, if not completely eliminated, the possibility of any change without the author desiring to do so. The authors had their freedom to make changes in different editions and thus, to disown their responsibilities for the earlier versions. This made the task of the reader and the critic easier. The new intermediaries, i.e. the printer, the publisher, the editor etc., however, imposed new constraints on the writers. The literary work became a commercial commodity and its fate—as well as that of

the author—depended on its saleability and reception in the market. While the earlier authors had to depend on their rich patrons for financial security and social prestige, the new authors had to look for patronage from government or various institutions or at a later stage on publishers and printers, and on the readers. It is quite interesting to note that many of them set up their printing presses and published their own works. The following remarks of Per Gedin, a Swedish publisher, about the relationship between the reading public and the book market, though made with reference to European literature, are equally applicable to the Indian situation:

> The transformation from an aristocratic, court-dominated society to a middle-class capitalistic society meant the creation of a market for culture. Works of art, musical compositions, books and dramas were no longer commissioned by rich patrons for their personal use and paid for with a previously agreed sum of money. The artists, the writer or composer had to fight in an open market for whatever he could get.[26]

IV CHANGE IN PATRONAGE

Printing gave a greater freedom, and consequently greater self-respect, to the author. The rise of the printing press coincided with the decline of traditional patronage. In the earlier period, and even in the nineteenth century, when authors had to depend upon kings and landlords they had either to compromise with their taste and designs or had to live a life of suffering or obscurity. Venkanta Krishna Kavi, a Telugu poet at the court of Śivaji Maharaj (1833–1855), the last Maharashtrian ruler at Tanjore, for example, was patronized by the king not because of his intrinsic literary ability but because he belonged to a community which the king thought advantageous for him to patronize.[27] The musician poet of Andhra Pradesh, Kshetrayya, is said to have written a verse to Raghunath, the ruler of Tanjore, which expresses the predicament of the poets of his time. He wrote, poets visit their benefactors uninvited and unhonoured as bees swarm around lotus to suck honey.

In the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, one notices, how traditional patronage affected the life of the poet, and to a great extent the poetry, of many Urdu poets. Mir (1793–1810) came to Lucknow in a state of utter poverty, and received patronage from Nawab Asafuddaula, and his successor. But at some stage of their relationship when Mir could not tolerate the "supercilious acts of the Nawab", writes Rai Babu Saksena, he retired early from the court and "died in utter poverty and starvation."[28] Atish, another great poet of his time, was patronized by the Nawab of Lucknow who admired his poetry. But soon after the Nawab's death Atish was without any permanent means of livelihood.

The patronage system often created bitterness among contending poets, the classic case being that of Mushaffi (1750–1824) and Insha Allah Khan (d. 1817), one time intimate friends. Sadiq writes, "In Lucknow he (Insha Allah Khan) quarrelled with his teacher Mushaffi, who had preceded him to Lucknow. Here he adroitly manoeuvred himself into the teachership of Mirza Sulaiman Shakoh in place of Mushaffi, so that the latter's salary was reduced from twenty-five to five. He fell foul of other poets also and was ordered to quit Lucknow. . . ."[29] Even a cursory glance at the biography of Ghalib, one of the greatest literary figures of India, would show what humiliation and agony the poet had to experience to secure even meagre financial help from the aristocrats of his time and later from the British Government. We need not go into the details of the history of literary patronage in India, except mentioning that only certain types of literature received encouragement under the available patronage. It is difficult to imagine a poet like Nazir Akabarabadi writing the kind of poetry he wrote and to become a beneficiary of the Lucknow court. Ananda Gajapati, the landlord of Vizianagaram or the landlords of Pithapuram, Peddapuram, Bobbili, etc. extended liberal patronage to many scholars and poets, and so did many 'maths', or religious institutions. The literature produced under their patronage either belonged to the category of classical 'kāvyas', eroticism being its dominant mood, or religious literature. The patronage of landlords and of the religious groups which continued till the end of the nineteenth century in Tamilnadu mainly encouraged the production of traditional literature or texts that had a direct bearing upon religious sects. The Ahom kings encouraged the writing of *Buranjis* (chronicles) and translations of Sanskrit texts, as well as poems of erotic nature. Without further elaboration, one can say that the fate of poetry, as well as of the poets, was strongly regulated by the taste and degree of enlightenment the kings and the landlords possessed. The writer was hardly free to make new experiments. This is not to deny the positive role of patrons in the nineteenth century and before. Not only have poets displayed their power of imagination and nobility of thought within this system, but significant works from classical literatures have been translated and new works of considerable merit produced at the instance of the patrons. Yet the writer had to work under various constraints, under a shadow of fear of losing the favour of the patron which must have created tension within the minds of poets.

In the nineteenth century there was a change in the pattern of patronage which came from various institutions—the College of Fort William being one of the first, then societies which came up in different towns, and finally the readership itself. The new readership judged and evaluated an author without being influenced by the interpreters and performers or by the

authority of the aristocracy. A writer could present himself directly before his reader and his survival as a writer would depend almost entirely on the response of the reader. Perhaps this is an idealized projection of the real situation. Even in the areas where traditional patronage had vanished, the writer could not be assured of a high degree of freedom. The new intermediaries became powerful. The fate of an author depended, at least partly, upon the reactions and responses of the new elite controlling literary taste. In those areas where the English educated group became influential, the works produced by the writers without any English education were considered necessarily inferior and not modern, of course with a few exceptions. And in those areas where the traditional values were still strong, works produced under a foreign influence were received with apprehension. Yet the change in patronage democratized the literary culture to a great extent and provided a great opportunity for the author to reach a wide audience. One can even try to discover possible links between the change in patronage and a sudden change in the themes and forms of literature.

Along with the change in patronage and the mode of transmission, change in the readership was also inevitable. One can view the change in two ways, either in terms of a split in the existing readership, or in terms of the creation of a new readership. There is always a division in the readership anywhere in the world, and in India, long before the advent of printing or the English education system, the readership of literature was divided into two sections: the elite and the non-elite. In our medieval period both Sanskrit and Persian literatures were meant exclusively for the elite (and in the case of Sanskrit only for the high caste Hindus) and only a part of literature written in the modern Indian languages was directed towards the illiterate masses. That part of literature was created by the elite as well as the poets belonging to the lower stratum of society and it reached the masses because of the various modes of oral transmission. When printing appeared on the Indian scene, naturally the printed literature was of little value to the illiterate masses. And with the gradual decline of the oral modes of transmission the illiterate section was completely cut off from printed literature. It is, therefore, not really a case of split within the readership, but restriction of readership caused by the intervention of a new technology. One need not assume that the illiterate section was not in a position to respond favourably to the printed literature because of the change in the form and content that characterized it. Had there been a mode of tranmission of the printed texts to the masses there could have been the possibility of their acceptance by the people who had responded to texts of high thought-content and aesthetic value produced in the earlier centuries. It is the absence of education, of the opportunity to learn to read and write, that prevented the masses from being acquainted with the

printed literature. Secondly, the whole body of printed literature was not necessarily entirely new in thought-content. A 'popular literature' grew quickly; it catered to the taste of the reader who wanted to read exciting stories or interested only in trifling matters. The printers and publishers produced a large mass of material, without any literary merit, which had instant appeal to a pleasure-seeking readership. Most of that material vanished within a few years of popularity, only to be replaced by another set of works, equally inferior in quality but having the power of immediate attraction. In other words, the printed literature also had two kinds of readership. The real split, therefore, was not between the literate and the illiterate sections of the people, but within the literate section. It was caused mainly because of the introduction of English education, and the split was between the English educated section and the section educated either in Sanskrit or in Persian. There was also another section in between them, who had neither any classical education nor any training in English, but were educated only in an Indian language. Almost all of them were men, but a small percentage of women was also included in this group. They formed the main bulk of readership separating the English educated and the Sanskrit-Persian educated sections. The authors came from these two minor sections; some of them wrote for an exclusive group: i.e. those who could read Sanskrit, Persian, and English. The tradition of writing in Sanskrit or Persian continued with these writers and the tradition of Indo-English was initiated by them. The rest of the writers wrote in an Indian language, a language understood by a large number of people. For them it was a responsibility as well as an urge to create readership for a new literature. A long and enduring struggle between the two groups of authors, and sometimes, within the same group, continued for several decades. The issues were Sanskritization or de-Sanskritization of style, adherence to Indian classical forms or adaptation of European literary genres, rejection of the ancient poetics and acceptance of the European critical canons. Both the groups made various experiments and criticised one another and the new readership was born out of the struggle throughout the country.

The growth of readership in printed literature, unlike the 'readership' in literature belonging to the scribal period, depended on two major factors, namely the rate of growth in literacy and the growth of respectability of the modern Indian languages in social life. We have already stated that the modern Indian language occupied the lowest position in the linguistic hierarchy in Indian society. The Sanskritist considered the younger languages rustic and therefore, the literature produced in them not worthy of serious attention. The newly English educated section too shared the Sanskritist's contempt for Indian literatures. The nineteenth century Indian writer had a hard time to convince both the groups the social utility

as well as the artistic potentiality of the Indian languages and literatures; he had to struggle to win a place of honour for Indian languages in the face of a stiff opposition. This is the main reason why so many songs and poems were written in various languages in praise of the mother tongue, which slowly formed a part of the patriotic literature produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The pride in one's mother tongue became an essential ingredient for the development of the author-reader relationship. Many satirical writings directed against the anglicised class focused among other things its lack of respect for the mother tongue. The nineteenth century Indian author succeeded to a great extent in persuading the English educated as well as the Sanskrit-Persian educated sections to join the mainstream of readership in Indian literature.

The other factor, i.e. the spread of literacy, was even more important in the creation of a new readership. Of course, the traditional centres of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic learning produced a section of educated readership, but it goes to the credit of the schools of elementary education which made a substantial contribution to the formation of this readership. According to William Adam, there were at the time of his survey (his first report on Education in Bengal and Bihar was published in 1835) 100,000 elementary schools in 150,748 villages of Bengal and Bihar. On the basis of official reports Munro estimated in 1826 that there were 12,498 schools in the Madras Presidency serving a population of 12,850,941, and it was learnt that around 1830 there were 1,705 schools for a population of 4,681,735.[30] Without going into the details of the government attitude and programme for the spread of elementary education it can be mentioned that the vernacular education did spread in different parts of the country against all odds and it did receive strong support from one section of the Indian elite as well as from a few far-sighted British officials.

The production of text books—many of them went beyond the immediate pedagogical necessities—and the growth of reading habit were intricately related with the spread of vernacular education. The concerted efforts of various societies and associations, newspapers and journals, educationists and writers reflect the concern of the emerging Indian middle class for the improvement of the indigenous education by incorporating a new content in it. Many of our early writers, almost all the early prose writers, were educationists. They along with the journalists catered primarily to the need of the students in particular and the average reader in general. These writers and journalists realized for the first time in Indian literary history the importance of women readership. A considerable number of magazines exclusively meant for women, and books written mainly for women bear evidence of conscious attempts on the part of many authors in this century to reach the women reader.[31] The growth of the size of women readership made a tremendous influence on the production of literature itself. For the first time Indian authors

became conscious of the existence of a viable women readership and naturally wanted to accommodate its problems in literature. Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, who often addressed the 'gentle reader' during the course of narration following the practice of some of the British novelists of the eighteenth century, was one of the first writers to take cognizance of a female readership, whose patronage gave a great fillip to the growth of Indian fiction in particular.

While the changing readership in the nineteenth century exerted certain pressure on the authors demanding a particular type of literature, the authors, too, tried to regulate the taste and perceptions of the readership according to their social, religious and ideological affiliations. The authors in almost all the languages came from higher castes; the Brahmins and the Lingayats dominated in Karnataka, the Brahmins and the Pillais, the Mudaliyars and the Nayudus in Tamil-speaking areas, the Brahmins and the Banias in Gujarat, and so on There was hardly any change in the religious or social position of the authors. But the change was in their economic status. The authors in most of the areas were either teachers, lawyers or government servants; in other words, they belonged almost exclusively to the middle class. The leisured aristocracy, that still persisted in some of the native states, presented a sharp contrast with the rise of the middle class writers. As a profession, writing did not promise much financial stability or security. Therefore, very few writers dared earning livelihood simply by writing: those who did, suffered. Most of the writers kept their occupation and writing separate, and that gave them a rare freedom unknown to the writers of the previous centuries. It must be mentioned, however, that the writers in government service had to work under certain constraints and they found it difficult to reconcile their commitment to art with their loyalty to a foreign government. Because of this exclusive domination of the middle class that flourished within a colonial situation, the literature produced by that group was also primarily directed to a middle class readership forming a cohesive group not only in respect of its economic status, but more in respect of a set of shared value-system. It would be wrong to say that its sympathies were confined only within this group, because it did extend beyond the confines of the middle class. But it created a language and a literature that mainly was for the middle class and of the middle class. The history of the Indian literature of this period is the history of the development of this literature and its various configurations, its power and scope and also its limitations.

V PRO-PHANE AND META-PHANE

We are generally accustomed to notice the signs of change within one language-literature and follow its course diachronically, but when Indian literatures are taken together it is possible to notice them synchronically.

The process of change starts in one or two language-areas under certain social or political conditions. Other language-areas may not be affected either being not subjected to those conditions or being not responsive to those conditions at that particular time. But the languages showing signs of changes naturally diverge from the others offering a picture of uneven development. But at the next period, one may find that the process of change starts operating within another language which did not respond to it earlier. Now that language, or to be precise that literature, converges towards the drifting group. The process can be represented in a diagram.

First stage		ABCDE
Second stage	AB	CDE
Third stage	ABC	DE
Fourth stage	ABCDE	

In the first stage five literatures, A B C D E, form one close-knit group in terms of their formal and thematic features. There can be a time (let us call it the second stage) when certain signs of change begin to appear in the literatures, A and B, causing a rift in the close-knit group. This stage can be called *pro-phane* (early appearance). A and B, now, become separate from literatures C, D and E. But it is quite possible that after some time C begins to show the same kind of changes which made A and B different from the rest, and this state can be called *meta-phane* (late appearance). Once these changes are visible in C, it also drifts away from D and E, and moves closer to A and B which by now have formed a new cohesive group. If in the next stage, literatures D and E also follow the similar patterns of development they, too, will be closer to A, B and C. If signs of changes are not visible in one of these literatures,.say in E, then it will remain isolated from others.

These changes can be internal, i.e. changes caused by the innovative power of one or more than one individual poet or poets, or external, i.e. changes caused by certain extra-literary forces.

This is what happened in the history of Indian literature and the whole process can be described as a succession of *pro-phane* and *meta-phane* features. Certain signs of changes, mainly due to changes in the socio-political-economic conditions, appeared in some parts of the Bengali speaking area, which isolated the Bengali literature from all other literatures of India in the early years of the nineteenth century. But when similar changes began to occur in Marathi or Gujarati, then Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati formed a group, which appeared different from the rest of Indian literatures. But other languages soon came to be exposed to those forces which caused Bengali or Marathi or Gujarati to break with the earlier traditions; and they in their turn started responding to them and developed features which brought them closer to those literatures.

This is not something peculiar to this period, though certainly most conspicuous. Whenever there has been a literary movement across languages the *pro-phane* features made some of the languages separate from the rest. Only later did other languages also acquire those very features, and thus formed a well-knit literary complex. The Bhakti literature in India is a fine example. Something appears first in Tamil, then in Kannada and then in other languages. To understand a movement of such dimensions lasting for such a length of time it is necessary to make a distinction between the stages of the regrouping in terms of the 'early appearance' and the 'late appearance', or as I like to describe them, *pro-phane* and *meta-phane*.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, all the Indian literatures presented a more or less uniform pattern of development. But slowly with their exposure to English education and English literature, and with the changes in administration, the pattern started changing. The changes appeared first in one language-literature then in a few more, and finally, by the end of the century, almost all the language-literatures gravitated towards the new pattern. The factors that brought disruption within the literary map of India, let us repeat, are the intervention of the missionary activity making the Indians either defensive or critical of their religious traditions; the spread of English education, causing a split in literary taste and canons; the gradual disappearance of patronage and the earlier scribal-performer-audience relationship. All these factors were neither equally nor simultaneously present in all parts of India and therefore changes were also neither uniform nor simultaneous. Hence the necessity of recognizing the features of changes in synchronic order.

Once this is accepted as a workable hypothesis of the transition of Indian literature from pre-modern to modern, we will understand the nineteenth century Indian literature better and will appreciate the process of its transition from one realm of experience to another, instead of complaining about its uneven development.

1800–1835

CHAPTER 2

The Process of Transition

I CONTINUITY OF THE TRADITION

The themes and forms and conventions that dominated different Indian literatures throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries continued almost uninterrupted in most part of the country till the middle of the nineteenth, and in certain parts nearly till the end of the century. The older traditions were, of course, slowly losing their vitality and relevance in some linguistic areas, none the less they were still vigorous in most parts of India. The change in literary activities did come on account of several factors, but through a long and slow process. It would be wrong to expect a uniformity in the pattern of change throughout the country as each linguistic area had its own distinctiveness and each of them responded independently either to the past literary traditions or to the new. India being a vast geographical area with an infinite variety of religious sects and social manners had various types of literature. All of them shared certain features in respect of themes and forms in varying degrees, yet all of them maintained their uniqueness. Some of these features, both thematic and formal, were pan-Indian, definable in terms of a common mythology and history, poetic heritage and religious ideas, symbols and imagery; and some distinctly local or regional confined to one linguistic territory, and only occasionally transcending it. Almost all the literatures, whether Tamil or Manipuri, Telugu or Assamese, Kashmiri or Marathi, Oriya or Malayalam, combined in them the features of both the great and the little traditions.

But what makes India a unified literary area is the presence of certain common elements, which have come from different sources, and have grown through centuries. If one looks at various literatures produced in different parts of India in different languages in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, one would notice a strong presence of the themes of Sanskrit epics and puranas. Not only did the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, or of Krishna, Shiva, and Harish Chandra and Nala-Damayanti attract the imagination of the poets in different parts of the country, but certain ethical principles and a theocentric world-view governed the artistic creations. But it is not the Sanskritic and Hindu-Buddhist-Jain universe alone with its various configurations that sustained the literary traditions in the early nineteenth century. There was a strong Perso-Arabic component also along with a vigorous 'folk'

component, in some regions. The Perso-Arabic traditions found their most congenial expression in Urdu, but were not restricted to that language exclusively. Exciting romances and tragic tales came from the middle east and stirred the imagination of the Indian readers in general. The gorgeous epics and the beautiful mystic lyrics reached India through various channels and captivated the Indian mind. Some of these belonged to the Sufi tradition and some to the secular literature. But all of them, irrespective of their sources, became a part of Indian literary heritage. Persian literature, which continued to fascinate the finest minds of India tilll the end of the nineteenth century, was responsible for the growth of a new poetry in India, mostly secular in character. Not only were many poetic forms and stanzaic patterns borrowed by Indians from it and transplanted in different languages, but a new poetic world distinct from the Sanskritic one was established. By the end of the eighteenth century, all these alien forms and genres were completely naturalized; a *ghazal* or a *masnavi* became as much Indian as a *Khaṇḍa Kāvya* or a *Sandeśa Kāvya* was.

Along with these two main traditions, Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic, there were many other traditions confined and affiliated to the cultural life of different regions. The importance of those traditions can hardly be overstated; they deserve special attention if only because the uniqueness of different literatures emanating from them. In the history of Indian literature, which is by definition a complex of literatures, one can find neither a single tradition completely overpowering others, nor one tradition evenly operating in all languages. There are multiple traditions with numerous configurations. Some of these traditions rise like a wave in one language-area, and flow into another leaving its traces; some traditions meander like a river through many linguistic tracts unifying and connecting them; and yet some, like lakes, may not be comparable to the other traditions in their magnitude and sweep, but remarkable in power and vitality they remained confined to one geographical zone.

II THE SANSKRITIC COMPONENT

The *āṭṭakathas*, the texts for the Kathakali plays, which attained great heights in Kerala during the reign of Maharaja Kartika Tirunal of Travancore (1758–98), were still extremely prestigious and popular among the poets and they continued with full vigour for many more decades. Similarly, *tuḷḷal* (literally 'dance'), a form of dramatic performance that was perfected by the gifted poet Kunchan Nambiar who lived in the first part of the eighteenth century, continued to attract the notice of all the poets in Malayalam throughout the nineteenth century. Apart from these two genres, which are Kerala's own, *campu* and *dūta kāvya*, which are part of the pan-Indian Sanskritic tradition, remained as much a favourite

with the readers and the writers as they were in the preceding centuries. One notices the uninterrupted continuation of the *Śataka* (a century of verse) form in Telugu, which first appeared in that language-area in the thirteenth century with the *Sarveśvara Śataka* by Yathavakkala Annamayya. The well-known *Madana Gopāla Śatakam* was written around 1800 by Vankayalapati Venkata Kavi. Not only the *Śataka*, by far the most popular poetic form in Telugu for several centuries, but other forms of poetry, all inherited from the Sanskrit tradition, such as the *prabandha*, continued to be written in profusion. The situation in Kannada was not different either. The Bhakti poetry which had swept different parts of India did not vanish in the nineteenth century. Shyama Shastri (1762–1827), Muttuswami Diksitar (1776–1835) and Tyagaraja (1767–1847), the musical trinity of the South—all three born in the same village, Tiruvarur—kept the Bhakti poetry alive and added new charm and grace to it. Muttuswami wrote mostly in Sanskrit, occasionally in *maṇipravāla* (a mixture of Sanskrit with either Tamil or Telugu); Shyama Shastri familiar all over India for his Sanskrit composition *Janani naṭajana paripālini pāhi mām bhavāni*, wrote both in Telugu and in Sanskrit; and so did Tyagaraja.[1] Not only did these great composers and poets carry the spirit of Bhakti beyond the third decade of the nineteenth century but the Bhakti which first emerged in the songs of the Alwars and the Nayanars of Tamilnadu several centuries ago had its great finale in them. The tradition of Bhakti in Karnataka, however, was on the decline, no major poet comparable to Vijayadas, Gopaladas or Jagannatha Das—all lived till the mid-eighteenth century—emerged on the scene.

The earlier traditions went on unabated in Tamil literature. The established popular poetic genres such as *tutu* (equivalent to Sanskrit *dūta*) *ammanai*, *noṇṭi-nāṭakam* or *kummi* retained their popularity among the readers. The important works of this period such as the *Pappārattiyār Ammānai* (1804), *Navarāttiri Nāṭakam* (1806), *Carankapāni Noṇṭināṭakam* (1806), or the epics, *Irāja nāyakam* (1807), *Mukaiyatin Purāṇam* (1810), *Tirukkarāṇap Purāṇam* (1812), *Mukiyittin Purāṇam* (1816), *Tin Vilākkam* (1821) are an evidence of the vitality of the existing poetic genres. The Muslim poets of Tamilnadu, who had introduced themes from Islamic mythology and legends in the earlier centuries, continued to exploit their potentiality with considerable success. In 1821, to give an example, one finds the publication of an eighteenth century Muslim epic *Tin Vilākkam* by Vannakkalancyappular, dealing with the holy war that raged for ten days between the followers of the Prophet and the enemies. Apart from these works conspicuous by their volume and literary merit, the tradition of compositions singing the glories of gods, Shiva and Murugan in particular, continued to sway the audience as ever. One of the poets of this period, Anantaparati Aiyankar (1786–1846), for example, known for his impro-

mptu verses, composed many hymns in honour of the Shaiva shrines.

Both in Gujarat and in Maharashtra, the first few decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the continued dominance of the religious traditions and the poetic traditions associated with them which had their beginnings in the eighteenth century or even earlier. Dhiro (1753–1825?), the 'illiterate' poet of Gujarat justly famous for his *kafis* and *aval-vāṇī* (mystic riddles), Bapu Saheb Gaekwad (1779–1843), Ranchodji Diwan (1785–1841), and Giridhar (1787–1852) were representatives of the earlier traditions. The Bhakti poetry by now lost its earlier spontaneity and was replaced by more didactic and expository themes. The *kafis* of Dhiro, for example, explain the nature of *māyā* (illusion), *mana* (mind) and *tṛṣṇā* (avarice). His disciple Gaekwad, a Maharashtrian of Vadodara, wrote on *jñāna* (knowledge) and *Vairāgya* (renunciation) and in all these verses poetic spontaneity is dominated by a philosophical temper and metrical skill. Bhoja (1785–1850) made some innovation within the traditional *padas* by introducing a new element related to contemporary social life. These verses, known as *Cabkhā* (lashes), exposed the base instincts of man. His other works *Selaiya ākhyān* and *Kacaba-Kacabi-nun-Bhajan*, both narrative poems based on local legends, won contemporary acclaim but they conformed to the existing narrative techniques and patterns. Ranchodji Diwan, a versatile scholar and statesman, wrote in many languages, though known mainly for his renderings of the *Durgā Saptaśatī* from the Sanskrit, and the Gujarati *garbas*. Girdhar, too, wrote mostly on mythological themes: *Tulsī vivāha*, *Rājasūya Yajña*, *Aśvamedh*, *Kṛṣṇalīlā* are some of his works—but he is mostly honoured for his *Rāmāyaṇa*.

A strong influence of several religious sects is perceptible in Gujarati life and literature of this period, the most important of which was the Swami Narayana Sect, popularized by Sahajananda Swami (1781–1830). Like many medieval saints he challenged the Brahmanical order and preached the equality of man. His disciplined life and devotion to Krishna made a great impact upon the masses. The sect established by him, popularly known as the *Uddhava Sampraday*, kept the flame of the Bhakti movement burning in Gujarat for a long time. The simple and austere living style of the Sannyasis of this order, their concern for the working classes and their denunciation of the caste-hierarchy—all legacies of the Bhakti movement—made them and their works, which cannot be rated very high in terms of literary excellence, extremely respectable. The works written by some of the members of this order—Muktananda (1761–1830), Brahmananda (1772–1849), Premanand Swami (1779–1845), Nishukulananda (1776–1848) in particular—were exclusively on religious themes. The last great poet belonging to the medieval tradition in Gujarat, Dayaram (1776–1852), who was not a member of any religious sect, wrote *pada*, *ākhyān*, *carit kāvya* and *garba*, all established forms of the medieval period.

In the neighbouring area, Maharashtra, too, one finds the continuation of the features of the earlier centuries. The renowned poet Morapant (1729–94) who recreated the *Mahābhārata*, often described as the first great epical work in the Marathi language—died only four years before the beginning of the nineteenth century but left a host of imitators behind. The glories of the earlier literary traditions, like that of the Maratha power, were slowly declining but a vast quantity of literature, mostly uninspired and mediocre, was produced. Of course, there were exceptions. Ram Joshi (1762–1812), for example, once fond of *tāmāśās* noted for vulgar and obscene elements, dedicated himself to devotional poetry, and exploited the potentiality of the *lāvṇī*, at that time considered undignified, and made it an instrument of ethical teachings. "It is to the credit of Maharashtra that Ram Joshi", writes one critic, "tried his best to keep the purity and beauty of Marathi poetry amidst the vulgarising compositions of lower class poets that arose during the reign of Bajirav II. . . ."[2] Along with Joshi, mention must be made of Anant Phandi (b. 1774) who excelled in the traditional forms like *povāḍā* and *lāvṇī*, and particularly in a new form of poetry, *phaṭakā* (literally means "whip")—equivalent in some respect to the Gujarati *cabkhā*. He, too, like Ram Joshi, switched to more sophisticated forms of poetry and to devotional literature, at the instance of Ahalyabai, the queen of Indore

One must remember that both *povādā* and *lāvnī*, like *āṭṭakatha* and *tuḷḷal* of Malayalam literature, are unique to Marathi. The growth of *povādā*, narrative poems on historical themes and personalities, was intimately connected with the establishment of the Marathi empire. A group of bards, known as *Shahir* (derived from the Persian word *shair* for 'poet') composed these poems to celebrate the heroic deeds of the Marathi heroes and also of their misfortunes. In course of time both these forms changed and accommodated new themes of contemporary relevance.

Coming to the region where Hindi, and other closely related languages like Rajasthani and Maithili are spoken, one notices similar forces in operation. The eighteenth century Hindi literature, the period generally known by the name *rīti*, was a period of stylization and elaboration. Poets were more concerned with ornamentation and embellishment than imagination and exhibited great skill in manipulation of rhetorical devices. The *rīti* poetry, whatever be its achievements or limitations,[3] was an instance of the continuation of the tradition of Sanskrit poetics. Its domination was so overpowering and so complete that it continued to flourish in Hindi in the nineteenth century under the patronage of the feudal lords. Keay writes, "at the court of Panna and Charkhari in Bundelkhand, of Rewah in Baghelkhand, of Nagpur, Benaras, Ayodhya, and other principalities, poets and bards were still welcomed and encouraged. and several rulers themselves (were) poets."[4] Most of these poets receiving patronage

from landlords catered to their taste which was directed to eroticism, and the *rīti* poetry fulfilled their requirements scrupulously. There were, of course, poets not belonging to this tradition and not patronized by the landlords, and their writings were naturally different. The Hindi literature of the first few decades of the nineteenth century flowed in two streams, both dominated by Sanskritic traditions. Gurdia Pande wrote on poetic art (1803 ?), the common practice of the *rīti* poets, as did Keshava Das, the author of *Kavi Priyā*, or Beni Pravin Bajpeyi, a Brahmin from Lucknow. Padmakar Bhatt (1753–1833), one of the last of the *rīti* school, was in the court of Daulat Rao Scindia of Gwalior, translated *Hitopadeśa* from Sanskrit, and wrote didactic verse, collected under the title *Prabodh Pacās*. His *Jagadvinod* (1810), a work displaying his alliterative skill, was followed by a religious poem on the Ganga, *Gaṅgālaharī* (1830), probably inspired by *Yamunālaharī* (1824), a poem on the sacred river Yamuna written by his rival poet Gwal of Mathura (1861 ?). *Rasabhūṣaṇa* (1812) by Shivaprasad, *Navarasataraṅga* (1817) by Beni Pravina, both works on poetic art, and *Yamunālaharī* (1824) and *Rādhā mādhava milan* (1828) both by Gwal Kavi on the theme of Radhakrishna are representative specimens of the Hindi literature of this period.

The manuscripts available in the Rajasthani and Maithili languages of this period also indicate a strong presence of a Sanskritic religious poetic tradition. The trends in Rajasthani prior to 1800 were mainly *Cāran* or bardic poetry, and devotional writings by different religious sects, namely, Nath, Visnoi, Jasanathi, Niranjani, Dadu, Nimbarka etc., including the Jains. All these trends continued without any perceptible changes. Maharaja Mansingh (1782–1843) of Jodhpur, wrote extensively on the Nath system, but he wrote erotic verses as well, following the traditions of the court poetry. Kriparam Khidiya (1743–1833 ?), earned fame for his couplets on *nīti* (morals); and Udoji Ading, a member of the Visnoi sect, wrote a narrative poem, *Prahlād Carit*, taking a theme from the *Bhāgavata*. Moral and devotional poems, comparable to the Gujarati poems of that nature, and a fairly good number of works on rhetoric and metrics—a part of the *rīti* tradition—continued to flourish. The most important and the most prolific poet of Rajasthan, Bankidas (1771–1833) wrote several religious poems, including *Gaṅgālaharī* and *Moha mardana*, and also on poetics according to the conventions of the time. However, he also wrote a large number of works didactic in nature with great social concerns. These works dealing with various themes such as misery, sycophancy, cowardice, infidelity, prostitution, filial piety, degraded poets, wanton women, etc. are components of the larger framework of didactic and moral poems, coming down from Sanskrit, but they are also necessitated by the poet's concern for the contemporary social situation.

The growth of moral poems and also of poems with philosophical concerns noticed in Gujarati and to some extent in Rajasthani, is also seen in Maithili, a language spoken in north Bihar. According to a scholar of Maithili, there was a "radical change in the spirit of Maithili lyrics" from about the middle of the eighteenth century, and this change was reflected in the growth of what he calls "devotional and pseudo-philosophical subjects."[5] Traditional forms like *Viṣṇupada*, the *rasa*, and the *sohara*, dominated throughout the centuries. The case of Dogri, as evidenced by whatever precious little works of Shiv Ram (1755–1830), Raghber Dasa (?), Lokkhu (b. 1775 ?) and Hakam Jatta (b. 1807) have survived, is almost identical.[6] The age-old tradition of devotional poems along with a vigorous folk tradition continued to prevail in the Dogri-speaking areas.

Like Hindi, Oriya, too, had a period of ornate poetry in the eighteenth century—Upendra Bhanja (1670–1740) was its great figure—and traditions of that poetry along with other older forms and themes continued to dominate the literary life in Oriya-speaking areas. Kavisurya Baladev Ratha (1789–1845), a gifted musician and a fine Sanskrit scholar, wrote songs on the Radha-Krishna theme. His *Kiśora Candrānanda Caupadī Cautisā*,[7] a work memorable for its "exquisite miniature painting" and tender emotional quality, is part of a poetic tradition that originated in Orissa in the preceding centuries. His followers Abhimanyu Samanta (1757–1807) and Bhakta Charan Das (1729–1813) carried the legacies of the Vaishnava poetry as did Gopal Krishna Pattanayak (1862 ?), another saint-poet of Orissa. It should not be assumed that they were following an old tradition blindly. All these poets worked within a fixed framework, but all of them added certain new elements to it, thus enlarging the framework itself and readjusting its thematic components from time to time. Dasarathi Das has pointed out that Kavisurya wrote some of his works, *Ratnākar Campu*, for example, in imitation of the trends of the *rīti* school, but his *Kiśora Candrānanda Caupadī Cautisā* "brought a new experience and taste in the stale and stock sensibility"[8] of the *rīti* school through certain stylistic changes and power of imagination.

Neither Assamese literature nor Manipuri stands apart from the general pattern. The Ahom kings, known for their liberal patronage of literature, encouraged translations of Sanskrit texts into Assamese; the general trends of poetry did not show any perceptible change. The Sanskrit epics and the puranas, and Assamese texts produced in the preceding centuries, were the models for the new poets. In the neighbouring region of Manipur, which had come under the sway of Bengali Vaishnavism by the seventeenth century, had its own traditional tales and legends which made its literature distinctive. But the Sanskritic tradition was quite strong for several centuries and it remained so in the nineteenth. It is worth noting

that the first significant Manipuri work of the nineteenth century was a translation of one canto of the *Mahābhārata* from a Bengali version, around 1803. The forces of traditional poetry were quite powerful in Bengali literature till the first half of the nineteenth century. The poets who dominated the public taste for several decades were Nidhu Babu (1742–1839), who introduced *tappā* songs in Bengal; Ram Basu (1787–1829) and Dasharathi Ray (1806–1857). Ram Basu showed excellence in *Āgamanī* songs which describe the relationship between goddess Uma and her mother Menaka within intimate domestic situations. *Āgamanī* songs were not his innovations, he inherited them from the saint-poet Ramprasad Sen who lived in the mid-eighteenth century. Dasarathi wrote a type of narrative poems known as *pāchāli*; the themes of most of them were taken from mythology, though occasionally from contemporary social events also. Bharat Chandra Ray, the greatest Bengali poet of the eighteenth century, died in 1760, three years after the battle of Plassey. But his poetry, erotic though chiselled and urbane in diction and distantly related to the *rīti* school, haunted the Bengali readers at least for a century, and all poets till the emergence of Michael Madhusudan Datta were under his dazzling spell.

Tradition and the Writer

Before we proceed further with the survey of other languages a few comments may not be irrelevant. Even from this very sketchy account what emerges very clearly is the uninterrupted continuity of literary traditions. Whether that is beneficial for a literary community or not is a different question, but it certainly is an indication of the vitality of these traditions. It is not, as pointed out earlier, an indication of the absence of poetic genius challenging the scheme of things, but of the overpowering presence of a philosophy of life that prefers stability to change, and adherence to ordered principles to a world in constant flux. It is this philosophy of life which regulated its poetics, with a fixed number of emotions (*bhāvas*) and their aesthetic manifestations in the *rasa*, encouraged schematization and minute sub-divisions of rhetorical devices, and regulated the poetic activity. Poets, of course, exerted their freedom of choice in different periods of history, but either they did not or could not overcome the established canons. They preferred to work within a given framework, ideological or formal, religious or literary, and that kept the traditions moving almost without any disruption from within. Undoubtedly, it makes a literature repetitive and monotonous, but when viewed in its totality one finds that the major traditions had their various regional and periodic ramifications which make the whole literature opulent. Since most of the literatures to which we have referred flourished either under a religious umbrella or under the patronage of the leisured power elite,

poets had to operate within fixed areas and under constraints imposed upon them. In an 'illiterate' community of audience, where literature was transmitted orally, the professional singers and performers wanted to preserve a stable situation ensuring a predictable reception of texts. When there was hardly any change in the social, economic and intellectual life of the people any significant change in literary production or literary reception was unlikely.

Despite the smooth continuity of literary tradition, the texts within any given language were not reduced to mere repetition of another texts Each of them, which enjoyed some repute, had its distinctiveness, and every successive generation evaluated them according to its needs. This point may be elaborated with an example of the tradition of the epic narratives. In almost every language to which we have referred so far, the Sanskrit epics have been translated or transcreated several times by different poets. Each of these transcreations is an experiment with an ancient plot. The poets were free to mould the story, to add new episodes and new ideas as well as to reject whatever they thought unnecessary. But generally only one text, out of many, survived the ravages of time and fluctuations in taste. Had these texts been mere repetition of one another the question of choice would have been irrelevant. More often than not, these texts are as different from one another as the *Electra* of Sophocles is different from the *Electra* of Euripides. The continuity of tradition was welcomed by the Indian reader but not at the cost of the poet's right to experiment.

Secondly, while all the Indian literatures were under the impact of Sanskritic tradition, the manifestation of which had a more or less common pattern, the impact differed from language to language in respect of intensity. The differences can be explained by the relative strength of the regional or other classical traditions existing in different areas. It is difficult to talk about the folk traditions in the absence of precise data but certain conjectures can be made on the evidence of written texts themselves which reflect tensions between the Sanskritic and the folk, or the great and the little traditions. Two tendencies are clearly visible. One shows an upward movement of the folk to the elite, which can be called *Sanskritization*, the other shows a downward movement of the elite to the folk, which can be called *de-Sanskritization* or *Prakritization*. The elite or the sophisticated stream of literature had always borrowed themes and forms from the non-elite or folk literature and grafted them on to its fold. The non-elite or the folk literature, too, had accepted certain things from the elite literature. The spate of translation, adaptation, transcreation of Sanskrit literature into various languages was necessitated by a conscious attempt of *Prakritization*. Various narrative poems in different languages—the Bengali *Maṅgal kāvyas*, the Tamil *Tala purāṇa*, the Oriya *Māhātmya*—aspired after the Sanskrit puranas, though much of their thematic material and

their narrative patterns were unmistakably of folk origin. The process of *de-Sanskritization* or *Prakritization* is evident in the adaptation of the Sanskrit epics and puranas. These two processes continued through several centuries and determined the special characters of each literature. These processes became more complex where the regional traditions, folk or elite, were strong and powerful. Tamil is one such literature, which had a heritage of its own distinct from Sanskrit and also a vigorous folk tradition. In course of time Tamil literature also inherited the Sanskritic tradition and the later literature in it was a product of the interactions of all the three traditions.

Finally, one must concede that all these literatures shared till the first few decades of the nineteenth century some features which were essentially medieval. The term medieval, however, is not to be understood in the sense it is used in European history, and certainly not as a pejorative one. It is only to distinguish a world-view as distinct from what emerged later as a result of India's exposure to Western thought. The Indian medieval period is generally demarcated by the changes in the political fortunes of the rulers of the country, beginning with the decline of the Hindu power and the advent of the Muslims, and ending with the fall of the Mughals and the rise of the British. This may work as convenient points of periodization in a political history but is unsatisfactory in a literary history. The medieval period of Indian literature began at a time when the modern Indian languages emerged as literary speech, and ended when changes in the modes of literary transmission and in the character of the readership took place. It is true that the signs of such changes appeared clearly in the beginning of the nineteenth century, although it took the whole century to bring about those changes in all the languages. We will talk about those changes later, but on the basis of the survey, the literatures were yet to show signs indicating any difference from their earlier phases. But our survey is yet incomplete. Only when we look at the situation in its totality will we be in a better position to identify the signs of change.

III THE PERSO-ARABIC COMPONENT

The two major components of Indian literature are Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic. These two terms should not be confused with Hindu and Islamic components respectively[9] but are to be understood as material associated with or preserved primarily in Sanskrit or in Persian. The Sanskritic component is not necessarily Hindu; it includes matter from the Buddhist and Jain traditions as well, and the languages involved are Sanskrit, Pali and several Prakrits. And though primarily the matter formed a part of ancient India, it continued to increase in mass and density in later periods as well. Similarly, the Perso-Arabic component is not to be identified

with Islam. The legends and tales that reached India through Arabic and Persian were not necessarily reflections of sectarian attitudes, many of them were of pre-Islamic origin, some, such as the stories of *Tutināmā*, were of Indian origin. Epics like *Shāhnāmā* and *Iskandarnāmā* have hardly anything to do with Islam. *Shāhnāmā* is the entire history of Persia from the creation of man down to the fall of Sasanian empire, *Iskandernāmā* of Nizami is a treatment of the legend of Alexander the Great and his quest for the Fountain of life.[10] And the beautiful lyrics of Rumi, Sadi, Omar Khyyam or Hafiz defy all religious labels.

It needs to be emphasized that the Perso-Arabic element was never considered an exclusive property of the Muslims in India, or a conspicuous feature of Urdu poetry only, it was used with power and feeling by many non-Muslims and it penetrated many languages other than Urdu. Take the example of Kashmiri. Persian dominated the linguistic scene of Kashmir from the beginning of the Mughal rule (1586) there and continued to do so till the second half of the nineteenth century. There was a prolific growth of Kashmiri literature in the nineteenth century, but literary men tended to take their models from Persian. This took a form of movement initiated by Mahmud Gauri (1765–1855). T. N. Kaul writes:

> Several literary art forms were borrowed and put to use. The main such genres were ghazal and masnavi. There was a spate of translations and adaptations from Persian originals. Kashmiri poets owned Persian themes of legends, *dāstān* (prose-tales), and history, such as Yusuf Zulaikha, Shirin Farhad, Sohrab and Rustam, and Laila Majnun. The era of masnavis in Kashmiri had dawned. Most of the Kashmiri masnavis are *Bazmiā* (love romances). There are some *Razmiā* (combat) masnavis and a few *Hazliā* (comic-satirical) masnavis also.[11]

The Sanskritic tradition, however, was not completely subdued. Paramanand (b. 1794), who started with Persian, according to the convention of the day, switched to Kashmiri later, and kept the tradition of the *bhajans* and *līlā* alive. The *līlā* poems found their best moments in the hands of Prakash Ram (b. 1819). Kashmiri literature, then, combined both Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic within its fold. *Masnavis* and *ghazals*, *nazm* and *nāṭs*, *līlā* poems (dealing with Hindu mysticism) and *Sufiānā kalām* (sufi mystic poems) existed and flourished side by side. One would also find that the older forms, like *Vozhun* (a long poem of four-line stanzas, the last line of all the stanzas being common) were not completely discarded. In Sindh the linguistic situation was as complex as in most parts of the country, and partly because of this complexity and dominance of Persian, Sindhi literature combined the Perso-Arabic component with the Sanskritic almost naturally. Dr. M. Jotwani describes the linguistic situation in the following words:

> In their day-to-day life, people used standard *Vicholi* (language of Vich, the Central Sindh) along other five prominent dialects, viz., *Lari* (of Lar, Southern

Sindh), *Siraiki* (of Siro, the upper Sindh), *Kacchi* (of Kachh, now in Gujarat), *Thareli* (of Thar and Jaisalmer in the east) and *Lasi* (of Las Bela in Western Sindh). The people associated with the court and its affairs, knew Persian. Some devout Hindus studied Sanskrit. and devout Muslims learnt Arabic. Some of the Hindus and Muslims were conversant with Hindi also. . . . As was inherent in the situation, the participants in the Sindhi literary activities were the masses; the ruling urban elite, the hakims and the maulavi were preoccupied with *Sharah* and the works dealing with it. [12]

Some of the major poets of this period, including Abdul Wahab, better known as Sachal Sarmast (1739–1829), wrote both in Persian and in one of the varieties of Sindhi, and also occasionally in Hindi and Urdu. Rohal (1734–1804), Hamal Laghari (1815–1879), Dalpatram Sufi (? – 1841) all were bilingual poets and all worked within an atmosphere where the Sanskritic and the Perso-Arabic trends met and interacted. Rohal, a Vedantic, left behind him a school of poets who kept the stream of Vedantic poetry flowing, but all of them—and Darya Khan (1775–1850), the youngest son of Rohal, in particular—wrote about the spiritual unity of man, using both Hindu and Islamic themes. "His Sindhi verses", writes Ajwani, "are redolent [with] the fragrance of Hindi verse as well as of Islamic scriptural allusions."[13] In fact, the poetry of both the Sufis and the Vedantists—a distinction often made by the Sindhi scholars—is not only a product of a multilingual situation, but also of a multi-religious society. Sachal Sarmast, a contemporary of Tyagaraja of South India, was also a soul kindred to him in respect of his passionate devotion and emotional outburst. He too, one of the last representatives of the Bhakti tradition, particularly the one represented by Kabir, stands out as one of the distinguished makers of Indian religious poetry. Jotwani points out that "contrary to the tenets of Islam, the Muslim Sufi and the Vedantist poets produced the kind of poetry which throbbed with monism and pantheism."[14]

The Uniqueness of the Punjabi Situation

Literature flourished in the Punjab, where the multilingual situation was even more complex, in a slightly different pattern. The court language of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was not Punjabi, but Persian, and there was a practice among the Punjabi Sikh scholars to write in Braj (which had become a prestigious literary dialect all over north India) but in the Gurmukhi script. This practice started with Bhai Gurdas and Guru Arjan Dev, and ultimately it was transformed, in the words of Professor Attar Singh, "into the mainstream of Sikh literary and intellectual tradition."[15] The interesting point in this observation is that the Sikh literary tradition was not confined to Punjabi alone. "The gigantic proportions of this rare repository of Hindi writing in Gurmukhi script", observes the same writer, "remained till recently locked up in its singular uniqueness."[16]

Although Punjabi was the mother-tongue of the majority of people in Punjab, which includes Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, it was not the only language used by them for their intellectual and emotional activities, but also Persian, Urdu and Hindi (or, to be precise, the literary dialect Braj). The notable works produced by the Sikh scholars, such as the poetic narrative *Srī Gurū Nānak Prakāś* (1823) and *Srī Gurū Partāp Suraj* (started around 1834) by Bhai Santokh Singh (1788–1843); or *Pracīn Panth Prakāś* (1807) by Rattan Singh Bhangre (d. 1846), written at the behest of the officials of the East India Company in Ludhiana, are not written in Punjabi but in Braj.

On the other hand, there was a remarkable afflorescence of *Kissā* (Qissā) literature in Punjabi in the nineteenth century and almost all the powerful writers of this genre were Muslims. Hashim Shah (1753–1822), Ahmad Yar (1768–1848), Kadar Yar (1802–1892), Shah Muhammad (1784–1862) Imam Bakhsh and Ghulum Rasul (1813–1874) were some of the poets to take up the *Kissa* form (already perfected as a literary genre by Warish Shah and Damodar in the eighteenth century), and created a large body of *Kissā*-poetry comprising materials of indigenous origin (e.g. Puran Bhagat, Raja Rasalu, Sohni Mohiwal), of Sanskritic origin (e.g. Gopi Chand, Nala Damayanti, Chander Badan), and of Perso-Arabic origin (e.g. Yusuf-Zulaikha, Laila-Majnun, Saiful-Maluk, Shirin- Farhad).[17]

We will talk more about the Punjabi situation later, but what emerges clearly is the beginning of a change within the literary tradition of Punjabi, a shift from Hindi to Punjabi and consequently from a religious tradition to a more secular one. The religious tradition, identified with Sikhism, made Braj its main vehicle for several centuries. Professor Attar Singh observes:

> Even during the Sikh regime in Punjab (1799–1849), the Sikh literary experience broadly confined to theology, metaphysics, exegesis, hagiography, historiography etc. found Braj Bhasha a more congenial literary medium. But for some exception here or there which proves the rule, the Sikh authors showed practically no interest in composing their verse in Punjabi or adopting secular themes and concerns for their literary pursuits.[18]

But a new awareness of the role of Punjabi can be seen from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it was intensified after the fall of Sikh empire, and more with the growth of reform movements within the Sikh community. The result was a slow transformation of a Sanskritic-Persian literary tradition into a "Sikh-Punjabi" tradition, and this has been described by many scholars[19] as "the most important literary historical phenomena of the Punjabi literature during the nineteenth century." The phenomenon, however, is not exclusive to Punjabi, it is related to a new awareness of the uniqueness of each literature and attachment to a particular language, that emerged in different parts of the country. The

awareness of the importance of and the special attachment to a language had their different manifestations.

The Urdu Literary Scene

Now we come to Urdu, which represents in some way the most interesting case. Since the mid-eighteenth century most of the languages were passing through a comparatively lean period, occasionally illuminated by the presence of a few remarkable poets, but Urdu had a glorious period throughout. Among the four major poets of the eighteenth century, Mazhar (1699–1781), Sauda (1713–1780), Dard (1719–1785), and Mir Taqi Mir (1724–1810), only Mir lived through the first decade of the nineteenth century. Several other poets of merit, such as Musafi (1750–1824) or Insha Allah Khan (d. 1817) who lived and died in the nineteenth century did not initiate a new trend—Insha Allah's attempt at writing 'thet Hindi' notwithstanding—but belonged to the main tradition of Urdu literature. The main condition—the patronage of aristocracy—under which Urdu literature flourished in the eighteenth century was seriously threatened in the nineteenth. Shah Alam II, the son and successor of Alamgir II, had to move from place to place, and after General Lake's triumphant entry in Delhi in September 1803, the old emperor, so long under the protection of Scindia had to seek the protection of the British. He lived as their pensioner till his death in 1806. His son, Akbar II, lived with the title of Emperor till 1837 and the Mughal dynasty continued with the mercy of the British for two decades more till 1857. What is normally known as the Delhi School of Urdu Poetry flourished at a time, marked by the disintegration of the Muslim aristocracy. Since the time of Shah Alam, deposed and blinded in 1754 by his minister, many poets started leaving Delhi and moved to Faizabad, then the capital of Oudh, which was later shifted to Lucknow. The first few decades of the nineteenth century was dominated by the Lucknow school.

According to critics, while the Delhi School was more natural and fluent, the Lucknow school was rhetorical and artificial. "The poetry of Lucknow", writes R. B. Saksena, "reflects the civilization and life of the era of which it sprang. The ghazals of the age of Nasikh and his pupils mirror the effiminacy of the time."[20] Sadiq observes that the poetry of the Delhi School "is pathetic because it is born of disappointment" and the Lucknow School is "too sophisticated and cultured to believe in feelings."[21]

The major poets of the Lucknow school were Shaikh Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi (1750–1824), who migrated from Delhi to Lucknow, Insha Allah Khan (1756–1817 ?), who came from distant Murshidabad; Shaikh Qalandar Bakhsh Jurat (d. 1810), an intimate friend of Insha Allah; Shaikh Imam Baksh Nasik (d. 1838); Haider Ali Atish (d. 1846); Babar Ali Anis

(1802–74) and Salamat Ali Dabir (1803–75). Among these poets Musafi, who was known for both simplicity and fluency, was not much affected by the changing fashions in the court, and when Insha Allah Khan, a brilliant and clever man, joined the court, Musafi fell on evil days. Insha Allah too, enjoyed glamour and honour for a brief period, only to be disgraced later. The lives of these two poets represent one important feature of Urdu literature, a constant tension between naturalness and artificiality. In fact, scholars have pointed out that every period of Urdu had pairs of poets—Mir and Sauda, Musafi and Insha, Atish and Nasikh, Ghalib and Zauq, Dag and Amir—the former more natural and the latter more artificial.

Urdu literature of this period, conspicuous for its obsessions with a fixed set of poetic conventions and also for its sophistication and urbanity, stands apart from the rest of the Indian literature. But it bears resemblance to some extent with the features of *rīti* poetry, which, too, was preoccupied with the display of verbal skill and cleverness. In respect of urbanity and refinement, ornamentation and chiselled features Urdu can be easily compared with the Sanskrit court poetry. The other point that emerges from the lives of many Urdu poets, including two rivals, Musafi and Insha, is the role of aristocratic patronage in determining the personal fortunes of the poets and more significantly in regulating the nature of poetry itself. It is not a feature of this period alone but of the earlier periods as well. Sauda and Mir also bring out this feature very clearly. Sauda, a "thorough man of the world" as T. G. Bailey[22] puts it, loved grandeur and revelled in public, wrote *qasīdas* (panegyrics) praising his patrons; Mir, a disappointed lover, too proud and touchy to write panegyrics, lived in constant poverty, wrote in a natural style intimate poems distinguished by pathos and emotional turbulence. Sauda excelled in odes and satires; Mir in lyrics, the kind of lyrics that put the poet-in-person at the centre of poetry. No other literature in India was so intimately connected with aristocracy and none responded to the demands of a leisured class so whole-heartedly.

Jurat, a friend of Insha, for example, a poet who could be serious and profound at moments, appears most of the time light and playful and coaxing his patrons. His contemporary Sa'adat Yar Rangin (1756–1834), a stylist without much poetic feeling, wrote several masnavis and at least three works of prose, including *Imtihān-e-Rangur* (1820). But what made him popular to his patrons were his *Rekhtī*, the themes of which embrace the life of courtesans. The diction used in them is that of women, particularly of the lower order of society, and the spirit of these poems is that of uninhibited levity and sensuality. Rangin's follower, Mir Yar Ali Khan (1818–1897 ?), known as Jan Sahib, used to dress like women and read his poems with intonation and gestures peculiar to them. Urdu poetry, at

least this sensual strand, was meant for men only, as perhaps was the case of a part of erotic literature in Sanskrit.[23] Nasikh, whose fortune fluctuated with the change of his patrons, played a very important role in formulating rules of style and grammar, modelling Urdu still more on Persian. He made the poetic language rigid and sophisticated, widening its distance from the language of the people. Verbal grandeur, overelaboration and exaggeration took priority over feeling and simplicity and directness. His contemporary Atish, Khawja Haider Ali (d. 1846), who did not have any formal education, never cared for patronage and wealth. He lived humbly like a faqir, although he received a salary from the King of Oudh, and followed a different tradition of poetry, free from sensuality and pedantry, and wrote in a language nearer to the speech of the people without being undignified. The Lucknow auidence, we are told, was divided in its allegiance between Nasik and Atish. Indeed, Urdu poetry itself was divided, as it were, into two distinct streams, one representing the libidinousness and the artfulness of the court poetry and the other bearing the stamp of sincerity and spontaneity. Both the streams, however, flowed within very rigorous conventions.

The sophisticated, the ornate and the chiselled body of Urdu poetry was looking for a break-through, as all other literatures of that time did, whether it was Marathi or Malayalam, Gujarati or Bengali. The traditional literature, however colourful and gorgeous it might have appeared, was showing signs of sterility from within.

IV INNOVATIONS FROM WITHIN

Contrary to the general belief that changes in Indian literary activity were brought about only by the English education several Indian literatures were beginning to show tendencies of deviation from the established conventions. These tendencies, howsoever limited, are of great significance in understanding the process of change. Wali Muhammad Nazir (1740–1830),[24] one of the most striking figures of Urdu literature, provides an example of internal change, that is change without any intervention of the English language

Not being a courtier—he was a school master by profession—Nazir was completely free from the influence of the courts, and acquired a great measure of freedom. Unlike other poets of that time he wrote about everyday life, about natural phenomenon, about birds and animals, kite-flying and swimming, bear-fights and monkey shows, festivals, of both the Muslims and the Hindus, and about the changing seasons. He was certainly the first poet of this century to "turn to the underdogs" as Schimmel[25] observes, and broke the artificial boundaries between the 'poetic' and 'non-poetic' materials. Life for him had varied and infinite possibilities,

always charming, always exhilarating. His sympathies were wide, his views catholic, his attitude humane, and his language and diction simple, racy and uninhibited. It is no wonder that scholars find him "the most unaccountable figure in the poetry of his age."[26]

A recent study[27] has pointed out that Nazir realised the social stratification—the elite on the one hand who lived a closed life, glamorous but devoid of the open space and its revelries and the toiling masses on the other, whose folk songs and tales had greater vitality and abandon. Prof. Hasan places Nazir in the same tradition to which Kabir belonged, with the difference that Nazir preached no religion. He rejected social stratification not out of any political or social conviction; it was his unbounded love for life in all its manifestation that brought him nearer to the ordinary man. He would sing about Holi and the Id with equal fervour, and his faith in Islam did not prevent him from writing on the Hindu gods, Baldev and Krishna, or on Guru Nanak. Saksena calls him an "Indian poet", Indian in "his thought, speech, language and themes." Nazir wrote ghazals too according to the custom of the day, but was quick to discover his own form of poetic expression suitable to his theme and world-view. He excelled in the use of *musaddas*, and was one of the pioneers of the form *nazm*, which gained popularity in the later decades of the nineteenth century. In his diction also he employed a wide ranging vocabulary. S. W. Fallon, whose views are quoted by Sadiq approvingly, observes,

> he has presented Hindi words in all the felicitious combinations of which they were capable; and with the bold self-confidence of genius, he has dared to use words in new combinations and senses which are always happy.[28]

Nazir's poetry, then, shows unmistakably the signs of a break-through in terms of both diction and theme and more significantly in respect of poetic ideals. It is true that the contemporary opinion about him was not very favourable. One of the finest critics, Nawab Mustafa Khan Shefta, was even reluctant to count him among poets.[29] But later history vindicated him and appreciated his role in bringing about a change in poetry from a world of artificiality and decadence to a world real and relevant. Nazir could not make an impact on the existing tradition or change its course because he lacked the support of a powerful group which determined the literary taste.

Ishvar Chandra Gupta (1811–59), a Bengali poet of little formal education, not to speak of English education, started a weekly paper around the time Nazir died. He did not have Nazir's virtuosity, but shared his sprightliness, discovered a new world of poetry by simply looking around society. His sense of realism and his quick response to the changing world around him made the creator of a new, not necessarily great, poetry different from the tradition-bound Bengali poets. He wrote about the

festivals and fruits and animals and all kinds of themes, which were considered trivial and common-place, according to the poetic canons of the day. A little later, Dalpatram (1820–1898), the talented Gujarati poet, who too did not have any English education, changed the face of Gujarati poetry, by introducing themes from contemporary social life. It is not only the pressure of a changing society that obliged the poets to look for new themes and correspondingly suitable forms, but also the inner compulsions of the poets to come out of the rigidities imposed upon them by older traditions, which the poets considered irrelevant. Bankidas Asiya (1781–1833), who was a court poet of Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur and who in all respects belonged to the age-old traditions of Rajasthani poetry, made a silent departure from the existing patterns through his acute social awareness. He strikes a new note in Indian poetry, even when his poetic form is traditional.

These are undoubtedly isolated events, without any immediate impact on the contemporary poets. They are evidence of change none the less. The process of change in literary history is often initiated by talented individuals, but more often than not changes are necessitated by factors beyond the control of the individuals.

CHAPTER 3

The Emergence of the Other Harmony

I INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS OF INDIAN PROSE

The most important literary event in the nineteenth century was the emergence of literary prose in all the modern Indian languages. It is not that prose was an invention of this period. Both Sanskrit and Persian had a vast body of prose. Persian prose in the main treated "serious and learned topics"; the purpose of the authors was "to inform and to uplift rather than to amuse", despite the fact that the fanatastic adventure of the *Arabian Nights* cycle gave scope to the creative imagination.[1] Sanskrit which developed a simple and dignified prose-style from the time of the composition of the Upanisads, several centuries before Christ, employed prose in various spheres of intellectual and imaginative activities. Following the same tradition, Pali and a few Prakrit languages also developed a rich and vast body of tales and romances.

Because of the existing hierarchy in the language situation, to which references have been made earlier, modern Indian languages were not employed either in administration or in higher education, and as a result a necessity for prose in these languages was hardly felt. None the less several languages had a tradition of prose writing though it was limited to well defined functions. Assam, for example, had a long and continuous tradition of prose writing. The Ahoms brought the tradition of recording from their homeland Burma, where chronicles known as *Azawins* were maintained with great care and precision. During the Ahom rule (1228–1826) in Assam, chronicles both in Tai-Ahom and Assamese were written. These were called *Buranjis*. "In no department," Grierson wrote about Assamese literature, "have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India, as a rule, is curiously deficient."[2]

Buranji, a Tai-Ahom word, means 'a store house of knowledge'; its nearest English equivalent is 'chronicle'.[3] The following extract outlines the basic features of the *Buranjis*:

> The *Buranjis* were compiled under royal edicts and under the decrees of the high dignitaries of the state, for they alone could grant access to state documents on which the chronicles had invariably to be based. These documents were principally the periodic reports transmitted to the court by military commanders and frontier governors, diplomatic epistles sent to and received from foreign rules and allies,

judicial and revenue papers submitted to the kings and ministers for final orders, and the day-to-day annals of the court which incorporated all the transactions done, important utterances made, and significant occurrences reported by reliable eye-witness. . .

The *Buranjis* were at first written in Ahom, the language of the rulers. Later, however, they came to be compiled in the Assamese language. The *Buranjis* constitute an unprecedented and glorious chapter in the Assamese language. . .

The compilation of a *Buranji* was a sacred task, and, therefore, it was customary to begin it with a salutation to the deity. The chronicles were prepared generally by men who had a comprehensive knowledge about state affairs, and we have several *Buranjis* whose authors were high government officials. Hence the language of these chronicles is dignified and graceful. As they were factual records, they have been put in a language which is ordinarily free from sentimental rhetoric. They are simple, easy, unpretentious and unquestionably charming. . . .[4]

Although the dates of composition of all the *Burañjīs* are yet to be precisely determined, it is of little doubt that these compositions started as early as the late sixteenth century and continued till the early nineteenth.[5] Dr. Barua has pointed out the felicity with which the writers of the *Burañjīs* have used the local idioms and employed simple sentences and based their style on the eastern dialect of Assam—the *ujaniya* dialect—which was the standard dialect of Assam. The growth of a prose literature in Assamese was possible because of its status as the language of the state affairs and the royal court.

Marathi prose too developed partly under similar conditions. Hemadri's *Lekhan Kalpataru* and the *Līla Caritra* (c. 1286), a collection of the sayings of Chakradhara, a thirteenth-century saint who founded the *Mahanubhava* sect, are the earliest Marathi prose works. But the tradition was not continuous. Like the Assamese *Burañjīs*, Marathi had a chronicle-like forms, known as *Bakhar*, probably an inversion of the Persian *Khabar*, meaning 'news' or 'information'. *Bakhars* are records of historical events. Although the *Bakhar* tradition has been traced back to the sixteenth century, it really became conspicuous as a form in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. There were *Bakhars* dealing with the lives of historical personages as Shivaji and Swami Ramdas, or with historical events and important families. There were also autobiographical *Bakhars*. Most of these *Bakhars*, excepting a very few, were written during 1760 and 1850. The style shows traces of Perso-Arabic influence, though at a later stage the Sanskritic element becomes dominant. As works of history they are of limited value but as specimens of prose they are quite valuable. To quote Kulkarni, "although written primarily as records and chronicles the *Bakhars* evolve unconsciously into creative works. . . . It is in the *Bakhars* that we find the beginnings of that nostalgia which often manifests itself in literature as a glorification of the Marathi way of life."[6]

Prose existed in other languages too. But few had a continuous and

rich tradition like that of *Burañjī* or *Bakhar*. Tamil, had a sporadic tradition: the most significant prose work before the nineteenth century was a diary, *Tiṇappaṭi cēṭi Kuṟippu* by Anandaranga Pillai (1709–61) written around 1736, which Zvelebil[7] describes as "a spontaneous piece of writing in colloquial prose."

While Assamese and Marathi had the distinction of having a special kind of prose, most of the Indian languages, with the exception of Kashmiri and Sindhi,[8] had also traditions of prose writings, some quite strong and viable, some sporadic and purely functional. Inscriptional prose was available in Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Oriya. The chronicle prose, like that of *Burañjī* and *Bakhars*, was available in Oriya. The *Madalapañjī* records of the Jagannath temple at Puri are traditionally claimed to belong to the twelfth century, though many scholars assign them to the sixteenth. In Manipuri too the royal chronicle, the *Cheitharol Kumbaba*,[9] for example, is written in crisp and lucid prose. Different religious groups, the Jains in particular, experimented with prose.

The oldest specimens of Gujarati prose are found in the fourteenth century texts written by Jain scholars: *Pratikraman Bālāvabodh* and *Mugdhāvbodh*. This tradition continued in Jain writings till the eighteenth century. One finds another religious group, the Swami Narayan Sect, carrying on the traditions of prose writing in the early nineteenth century. Kannada prose works like *Vaḍḍārādhane* (tenth century), a collection of stories, or *Trisaṣṭhi-lakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa* (c. 978), a religious work, were written by the Jains. Two major forces, one the necessity of the royal court, and the other the initiative of the religious groups to preserve the biographical details of the saints and to expound their theological tenets, were primarily responsible for the growth of prose in pre-British India in the modern Indian languages. The *Janam-Sākhī*, *Bāṇī*, *Bacan*, *Hukumnāmā*, in Punjabi are directly related to religious activities like the *Vārtā* literature in Braj which contains biographical sketches of the saints belonging to the Vallabha sect. Some of the early specimens of Bengali prose, too, are to be found in the seventeenth century texts written by the Sahajiyas, a religious sect. The other type of prose that has been found in abundance in Bengali is epistolary and legal. Prose was also used in commentaries: Nakkirar's commentary on the Tamil work *Kalaviyal* by Iraiyar is claimed to be composed as early as in the second century AD which was probably given the final shape in the tenth century by Nilakantanar. Various other commentaries and treatises were written, from time to time, not only in Tamil but also in other languages. Jagannath Das's *Tuḷābiṇā*, a sixteenth century text, is a full-length treatise in Oriya prose on the doctrines of Orissa Vaishnavism. Prose was also employed in creative works, the finest examples come from the *Vacana* works of the poets of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. *Gorakṣā Yogaśāstra*, a work in Nepali prose, written

around 1820, clearly shows the existence of prose and its use in Nepali literature, which is indeed found in inscriptions as well as in other forms such as biography and technical treatises.[10]

II INDIAN PROSE AND THE ROLE OF THE FOREIGNERS

There is ample evidence to show that prose in Indian literature is not of recent origin, nor is it a creation of Christian missionaries and foreign officials as claimed by some scholars. One would, however, agree with Professor Nagendra's comment in respect of Hindi which is applicable to most of the languages in India: "Although the myth that Hindi prose is of recent origin has been exploded by now, the fact remains that it compares most unfavourably with Hindi poetry in both quantity and quality."[11] One must concede that prose had a very limited sphere of application and was hardly used, with a few exceptions, in literary works. Indian writers in the nineteenth century discovered, as it were, the potentiality and the possibilities of prose as an effective instrument of communication, both literary and non-literary. And in this discovery the initial impulses came from the foreigners, Christian missionaries and the officials of the East India Company.

The motivations of these foreign agencies were totally utilitarian: the Christian missionary interest was the spread of the Word and the doctrines of Christianity; the interest of the East India Company was to assure administrative efficiency. The College of Fort William was established by Lord Wellesley to impart general education to the young British civil servants.[12] Although he drew up an elaborate syllabus that included law and jurisprudence, history, geography, political economy, chemistry, botany and European classical languages, along with Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and several Indian languages, the college had to limit its scope and concentrated mainly on the teaching of Indian languages and Arabic and Persian. This was the first academic institution in India where both British and Indian scholars worked together. It gave a new direction to the civil service, initiated philological researches in various Indian languages, and started experiment with prose writing in Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and Marathi. This college continued till 1854, but for all practical purposes it ceased to be a centre of learning by the middle of 1830.

During the first thirty years of its existence, however, it attracted several Indian scholars—Ramram Basu (1757–1813) and Mrityunjay Vidyalankar (1762–1819), Lalluji Lal (1747–1824 ?) and Sadal Mishra, Mir Amman, Vidyanath, Mohan Prasad Thakur and others. Even the great Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar served the college towards the fag end of its existence. These scholars made significant contribution to the making of a new prose in their respective languages. J. B. Gilchrist, Professor of Hindustani

(i.e. Urdu), and William Carey, Professor of Sanskrit and Bengali and Marathi, in particular, compiled dictionaries, wrote grammars, prepared and helped prepare text books. The college also patronized many scholars and creative writers. Its sphere of influence was very limited and its publications were hardly popular; never the less, it acted as a centre of Indian linguistic and literary scholarship.

The Christian missionaries started taking interest in the modern Indian languages long before the officials of the East India Company did The first book of Malayalam prose *Samkṣepa Vedārtham*, based on *Compendium Doctrine Christianae*, written by Father Clement was printed in Rome in 1772.[13] Henrique Henriques, a missionary from Portugal wrote on the same subject, under the title *Tambirān Vaṇakkam* in 1578. The Italian missionary, Robert de Nobili, who came to Madurai in the first decade of the seventeenth century wrote Tamil prose as did the versatile scholar Joseph Beschi, whose contributions included a grammar of colloquial Tamil, a dictionary, an epic on the life of Jesus (*Tempāvani*), and *Vētiyar Oḻukkam*, a prose work on the duties of the Christian preachers, and a "hilarious satirical" prose narrative *Paramārtha Guruvin Katai* (story of a Guru), written in 1740 and printed in 1822.[14]

The first prose work in Bengali owes also to Christian inspiration: Manuel de Assumpçao, a Portuguese, and Dom Antonio, a native Christian, wrote on Christian doctrines in 1743. Telugu, too, had its first printed prose work, a version of the New Testament, done by Benjamin Schultze in the middle of the eighteenth century. With the establishment of the Serampore Mission in 1800 and works initiated by the Church Missions Society in Kerala and Basel Mission in Karnataka (1834), American Marathi Mission in Bombay (1811), American Baptist Mission in Assam (1836), there was a steady increase of prose works, mostly translations of the Bible, but also Christian tracts, and dictionaries and grammars. And when the missionaries started schools in different areas they took serious interest in producing suitable text books for school children. The most lasting contribution of the missionaries was, of course, the pedagogical material, the lexicons and the grammars, many which served as models for the native grammarians and lexicographers. The missionary prose, a creation of foreigners, naturally remained an object of curiosity, with a few conspicuous exceptions, and did not contribute much to the growth of the prose style. Most of the translations of the Bible into Indian languages followed the original, the Hebrew and the Greek texts, too closely without caring for the accepted norms of the target languages. Although the missionary prose style was often described disparagingly by the native speakers, as *pādre Malayalam* or *pādri bānglā* or *Bible Telugu*, because of its quaintness and stilted quality, they were the first serious experiments in coherent and long narrative prose writing.

Fortunately, the efforts of the missionaries and those of the officials of the East India Company merged at the College of Fort William, and they worked in close cooperation with the Serampore Mission, mainly through the mediation of the noble missionary, William Carey. The College of Fort William took the initiative in preparing text books for the British civilians. These books were written by native scholars of repute but under the supervision of British scholars, a strange situation, to say the least. Some of these works were translated from Sanskrit and some from Persian. A number of them were also original writings. The languages used in these books were Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Marathi. The scholars of the College of Fort William were the first to experiment with prose, which had not been used previously in these areas of knowledge so extensively. As a result, various prose-styles were employed by different authors, and at times by the same author.

The prose written by foreign scholars, both the Christian missionaries and the officials of the Company did make the Indians aware of the potentialities of the new medium, but by itself that prose had little significance in the development of Indian prose literature. Zvelebil warns us "against overestimating the importance" of the early Tamil prose "written mostly by foreigners, often assisted by Tamil pandits", since "it has not exercised any considerable influence on the indigeneous literary tradition."[15]

When Rammohan Roy started writing Bengali he pleaded ignorance of the existence of any prose literature produced by the College of Fort William, and about Urdu prose, Sadiq observes that "Fort William Literature has aroused a great deal of attention on account of the service it is believed to have rendered to the cause of Urdu. That, in a way, it marks the beginning of modern Urdu prose may be conceded. But it is important to remember that [it] stands outside the main current of Urdu prose and as such has no place in its evolution. It did not grow out of the soil, but was artificially cultivated by a few scholars working under official instruments."[16]

It is true to a great extent that the prose created by the foreigners under official instruments was artificial but it is also true that in some cases, in Urdu at least, prose produced in the College of Fort William presented a contrast to the existing prose-style which was far from natural. Mir Amman, a native of Delhi, who translated the Persian *Qissā-i-Cahār Darvish* under the title *Bāgh-o-Bahār* (Garden and Spring) in 1801 under the instructions of John Gilchrist, Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William, was hailed by critics as the pioneer of a natural Urdu prose. Saksena writes: "The work is written in extremely simple and elegant language" and that "the style and the language [were] very much extolled' and Amman's prose was ranked as high as Mir's poetry."[17]

The other school of critics, represented by Sadiq, however, feels that the "Fort William literature did not enter as a formative factor in the development of modern Urdu prose", and the writers of the later period wrote "rather in response to a new set of intellectual, social, and economic requirements, and they derived their inspiration from the West and not from the Fort William College."[18]

None will disagree that prose in India grew "in response to a new set of intellectual, social and economic requirements", but it is difficult not to see the beginnings of that response in the activities of the missionaries and of the Indian scholars working at the College of Fort William. In this period, i.e., during 1800–1835, prose indeed grew in response to various sets of social and intellectual demands. There was a demand for the production of pedagogical material. The demand came not only from the College of Fort William but also from several agencies like the School Book Society of Calcutta (1817), the Madras School Text Book and Vernacular Society (1820), the Native School and School Book Committee, Bombay (1820). The other demand came from the religious and social movements. The Christian missionary criticism against Hinduism in particular and the Indian cultural life in general made many intellectuals aware of the shortcomings in their social life. They felt obliged to launch various measures of social and religious reforms and also to defend their theological postions. Naturally, prose became the most effective instrument of debate on socio-religious issues. Along with the religious debates emerged journalism in some of the Indian languages which demanded a very wide operation and application of prose. These factors, then, pedagogy, socio-religious reforms and journalistic activities, accelerated the growth of prose.

It is not true either that prose was produced in the initial stage only under the patronage of government agencies. Travelogues such as *Mirāt-ul-Bilad* (1822) by Roshin Ali Rizvi, and *Safar-nāmah-i-Izzatullah* (1825) by Mir Izzatullah, both in Persian; and *Kāshīyātrā Caritra* (1830 ?) by Virasvamayyar Enugula in Telugu, were products of individual enterprise without any patronage of any organizations. Mirza Abu Talib (1752–1806)'s travel accounts, *Māsir-i-Tālībī-fi Bilad Afranj* (1812)—an eloquent document in admiration of Western life—is a significant prose work of this period.[19] These works, of course, must be treated as exceptions. The individual writers were not attracted towards prose, unless they were commissioned to write it, because of the dominance of the verse traditions. They were used to employ verse in subjects where a later writer would prefer prose. *Śriyaṅka* (1801), a history of the Sikhs in Sanskrit, *Bikhu Carita* (1803), a biography in Sanskrit, *Gurū Nānak Prakāś* (1823), a biography of the Guru in Braj but in Gurmukhi character, *Sāhitya-Mañjuṣā* (1835), a biography in Sanskrit; *Kāñcīpura Māhātmyam*

(1802), an account of a city in Telugu, *Kavitīrtha Varṇaṇu* (1830); description of places in Gujarati; *Śṛṅgāra Śiromaṇi* (1800), a Hindi work on poetics, to give a few examples, were written in verse. Examples can be multiplied, but they are enough to show that people did not feel any particular necessity to use prose. The works produced in the College of Fort William and other agencies contributed significantly to the growth of a new awareness of the functions of prose. The points of convergences of various experiments were first to be seen in newspapers and periodicals which not only involved a large number of writers but used prose extensively. Prose in the class room or even for the use of religious debate was restricted to a few predictable contexts. Prose in the periodicals and newspapers had an unlimited range and a wide variety of subjects to cope with.

The prose written by foreigners or under the instructions of foreigners, however, cannot be totally dismissed as irrelevant. Carey's *Kathopakathan* (1801), a work in English and Bengali, or Ramram Basu's *Lipimālā* (1802), a Bengali work, the former in the form of dialogues, and the latter in that of epistle; Qasim Ali's collection of Urdu letters, *Murassakar* (1818); C. P. Brown's letters collected under the title *Telugu Jābulu Pustakam* (1820–30) in ten volumes, have instrinsic value, either as early experiments in forms which were later taken up by creative writers, or as a storehouse of information of contemporary life. The dialogue forms, known to the Indians since the time of the Upaniṣads, were extensively used by the Christian missions. *Praśnottarāvalī* (1819), a Marathi work, is a typical example of this period. This form was used by writers of merit for different literary effect later. Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay, for example, used the same form in his Bengali work *Kalikātā Kamalālay* (1823), a satire on the contemporary urban class.

Indian prose writings, free from any foreign intervention, first appeared in religious tracts and works on social problems. The trend started with the publication of Rammohan's Persian work *Tuhfāt-ul-Muwahhidin* (1803) and culminated in his Bengali writings which began in 1815 with a translation of the Vedanta. The debates on religious issues, such as idolatry, monotheism, polytheism followed immediately by animated controversies about women's education, the practice of *Sati*, etc., gave a fillip to the emerging Bengali prose; and when similar issues appeared to be important to the middle class intelligentsia in other parts of the country, prose blossomed there. The Indian response to the contemporary reality and to the social need found its vigorous expression in the prose writings of Rammohan Ray, who wrote against the practice of idolatry among the Hindus, and also defended the Hindu theological position against the Christian criticism. He also launched a movement against the *Sati*. And on all occasions he produced highly erudite essays which made Bengali an undisputed vehicle of intellectual thought.

All Indian languages did not pass through the three stages, namely, production of pedagogical materials, socio-religious debates and journalism in this period, but all of them finally had to go through these phases. The last two phases overlap one another as the religious debates were often carried through newspapers and periodicals.

III TRANSLATIONS

Before we talk about the third phase, that of journalism, a few words must be said about the translations available in this period. Apart from the translations of the Bible, which were available in most of the languages, translations of other works were produced mainly to meet the demands of pedagogy. If one leaves aside works such as *Svargārohan Parva* (1800), an Assamese verse translation of one canto of the *Mahābhārata*, or *Rāmāyaṇattura Kaṇṭak Katai* (1815), Tamil prose version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, translations were generally made to meet the growing need of the class room. Texts translated from Sanskrit were *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra*, and *Simhāsana dvātriṃśikā*. *Hitopadeśa* was translated into Bengali in 1802 and 1808, into Hindi in 1803 under the title *Rājanīti* and into Marathi in 1815; *Pañcatantra* into Marathi in 1815 and into Telugu in 1834; *Simhāsana* was translated into Bengali in 1802, and into Marathi in 1814. *Puruṣa Parīkṣā* a Sanskrit work by Vidyapati, was also made available in Bengali in 1815 and parts of the *Bhāgavata* were translated into Braj by Lallujilal, the pandit working at the College of Fort William, as early in 1803.

It was quite natural that tales and stories were given priorities by the translators. Between 1801 and 1804 several Persian works were translated into Urdu such as *Ārāish-e-Mahfil* (1801), *Ganj-e-Khūbī* (1802), *Bāgh-e-Urdū* (1802), *Akhlāq-e-Hindī* (1803), *Nasr-Benazīr* (1803), *Bāgh-e-Bahār* (1804), *Gul-e-Bakāwali* (1804). *Tutināmeh* was translated into Bengali in 1805 under the title *Totā itihās* by a Munshi of the College of Fort William and *Pārasya Itihās*, an adaption of the *Arabian Nights*, was available to the Bengali readers in 1834.

Several English works were also translated. Aesop's Fables were translated several times. *The Oriental Fabulist* (1803) published by the College of Fort William contained translations of the fables into Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu. The Marathi work *Bāla bodh Muktāvalī* (1806), and the Bengali *Nītikathā* (1818) both were adaptations of Aesop's Fables. Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* was translated into Bengali by Felix Carey under the title: *Yātrider Agresaran Bibaran* (I, 1821; II, 1822). It became one of the most regularly translated work in all the major languages later. The School Book Society in Calcutta took interest in producing works on history and geography and general science, as did other educational agencies in Maharashtra, and as a result several books on these subjects were published.

In the course of producing text books some odd works of literature also turned up. One such example is *Bālamitra Bhāg* (1828) in Marathi, by Sadashiv Kashinath Chatri, a founder member of the Bombay Education Society. It is a translation of an English version of a children's newspaper in French, *L'Ami des Enfants*.

Another interesting feature of the translation activities in this period is translation from one Indian language into another. Instances are few but significant. The Manipuri *Langoi Shagd Thaba*, believed to be composed around 1802, is a translation of a Bengali Rāmāyaṇa. This is an instance of the relation that Manipuri had with its neighbouring literature and of the flow of literary work from one area to another before the beginning of printing. The Marathi work *Rājā Pratāpādityāce Carita* (1816), a translation of *Rājā Pratāpāditya Caritra* (1801), the first Bengali prose narrative published by the College of Fort William, on the other hand is an indication of the beginning of a new relationship among the modern Indian languages. The Bengali work *Manorañjanetihās* by Tarachand Datta was translated into Marathi, as were *Bodh Kathā* (1830), and *Bhūgol evam Jyotiṣ Ityādi Bisayak Kathopakathan*, (1832) a text book on geography and astronomy, in 1832. The Tamil work *Pañcatantirak Katai* (1825) was translated from the Marathi. This relationship between different languages began first at the level of text books, then it was extended to works of knowledge and power.

Among the translations of this period which deserve special notice are those done by Rammohan Ray. Between 1815 and 1819 he translated the *Vedānta Grantha* (1815) and five Upaniṣads—*Īśa*, *Kena*, *Māṇḍukya*, *Kaṭha* and *Muṇḍaka*. These translations were prompted by the spirit of reform, to present the monotheistic doctrines of the ancient Hindus as against popular Hinduism. Besides the impact these translations made on the religious movements that originated in Bengal in this period, and soon spread in other parts of the country, they gave a momentum to the newly emerging prose of intellectual discourse. Though Rammohan is the first major prose-writer of modern India, his prose has no connection with the experiments of the missionaries or of the scholars at the College of Fort William. But it has a deeper and more intimate relation with the Sanskrit prose, the prose of commentary and debate.

The influence exerted by the Sanskrit prose-styles was sufficiently strong in some language areas, and even where it appeared feeble it acted at a deeper level. A tension between different models, foreign and indigenous, Sanskritic and Persian, pedantic and natural, continued throughout the history of Indian prose, but it was most acute in the first half of the nineteenth century. This tension was further intensified by the existence of functional verse, which was the medium for various non-literary experiences of Indian community, and of the *Campu* form, an

amphibian literary genre using both verse and prose. Kempunarayan, the Kannada writer and courtier of Mummadi Krishnaraja of Mysore (1794–1897), wrote a prose work, *Mudrārākṣasa*, in 1823. This was free from the peculiarities of style that make Kannada translations by foreigners so conspicuous. This was adapted from the Sanskrit play of Vishakhadatta; its style is simple and its language a curious blend of old and modern Kannada. Rammohan and Kempunarayan wrote a kind of prose which evolved out of the indigenous traditions, and bore the stamp of individuality.

IV JOURNALISM AND INDIAN PROSE

Newspapers and periodicals in Indian languages appearing between 1800 and 1835 are not many but all are extremely important in the history of Indian prose[20]. The Serampore missionaries published *Digdarśan* (April 1818), a Bengali magazine, containing articles on educative topics for the benefit of the students, which was followed by *Samācār Darpaṇ* (May 1818). Rammohan Ray published two short-lived journals *Brāhman Sebadhi* and *Sambād Kaumudī*, both in 1821. Next year appeared Rammohan's Persian newspaper *Mirāt-ul-Ākhbār*, and *Samācār Candrikā*, a Bengali journal, edited by Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay, which represented orthodox Hindu interests, and the Gujarati journal *Śrī Mumbāina Samācār* (later named *Mumbāi Samācār*). The first Kannada paper, *Karnāṭaka Guṇa Mañjari*, was published in 1824. It was followed by another journal *Candroday* in 1826, the year *Udanta Mārtaṇḍa*, the first ever Hindi journal, appeared in Calcutta. *Prabhākar*, in Marathi, *Sambād Prabhākar* in Bengali, and *Tamil Magazine*, published by London Mission Society—all appeared in 1831. *Darpaṇ* in Marathi and *Jāme Jamashad* in Gujarati came next year. All these journals became the workshop, as it were, for experiments in prose styles. Most of the important writers of this period, as well as of the periods that followed, were either journalists or served their apprenticeship in journals.

The experiments of the journalists yielded interesting results at the level of vocabularly. There was a sudden influx of loan-words, direct from Sanskrit and Persian, borrowings from English, and neologisms. This helped the growth of technical words as well, thus complementing the efforts of text-book writers who were in need of new terminologies. The journalistic prose also made many innovations in syntax, most conspicuous of which is the increasing frequency of reported speech, a feature borrowed from English and now naturalised in written styles. The first noticeable influence of the English language on the Indian languages was first felt in the newspaper. Journals were destined to play more important roles later, not only as workshop of experiments in prose, but as agencies of patronage to literary activities in general. They gave a

new freedom, opened new avenues of expression for the writers, acted as liaison between the reader and the writer, replacing the role of the earlier mediators, created and moulded public opinion, conditioned the taste and judgment of the reader, and influenced the course of literary experiments.

Modernization of Indian Literature

The growth of prose, then, can be taken as a watershed in the history of Indian literature. And it can also be considered with justification as the beginning of modernization. For the first time there was a realization of the potentiality of prose and the possibility of its wide application. Social and economic historians emphasize the significant changes in the social institution or in the mode of production to determine the phases of change. In literary history such phases can be determined by changes in formal features and in literary canons. The emergence of prose as a powerful medium brought a kind of change that coincided with the process of modernization. The modernization in Indian literature entails Indian endeavours towards adjusting itself with a foreign civilization. It is not Westernization, as is commonly believed, but a response to the West. This response was not felt in the poetry of the period, but prose was its direct outcome.

V INDIAN ENGLISH LITERATURE

We have mentioned that even before the government decided to opt for English as the language of higher education and administration, a group of Indians felt strongly attracted towards the English language and Western civilization. These Indians were the first to look at their own traditions critically and also the first to respond to the Western wind. It was Rammohan Ray who realized the importance of the English language as an instrument of the modernization of our education and of communication with the world outside. He wrote in his preface to the *Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant* (1816) that one of the reasons of his attempts to translate the Sanskrit work was "to prove to my European friends, that the superstitious practices which deform the Hindoo religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates."[21] It became imperative for him to use a language to communicate with the world outside which later became a language of communication among the educated Indians themselves.

Between 1816 and 1820 Rammohan translated the *Kena*, the *Īśa*, the *Muṇḍaka* and the *Kaṭha* Upaniṣads, into English as well as into Bengali. Similarly, he used both Bengali and English (and occasionally Hindi and Sanskrit too) in his campaign against idolatry and the practice of *Sati*, and in his polemics against the Christian missionaries. In fact, all his major writings in Bengali were also translated by him into English. The

debates that followed after the publication of his *The Precepts of Jesus* (1820) which contained his version of the New Testament[22] were carried through English.[23] His audience included both the Indians and the British, and he was the first important bilingual writer to use the English language in India in the nineteenth century. His English writings apparently did not have any connection with Indian literature, they being mainly directed towards a foreign audience. But the issues involved in them were issues important for the Indians and they emerged out of a crisis that the Indian intellectuals felt because of foreign intervention in their cultural life. Rammohan's establishment of the *Atmiya Sabha* (1815) which culminated in the *Brahma Samaj* (1828) was mainly in response to the changing religious values under the shadow of Christianity. His use of the English language to discuss social and religious problems of India was necessitated by the changing political climate. It was a momentous decision for him to use English. It encouraged others to use that language more extensively, and that caused significant changes within the emerging Bengali prose, infusing in it a new spirit and a new sense of purpose.

By the time he left India in 1830 and proceeded to England, where he died three years later, a group of students, educated at the *Hindu College* (established in 1817), emerged on the scene. Some of them realised the possibility of using English for creative expression as well. It started with Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809–1831),[24] a Calcutta Eurasian of Portuguese-Indian ancestry, who published *Poems* (1827), and *The Fakeer of Jungheera* in 1828. It was natural for him to write in English, since that was the only language he knew, but the themes and the spirit of his poems had little relation with contemporary English literature. When he apostrophized his country in the following lines:

> My country, in thy days of glory past
> A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,
> And worshipped as a deity thou wast,—
> Where is that glory, where that reverence now

or when he wrote about the love of a widow and her former lover (which is the theme of the long poem *The Fakeer of Jungheera*) at a time when Rammohan's movement against the *Sati* was at its height Derozio presented a new model of poetry. Almost at the same time Kashiprasad Ghosh (1809–1873) published *The Shair and Other Poems* (1830). His poetry has been described as 'derivative and imitative', 'made up mainly of conventional descriptions and tedious moralizing'.[25] It is not only Kashiprasad but many others who came after him that wrote mostly prosaic and innane stuff in English. But their exercises in a foreign language raise a question: why did they write in English at all? Was it a curious exercise by the young men with the language of the new rulers of the country, or was it a serious attempt towards a search for a new medium suitable for a new literary

perception? When one looks at the body of English writings produced by the Indians before 1835 one realizes that it was neither exotic nor rootless, but intimately connected with the contemporary Indian experience. During his brief and stormy career Derozio inspired a considerable number of students, known as 'Young Bengal', who shook the Hindu society of Calcutta, and were indeed like the mountain-tops first to reflect the dawn. The Hindu College boys started an English magazine *Parthenon* (1830) wherein they discussed issues like female education, superstition, necessity of cheap justice. Krishnamohan Banerjee, one of the fire-brands, brought out a journal, *Enquirer* (1831), and wrote a play *The Persecuted* (1831), dealing with the problems of Hindu orthodoxies and the moral crisis of an individual who had lost faith in Hinduism. We know that such denunciation of Hinduism was common among the students of Derozio and certainly in Krishnamohan, who later embraced Christianity since he felt 'persecuted' by the Hindu society. His play—its literary merit is negligible—introduced a new literary form, different from the plays written at that period, such as *Śaṅkha-Cūḍa Vadha* (1803) and *Śṛngāralilā tilakam* (1821) in Sanskrit, and *Caropōcika Kuṟavañci* (1830) in Tamil. Moreover its theme is so relevant that one is tempted to claim that the Indian writer of English showed a greater concern for contemporary social problems than his counterparts in Indian languages.

'A Journal of Forty-Eight Hours of the Year 1945' by Kylas Chunder Dutt, published in Capt. D. L. Richardson's *The Calcutta Literary Gazette* in 1835, to give an example, is perhaps the most striking piece of writing in this period in respect of theme and form.[26] It is a story of imaginary armed uprisings against the British rule. The passionate speech of the leader of the rebels before his execution reminds one of the freedom fighters yet unborn. When one remembers the series of uprisings in India—Garo movement in Mymensingh, Nayeks insurrection, Paik insurrection in Orissa, to mention a few, and also the attitude of the Muslims towards British rule—the story appears as a formidable document of distrust and hatred against the British rule. It is ironical that the first ever glowing expression of patriotism as well as hatred for the British rule in Indian literature was recorded in the English language.

The Indian English writings, then, in their initial stage were so intimately related with the contemporary Indian aspiration and were so much a part of the Indian semiology that they could justifiably be claimed as yet another component of the Indian literature. Despite their little literary merit they gave a new dimension to Indian literature in transition.

1835–1857

CHAPTER 4

The Old Order: Stability and Change

I LITERARY RESPONSE TO BRITISH EXPANSION

The period between 1835 and 1857 witnessed the consolidation of the British power in India and also the growth of the Indian ambivalance towards the British rule. Sind was conquered in 1834. Even Napier, the architect of the British conquest of Sind, admitted that "we have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be."[1] Punjab was annexed to the British India at the end of the second Anglo-Sikh war in 1849, ten years after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The British did not annex the Punjab completely after the first Anglo-Sikh war, they humiliated the Sikh army by reducing it. They also reduced the size of Lahore state by selling Kashmir to Gulab Singh. But the defeat in the first Anglo-Sikh war did not crush the political aspirations of the Sikhs; the achievements of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were still fresh in their memory. Another trail of strength began soon after the revolt of Multan. The Sikhs fought with courage but lost mainly through lack of leadership. Punjab was annexed to the British empire which by that time had extended to the base of the mountains of Afghanistan.

The insatiable lust of Lord Dalhousie for the extension of empire evolved an effective legislative instrument—the *doctrine of lapse*. Satara in 1848, Jaitpur and Sambalpur in 1849, Baghat in 1850, Udaypur in 1852, Nagpur in 1853 and Jhansi in 1854 were grabbed according to this doctrine. The doctrine was applied with a vengeance to do away with the titles and pensions of rulers of several states. In 1853 the cotton producing province of Berar was taken away from the Nizam of Hyderabad in lieu of a subsidy. Lord Dalhousie also resorted to moral principles to safeguard British interest and justified annexations of areas being victims of maladministration. On this plea the State of Oudh was annexed in 1856 and its ruler Wajid Ali, one of the most colourful personalities of that period, deposed, although it was the British who were responsible for the degeneration of administration.

By the fifth decade of the nineteenth century the East India Company became the supreme power in India. British historians, and many Indians too, felt that the Company, which had come to India as a band of traders and had transformed itself into rulers, rendered great service to the people of

India. Its priceless gifts, according to them, were political unity which India had never possessed before; peace and communication, which revealed that *Pax Britannica* was yet more wonderful than *Pax Romana*; and finally, the rule of law, which replaced the arbitrary will of despots. Many poets and writers of this period also believed this. The Gujarati poet Dalapatram (1820–1898) wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century that the old rulers were robbers, they looted their own subjects, and "ruled by wolves like them, the people could hardly think of learning or of arts or any good thing in life." In contrast, "the British regime is so good that the evil doers are punished and the rest are happy."[2] A few years later Bankim Chandra wrote that only through English education did the modern Hindu learn the value of freedom and the significance of nationhood.

During this period of the Company's rule, however, there was an almost complete ruination of artisans and liquidation of traders. Economic historians have written in detail about the impoverishment of the country. The economic drain from India built the edifices of Victorian prosperity. The political exigencies prompted the introduction of the railways and the telegraph, mainly for the convenience of the ruling class. They vindicated the technological supremacy of the British, which created a sense of wonder and awe among the people. Commenting on this aspect, Marx wrote in 1853, "the political unity of India, more consolidated and extending farther than it ever did under the Great Mughals, was the first condition of its regeneration. That unity, imposed by the British sword will now be strengthened and perpetuated by the electric telegraph."[3]

The literary response to this new situation varied from area to area and community to community, depending upon the impact of the British rule on them. The state of art and literature in Dogri, for example, remained more or less barren, despite Maharaja Gulab Singh's consolidation of Jammu and Kashmir into his territories, mainly because of political instability. In Maithili, Suman observes, "there was no noticeable development. The same old devotional songs—*Viṣṇugīt* and songs on Siva and Shakti; the same old *Maheśa Vāṇī* continued to be as popular as ever. This was mainly because of the lack of response to the changing forces about which the writers were hardly aware."[4] In Rajasthani, on the other hand, the political change had its impact. The existing traditions of religious poetry were continuing in the works of Abha Bai (1771–1853) of the Ramsnehi sect, Bananath of the Nath sect, and Rajsingh Sandu (1793–1861), author of many ethical verses. But the heroic ballads suddenly got infused with a new spirit which later got transformed into patriotism. This was the time when Surya Malla Mishran (1815–1860), a poet of the *Cāran* (bard) school, composed *Vaṃśa Bhāskar* (1840), a *Campu* dealing with the history of the Rajput royal houses. His incomplete *Vīr-Satsaī*, composed

around 1857, was partly inspired by the *Gadar*, as the 'Sepoy revolt' was known by that name. Hiralal Maheshwari tells us that many poems were written to celebrate the heroism of two Rajputs—Shekhawati Dungsingh and Jawahar Singh, who plundered the British cantonment in 1846.[5] Narrative verses extolling Rajput glory, known as *Chavali*, were composed at that time which are still popular in Rajasthan. The resistance to British expansion within the Rajput territory inspired the folk poets. These still surviving folk songs are a strong evidence of the Rajasthani poet's quick and sharp response to the political changes in the country.

The Marathi Shahir poet Parasaram (d. 1844), whose *lāvaṇīs* of the Peshwa period were about the happiness of the Maratha rule, changed his strain and sang about the misfortunes that the British conquest had brought about. It is but natural that Gul Muhammad 'Gul' (1807–55), the first Sindhi poet to produce a *dīvān* of ghazal should write a ghazal addressing the British with bitter irony.[6]

The *Kissā* literature in Punjabi continued to grow, its world of romance and beauty still captivating the poetic imagination, but its growth had a direct relationship with the British rule in Punjab. The most conspicuous work of this period, *Jaṅgnāmāh Siṅghān te Faraṅgiān* (1846–47) by Shah Mohammad (1782–1862), is a requiem on the fall of the Sikh empire. Quite expectedly the old poet, apprehensive of an uncertain future, "alludes in foreboding terms (to) the days ahead under the British overlordship."[7] I. Serebryakar describes it as "the first literary narrative on the Punjabi people's struggle against their colonisers. . . ."[8] Shah Mohammad laments, "Hindus and Moslems, we live happily/(now) a great calamity, before both of us . . ."; he recalls how the Sikhs "drew the blood of the British/ like a lemon-crusher crushing a lemon"; and he is full of apprehension of the role of the British in the country. Rajasthan and Maharashtra, Sind and Punjab, unlike other parts of the country came under the British rule under different conditions, and it is quite natural that their responses to British rule was different from that of others. The anti-British attitude or a mood of patriotism, however, was sporadic and localised; literary activities were still guided largely by the established traditions.

II 'INTERPRETERS BETWEEN US AND THE MILLIONS WHOM WE GOVERN'

When Charles Grant argued for the introduction of English in the last decade of the eighteenth century, his compatriots thought of its dangerous consequences.

> If the English language, if English opinion, and improvements, are introduced in our Asiatic possessions, into Bengal, for instance; if Christianity, especially, is established in that quarter; and if, together with these changes, many Englishmen colonize there, will not the people learn to desire English liberty and English

form of Government, a share in the legislation of their own country; and commissions in the army maintained in that country? Will not the army thence become, in time, wholly provincial, offered by natives of India, without attachment to the sovereign state? Will not the people at length come to think of it a hardship to be subject, and to pay tribute, to a foreign country? And finally, will they not cast off that subjection, and assert their independence. . . .?[9]

The long and protracted debate on the usefulness of the English education, which divided the British officials into two groups known as the Anglicans and the Orientalists, came to an end in 1835 when the Company's government finally accepted the advice of Macaulay. Macaulay wrote his Minute with an imperial pride and with immense contempt towards Indian learning. He did not conceal the basic designs of the new policy which were precisely to create a new class of Indians "who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." Despite his aversion to Indian learning, Macaulay raised an important question about the effectiveness of the Indian languages of that time. He wrote:

All parties seem to be agreed on one point that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India, contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, more over, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.[10]

Among the languages, Sanskrit, Arabic and English, through which the Indian intellectual life could be improved, Macaulay dismissed the first two. "A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia," or "I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations." Macaulay gave two examples, one of the Renaissance Europe and the other of the eighteenth century Russia to demonstrate the role of a foreign language in the revitalization of society. He argued that at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century in Europe, almost everything that was worth-reading was contained in Greek and Latin. Had the British educationist "neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus, had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon, and Romances in Norman-France," Macaulay asked, "would England have been what now she is?" He concluded: "What the

Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity." About the cultural and intellectual development of Russia, he argued with strong sarcasm against the Orientalist group, that the change became possible

> not by flattering national prejudices, not by feeding the mind of young Muscovite with the old women's stories which his rude fathers had believed: not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas: not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or was not created on the 13th September . . . but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all the information within his reach. The language of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

Macaulay noticed that there was already a decline of interest in Oriental languages among the Indian students and he thought that the teaching of oriental subjects would be only "to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value," because he was convinced that "that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects" and "is fruitful of monstrous supersitions." Rammohan Roy also thought that encouragement of Sanskrit studies in preference to English would be best calculated to keep the country in the dark ages. Obviously Macaulay had Rammohan in mind when he wrote "that the natives are desirous to be taught in English and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic. . . ."

And finally, Macaulay concludes that since "it is impossible for us with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people," the attempt should be "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern" and "to that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." Whether this part of his pious wish which came to be known later as the "infiltration theory", was really effective or not is a different question, but a class of such interpreters indeed emerged and the growth of the modern Indian languages was regulated by it. The new literature that developed in all Indian languages was a creation of this class. All that was outside the control of this class was considered conventional, traditional, or medieval, often in a pejorative sense, and only that which was created by this class was hailed as modern. The Minute of Macaulay introduced a notion of modernity in our literary history, a concept defined in relation to English literature in particular and European civilization in general. Macaulay mentioned the role of Greek and Latin

in the revival of letters in the Renascent Europe, and of West European languages in the enlightenment of Russia, describing them as "memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society—of prejudices overthrown—of knowledge diffused—of taste purified—of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous." The Indian scholar, even when he was in passionate love with the West did not consider his civilization 'barbarous', but reacted strongly against many social customs and religious practices. He considered the English language, in fact, the Western civilization, as a civilizing agency. The notion of 'Indian renaissance' which became a key concept in the later period among our cultural historians was entailed in those words of Macaulay.

An Exaggerated Faith

Within twenty years of the introduction of English education, Michael Madhusudan Datta, the author of the poem *The Captive Ladie* (1848), wrote an effusive essay *The Anglo-Saxon and the Hindu* (1854) with a line from Virgil—*Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes* (who is this stranger that has come to our dwelling?)—as the epigraph. Michael Madhusudan, a young Bengali converted to Christianity and married to an English woman, not only declares in this essay, "it is the glorious mission of the Anglo-Saxon to regenerate, to renovate the Hindu race," but pens an eloquent paean to the English language:

> . . . I have heard the melodious voice of him who from the green tree of Poesy sang of Rama like a Kokila; I have wept over the fatal war of the implacable Caurava and the heroic Pandava; I have grieved over the sufferings of her who wore and lost the fatal ring; I have wondered with Hafiz on the banks of Rocknabad and the rose-bowers of Mosellay; I have moralized with Saddi, and seen Roustum shedding tears of agony over his brave but hapless son: I have laughed with Moliere: the melody from the dismal prison-cell of Torquato Tasso has soothed my ears. I have visited the lightless regions of Hades with Dante: I know Lama's sad lover; who gave herself to flame with melodius tears, but give me the literature, the language of the Anglo-Saxon: Banish Peto, banish Bardolph, banish Poins: but for sweet Jack Falstaff, kind Jack Falstaff, banish him not the Harry's Company; banish plump Jack and banish all the world! I say, give me the language—the beautiful language of the Anglo-Saxon.[11]

This hyperbole which could have made even a Macaulay uncomfortable came from a man who within a few years would be regretting his pathetic infatuation for the Anglo-Saxon and would be writing the greatest epic in his mother-tongue. A small section of English educated men—women are yet to appear on the literary scene—may have shared the enthusiasm of Michael Madhusudan Datta for the English language and English literature, but certainly this was not the voice of the whole India.

III LITERATURE UNINTERRUPTED

The introduction of the English language in India did not bring any immediate change in Indian literature. Dogri, we have already mentioned, did not have much activity during this period. But it was the time when *masnavis* were in full bloom in Kashmiri. Maqbul Shah Kralawari (b. 1802),[12] who dominated the literary scene with his immortal romance *Gulrez* (1849) and *Hārun Rashid* (1852), wrote *Grīty Nāmā* (1853), the first *Hazliā* (a comic-satirical poem) in Kashmiri. Kralawari used a Persian legend in his *Gulrez* but added a Kashmiri flavour to it, like all other Kashmiri poets deft in naturalizing the alien legends. *Masnavis* were written by Abdul Ahad Nazim (d. 1865) and Walliwullah Muttu (d. 1858), and several others. Most of them were transcreations of Persian themes but a few were based on local legends, such as Muttu's *Himal*, a satire on "bad wife". Along with *masnavis*, *ghazals* and *nats* flourished in abundance, and *nats* particularly reached their zenith in a few decades later at the hands of Abdul Ahad Nadim (b. 1840), considered to be the greatest Kashmiri *nat* writer. The stream of Bhakti poetry flowed with the same vigour, often merging with the Perso-Arabic traditions at the linguistic and thematic levels. The poems of Paramananda (b. 1794), writes T. N. Kaul, "provide instances of an alternative use of two or more languages, mixing of more than one language. This blending also extends to themes, metrical patterns and imagery."[13] In fact, the Kashmiri pandit poets produced a new Shaiva literature in Persian verse, the classical Persian *ghazals* assuming the shape of the ode to Shiva.

Parmananda's[14] success in *līlā* poems, dealing with Krishnā, a tradition still popular in different languages, Assamese and Bengali, Gujarati and Hindi and Oriya, encouraged Prakash Ram, a distinguished poet of Kashmiri to compose several *līlā* poems. But he is more remembered for his *masnavi Akanandun* (The Only Son), based on the legend of Issac and Abraham, as well as for his Kashmiri Rāmāyaṇa *Rāmāvatār Carit* (1847) in the *masnavi* style in couplet form. This is justly known as the first *razmiā* (war) *masnavi*.[15] The interaction between the Persian and the Sanskritic tradition was a feature of many literatures in India during this period, but it was most conspicuous in Kashmiri. Krishna Razdan, the best known Bhakti poet, started writing in Persian but later switched to his mother-tongue and wrote several poems of mythological themes. The same pattern is to be found in the Sufi tradition too. The Sufis were also called *ṛṣi* (a Sanskrit word for 'sage') and their readership was never limited to any particular religious group.

The areas relatively free from political turmoil and unaffected by the growing influence of the English preserved the earlier traditions. *Nemināth*

Śaloka (1844), by Devichand, the Gujarati work in praise of Neminath; *Bārmāha Seri Ramjikā* (1850), a Punjabi devotional poem by Gurdas Singh; *Rasika Vinod* (1846), a Hindi work on the characteristics of the hero and the heroine, by Chandra Shekhar Upadhyay; *Dilārāma Kathā* (1843), a verse romance in Telugu; *Uṣāharaṇa kathā: Aniruddhavilās* (1849), a mythological poem in Kannada—one can multiply examples but all bear testimony to the continuation of the earlier traditions. In most of the linguistic areas these traditions were at their declining stage, or were at least becoming stagnant.

The Glorious Phase of Nepali

In certain languages, however, those traditions got a fresh lease of life either because of their isolation from the centres of English education or because of the advent of powerful poets. Nepali, for example, had its glorious moments in this period, dominated by Bhanubhakta Acharya (1814–1869). Bhanubhakta's proper place, of course, is in the History of Nepal, but so intimate were his connections with India, and so pervasive was, and still is, his influence on the Nepali writings in India, that reference to him in a history of Indian literature is inevitable. His *Rāmāyaṇa*, an adaptation from the Sanskrit *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, completed around 1854 is a remarkable work. What distinguishes this work is not only its poetic charm, which it has in abundant measure, but its spirit of heroism. Unlike most of the *Rāmāyaṇas* in various Indian languages, the Nepali work is more heroic than devotional. The abstruse philosophical doctrines or theological questions did not interest Bhanubhakta, a man of the world, who in the words of Kumar Pradhan "never waxed eloquent and lyrical in the love of God."[16] Bhanubhakta's *Rāmāyaṇa* exerted a great influence on the Nepali speaking population, and stands as one of the towering monuments in the literary history of the sub-continent. His contemporary Raghunath Bhatta (1811–1851) also translated the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, believed to be completed in 1848 at Banaras, of which only the *Sundara Kāṇḍa* survives. Although not comparable with Bhanubhakta, he was no mean poet and the Nepali readership welcomed his translation. Apart from these two works, the popularity of the indigenous form *Sawai*,[17] a kind of folk ballad, continued. Basanta Sharma, a contemporary of Bhanubhakta, wrote one such poem, *Samudra Laharī* (1843).

The Indian English Writings

In brief, there was no significant break-through in the Indian poetic tradition yet. The literary activities, however, continued as usual in all parts of the country, without any noticeable creative spark. It is a period of stagnation, or one could perhaps claim, a period of hibernation. For most of the languages the forms and themes, inherited from the past,

have been exploited thoroughly, and all their possibilities appeared to have been exhausted. Some interesting attempts were made in Indian writings in English, but its quantity was negligible and its quality even inconsequential.[18] Rajnarain Dutt's (1824–89) verse narrative, *Osmyn: An Arabian Tale* (1841), Michael Madhusudan (Datta) Dutt's *The Captive Ladie* and *Visions of the Past*, both published in 1849, Shoshee Chunder Dutt's (1815–65) *Miscellaneous Poems* (1848) and Hur Chunder Dutt (1831–1901)'s *Fugitive Pieces* (1851) are interesting works, as they are an evidence of a search for new forms and themes, and some of these works show an unmistakable impact of the English Romantic poetry. But none made any impact on the Indian writers. These writings—in fact the Indian English writings in general—remained in a neutral zone of experience, undecided about their target reader. But their vacillations and indecisions are but reflections of a new urge for creativity. Their efforts stand in sharp contrast to the Sanskrit writings of this period. Sanskrit writings were much larger in quantity and more wide spread, but of hardly any literary value. While the Indo-English writers were fascinated by the foreign models, the writers in Sanskrit, ignorant of those models, which was natural, remained totally complacent with the old. This was also true of many writers engrossed with Sanskrit, in different living languages. Neither the Sanskrit writings themselves nor those produced within the ambit of the Sanskritic control showed any indication of creative power.[19] The English writings on the other hand showed signs of power, however feeble, but were yet to take root in the Indian soil. The state of literature, therefore, was destined to follow the beaten track for some more time to come. But there was yet another possibility, the possibility of the advent of a genius, who would either change the existing course of literature by breaking away from the past or by exploiting the unknown potentialities of the existing tradition.

IV THE REDOLENCE OF A COURT LITERATURE

Urdu poetry, both in quantity and in quality, appears to be most outstanding during this period. The achievement of Urdu poetry appears to be remarkable if only because of its strong reservations about changes in the linguistic scene and the educational policy. Its external structure remained as conventional as before, but the changes in political life, the slow decline of aristocracy and the fading away of the twilight of the Mughals created a great tension in the personalities of the poets. The major poets of this period, Ibrahim Zauq (1789–1854), Momin Khan Momin (1800–1851), Anis (1802–1874), Dabir (1803–1875) and the greatest of all, Ghalib (1797–1869), were all in some sense preservers of the traditions, and all worked within the conventional framework quite happily. This is the

case with the Indian poets in general, but is particularly true of Urdu. "While some poets have a marked preference for certain images or symbols," write Mathews and Shackle, "it is only rarely that quite novel ones are created: for which the introduction of striking new images has long been considered an indispensable part of the process of poetic creation in the West, in Classical Urdu poetry it is rather the ingenious juxtaposition of traditional elements that makes for greatness."[20]

The poetic world moves around *āshiq* (lover) *mashūq* (the beloved), *raqib* (the lover's rival), *sāqī* (the cup bearer) and *Shaikh* (the religious leader). The similes for the beloved's physical charms are predictable, very much like the Sanskrit Court poetry and the *rīti* school of poetry in Hindi and Oriya; equally predictable are the elements of nature, the flowers and the birds, from which the poetic images are derived. Poetic forms, elegant and neat, admirably suited for this well-ordered, sensuous and chiselled world, appeared to be fixed forever.

The Growth of Marsia

There was a sudden popularity of *marsia*, an elegy. As a form it is opposed to *qasīda*, a panegyric for the living. The *marsia* form was borrowed from Arabic—and was first experimented in the courts of Golkunda and Bijapur. These are poems on the death of Hasan and Hussain at Karbala, chanted during the tazia procession in Moharram. The sudden popularity of the *marsia* was, Saksena thinks, due to the fact that the Nawabs of Oudh became Shias, on account of which the Court of Lucknow used to suspend its usual revelries during the sacred month of Moharram and mourn the death of the martyrs. It was in this atmosphere that Anis and Dabir composed their finest elegies. According to Saksena, Mir Anis' *marsias* are the nearest approximation to epic poetry in Urdu: "they contain descriptions of battle fields and fights which rival those of Firdausi in the *Shahnama* and Nizami in the *Sikandarnama*."[21]

The other stalwart of *marsia*, Mirza Salamat Ali, Dabir (1803–75).[22] a rival of Anis, was also a fine poet. In fact, the Lucknow audience was divided into two camps, *Anisia* and *Dabiria*. Without going into the question of the relative merits of either of the poets, or even of the limitation of the *marsia* poem, one can safely conclude that these poems opened a new range in Urdu. The popularity of the poems was primarily due to their religious associations, may be also due to sentimentality evoked by them. But one wonders whether the slow extinction of the Mughal aristocracy was also working deep in the psyche of the poets. Saksena writes:

> To recite or compose a *marsia* has always been regarded as an act of devotion. Every writer of the Shiah sect would write a marsia or a line in praise of Ali to show his zeal and to gain merit. The kings patronized the writers and to hoodwink

the public in the belief that they were religious at heart despite their indulgence in the gaieties and pleasures of the world and deceived themselves into the faith that a month of repentance and lamentations for the martyrs would atone for the sins of a whole year. The scholars and the poets appreciated it from the standpoint of art.[23]

The relationship between the growth of *marsias* in Lucknow and the religious affiliation of the ruling power, however, has been questioned by some scholars. Zaidi,[24] for example, has very convincingly shown that not only does the Urdu *marsia* differ from its Arabic and Persian counterpart, but it has "cut across denominational distinctions". Imperial Delhi has never been ruled by *Shia* kings, but has seen *marsias* written there, and the majority of the *marsia* writers in the Deccan have been Sunnis.

There is no doubt that the *marsia* as a form of poetry introduced an edifying note, a bold departure from the sensualism of the court poetry. Anis among the *marsia* writers has been hailed by most of the critics to be the finest, and his poems were regarded as "the highest form of Urdu poetry."[25] Zaidi points out that Anis, while taking the tragic theme from the Arabic source, developed it according to his poetic imagination, and his familiarity with the Avadhi poems, both *Padmāvat* and *Rām Carit Mānas*, helped him to Indianize his theme and structure.[26] It did not emerge suddenly: it is a product of experiments of many years. Anis used the *musaddas* form, a stanza of six lines, the last two lines rhyming differently from the first four. Among the structural components Anis includes *Sarapa* (the description of the hero) which is clearly a borrowing from the *nakh-Sikh* (head to heel) description of the *rīti* poetry. What makes his *marsia* most significant is perhaps, apart from his mastery in narrating a historical episode in all its tragic intensity and his unmistakable power to evoke the religious fervour, is his skill in capturing the mood of the contemporary reader witnessing the political change.[27]

The *marsia* form did not remain confined to Urdu literature alone. We have evidence of at least two manuscripts in Rajasthani, *Mārasiyā* (1814) and *Mahārājā Surat Singhji Rā Mārsiyā* (1828). These are of course, elegiac poems without any particular reference to the Islamic theme. The tragic story of Karbala fascinated Michael Madhusudan Datta who contemplated writing an epic on the Karbala theme, and Mir Musaraf Husain indeed wrote a prose epic *Biṣād Sindhu* (The Ocean of Grief), a memorable work in the Bengali language. That is, of course, an indication of the potentiality latent in this very theme. Some critics have found faults in the *marsias* of both Dabir and Anis because of their "excessive tearfulness" and "unrestrained indulgence in grief", but none has failed to see their merits. They added a new tone to a literature "largely confined to themes erotic"; "they have not only enriched the language; they have given it polish, vigour and flexibility."[28]

Viewed against the total Indian literary scene, the *marsia* experiment,

despite its sentimentalism, was a significant one. Anis in particular perfected the form to an extent that later it could be used by Hali for a different purpose. It was religious poetry, but not necessarily sectarian. It was also a treatment of a historical episode which because of its immediate relevance captivated the readers

Momin and Zauq

The *marsia*, however, was not the only poetic form that fascinated the poets. The literary world of Urdu was dominated by three poets, Momin, Zauq and Ghalib, and all of them excelled in the *ghazal*. About Momin, Sadiq writes, "Momin's place in poetry will depend on what we take poetry to mean: is it the spontaneous and forthright expression of one's feelings and thoughts in appropriate language or is it merely a name for dressing up conventional feelings in an elaborately fanciful garb?"[29] The question is important not only in respect of Momin and his other contemporaries in Urdu and Persian, but in respect of many other poets in other parts of India. The audience of poetry determines, at least partly, the nature of poetry and many poets respond to the demands of the taste of the audience. The dressing up of conventional feelings in an elaborately fanciful garb was a feature of poetry in many languages, particularly those which flourished under a strong Sanskritic influence; it was almost linguistic acrobatics or a display of rhetorical skill. And in some cases where the audience was not sophisticated enough, it was a straight-forward description or narration. But all these catered to the needs of the audience, and were appreciated for a brief period. Much of the writing in all the Indian languages produced in this period lost its relevance in the next few decades with the change in literary taste and critical canons.

Momin (1800–51) and Zauq (1790–1854), both belonging to Delhi, were greatly admired by their contemporaries. Momin, son of a court physician, belonging to a family of nobles, had a systematic education in medicine and had a secure financial position derived from a handsome pension from the court. He lived a bohemian life in youth, but later led a restrainted life. A member of the leisured class, conscious of class hierarchy and proud of his excellence in various branches of knowledge and proficiency in Persian, he wrote *masnavis* and *ghazals* in a highly sophisticated language and diction. Sadiq describes his poetry as representative of a 'decadent tradition',[30] and Saksena finds his poetry 'extremely passionate' and love described therein of a 'low kind'.[31] "He writes with the head, not the heart," observes Sadiq, "and behind the impenetrable garb of his scholarship there lurks the skeleton of a conceit. His best points are his ironic wit and vivacity."[32] Zauq, on the other hand, son of a poor soldier, had neither a proud aristocratic background nor the advantage of good education, but had to work hard to earn his livelihood. However, he rose

to great heights by his erudition and poetic gift, and became the *ustad* of Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal emperor. He wrote many *ghazals*, but excelled in *qasīda*; his *misaliya* or illustrative verses, mostly didactic and epigramatic, made him exceedingly popular. He has been praised for his elegant diction free from pedantry, and memorable phrases and sentences.[33] Poetry, to him, was verbal excellence, a technical skill; he did not adhere to any particular model of achievement but gave in to the popular trends of his time without any reluctance or persuasion.

V A POET BETWEEN TWO EMPIRES

Ghalib's poetic career oscillated between Persian and Urdu. His ripest years (1827–47) were mainly devoted to Persian, and in the post-Mutiny period (1857–69) he again dedicated himself to the Persian Muse.[34] Strongly influenced by two masters, Bedil and Nasikh, Ghalib was more interested in writing in Persian. His early verses were obscure as well as pedantic. He had been criticised for his delight in verbal acrobatics and unusual similes and far-fetched ideas. About his Urdu poems he wrote later: "I wrote Urdu verse from the age of fifteen to the age of twenty-five with intellectual themes. I had quite a huge diwan to my credit. I revised it, discarded several pieces, and left a few only as an example (of my early verse)."[35]

Mirza Asadullah Khan *Ghalib* (1797–1869) came from a noble family of Turks. His grandfather migrated to India to join the army of Shah Alam II. Ghalib's father served the Nawab of Oudh, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Rajah of Alwar. He died in a battle and the young Ghalib was first looked after by his uncle Mirza Nasarullah Khan, a Risaldar in the British army, who too died prematurely. Proud of his ancestry, Ghalib wrote "My ancestors have been warriors for a hundred generations. I do not need to write poetry to acquire honourable status."[36] He continued to receive a pension from the British in lieu of the Jagir of his uncle.

Ghalib had his education at Agra but he came and settled at Delhi as a young man and soon became a part of the aristocratic society of the Mughal capital. He indulged in youthful excesses, lived in style and possibly because of that was in constant financial hardship. Like other members of the leisured aristocracy he would spend his days in reading, playing games, including kite flying, and his evenings with friends and courtesans, in polite conversation, reciting poems, and drinking choicest wines. This was the atmosphere, languid and sensuous, in which the best of Urdu poetry flourished; and Ghalib's was no exception. His financial problem forced him to go to Calcutta in 1826 and there he saw the glaring contrast between the old Mughal capital and the new city of the British.[37] He stayed there long enough to admire the British ways of life and the changes brought in by the British rule. But it is interesting to note that he did not

take any interest in English literature, nor did he feel any impact of the British civilization as a poet. He wrote about charming women, elegant buildings, luscious mangoes and fine wines, but not about the intellectual fermentation there. He became engaged in a controversy about the correctness of Persian usage, met many leading Persian scholars, but not Rammohan Ray whose Persian journal *Mirāt-ul-Akhbār* (12 April 1822—4 April 1823) was known to the Persian-reading elite of the city.[38] There is no evidence to show that he was acquainted with the prose-writings of the College of Fort William either. Later he came in intimate contact with many Englishmen and also realised the importance of Western civilization. But so rooted was he to the traditions and so deeply attached was he to the fading Mughal culture, that he hardly made any effort to understand the new and the emerging society. He remained till the end of his life the product of a grand and gorgeous medieval civilization.

Nearly all of Ghalib's Urdu poems are in the *ghazal* form, whose themes are largely prescribed by convention The predominant theme is love, either love for a mistress or for God. While the love poems in many Indian languages centring round the Radha-Krishna theme are technically poems of divine love, and not of human love (though the poets must have used that framework for the expression of individual experience), the framework of Urdu love poems was flexible enough to accommodate both the secular and the divine. But the theme of mortal love as treated by Urdu poets was generally conventional and not related to real life. The love eulogised there is of course illicit, not sanctioned by the social codes, and hence the lover is a persecuted character. None of the poets, with a few exceptions had been ever persecuted by society, though most of them had connections with courtesans. Ralph Russell's observations are worth quoting here:

> There are famous Urdu poets who indeed had illicit love affairs and suffered because of them, but none lived out his life as a cruelly persecuted social outcaste, either because of such a love affair, or because of his dedication to the ideals of the mystic lover. Nor did any of them end his life on the execution ground, on the gallows or the impaling stake. In other words, the *ghazal* picture is a conventional one—a picture through which the poet portrays in terms of the most extreme symbolism his dedication to the ideals of love and of mystic humanism in face of the hostility of the conventional and the worldly-wise who dominate the society in which he lived.[39]

Ghalib, an aristocrat and a defender of aristocracy, not only knew the poetic traditions of Persian poetry too well but wanted to preserve them with loving care. His early Urdu verses show a strong influence of Bedil, a seventeenth century Persian poet. His style was artificial and sophisticated but his poems were held in high esteem and satisfied the taste of aristocracy to which he belonged. Professor A. Bausani compares the position of the

Persian language in Mughal India with that of Latin in the Middle Ages of Europe. Ghalib's readers were a restricted literary group of Delhi. Poetry, to this group, was a literary exercise rather than a spontaneous creation. Critics were more busy in finding faults in his Persian writings than in appreciating his poetry. This conditioned, at least partly, the nature of Ghalib's Persian poetry which has been very succintly pointed out by Professor Bausani:

> Just as he had nothing poetically new to say in Persian poetry—and therefore he could exercise himself in writing in the comparative simple style of the ancient tradition—so too he could exercise himself in difficult Persian prose; he had no urgent need of being understood by people. Conversely in Urdu verse he felt he had something to say, and this new element, stylistically, in the conditions of the Mughal India of his time, could not but be the historical continuation on more modern lines of Bedil's novelty and therefore—at first sight—difficult. But in Urdu prose he had a practical need to be understood, hence his famous clarity and simplicity [40]

In respect of forms and themes, Ghalib, worked within the medieval tradition and his poetry was conditioned by his taste and education, as by the contemporary aristocratic view of poetry. He was devoted to the institutions, conventions and practices of the medieval period, to be precise, of the Mughal period. And in that sense his poetry, whether he wrote in Persian or in Urdu, belonged to the medieval tradition. Undoubtedly he had the power to change the conventions of poetry but, as Mujeeb puts it, he "imbibed the whole poetic tradition and its symbolism as a part of his education and felt no desire for aesthetic or literary adventures that would take him away from it."[41] Rather, with his urbanity of mind and elegance of style, he acted as a confluence of various streams, and appeared as "the culminating point of an intellectual, aesthetic and ideologically integrated development which is of great significance in the cultural history of India."[42] The greatest singular contribution of Ghalib to Urdu literature in particular, and Indian literature in general, is his complete freedom from any kind of philosophical scheme which had dominated Indian poetry for several centuries. His view of life is not that of a pagan, as Sadiq calls it, but it is free from religious inhibitions on the one hand and embraces life, on the other, both as a joyous existence and as a dark and painful experience. The dilemma of existence, the tensions of desires, the contradictions of thought, make his poetry rich and humane. At times he would write like a Vedantist,

> Existence of the sea consists
> In forms appearing, vanishing;
> The drop, the bubble and the wave
> Have in themselves no meaning

and then in an altogether different mood he would confess to God with absolute candour,

> I think of all the scars left by smothered desires
> And temptations resisted, ask me not, O God,
> For an account of sins I have committed.
>
> Gardens in bloom I love, but long to pluck their flowers
> Forgive this sin against myself and Thee,
> Creator of the Spring.
>
> My own desires in multitudes trample me under foot
> It's blasphemy to feel aggrieved and thankless
> to complain.[43]

It is the changing and fleeting moods, all finally merging into a whole, yet not completely losing their individual identities, that constitute the poetic universe of Ghalib. His *ghazals*, terse and compact, their little body glowing with light and warmth when seen together, appear like a vast night sky where darkness and the light of the stars create their own splendid mosaic.

When one views Ghalib, not in isolation from his age, but as a participant in the history of Indian poetry, one tends to agree with Sadiq that his life "was the tragedy of a highly original person, born in a conventional age, which gave him little or no scope for rising to the highest possibilities of his mind."[44] It is comparable to the tragedy that the life of Michael Madhusudan Datta is. Michael's tragedy came from the intense tension he experienced as a literary rebel, Ghalib's tragedy from the arid society in which he was forced to live. A man of great self-respect, Ghalib had to seek for royal patronage throughout his life. His letters to the Nawab of Rampur are far from dignified;[45] he wrote several *qasīdas* in praise of mediocre government officials and Queen Victoria, and he was subjected to the insults of the British officials rudely asking him not to send panegyrics in future. This is mentioned not to find fault with Ghalib, but to highlight the predicament he faced and the insecurity he experienced, and to point out the code of conduct he believed in and which he found falling apart.[46] It is not only that Ghalib did not receive what he expected was the due of a poet in a civilized society, but his towering genius was incompatible with an age slowly dying. His obsession with aristocracy in life and literature stood in his way and often retarded the natural growth of his poetic genius; his excessive love for Persianism only made him obscure and artificial; and his abhorrence of the commonplace in expression made his style exclusive. A critic like Sadiq refuses to accept the general belief that the toughness of his poetry is due to the recondite nature of his thought, but treats it as an exercise in ingenuity. In fact, this is the price even a genius has to pay when he fails to respond to the changing times. But his glory is undisputed; he created a world, free from all allegience to faith and

fanaticism, redolent in beauty, urbane and humane. Our medieval secular poetry reached its summit in Ghalib. The tradition continued at Murshidabad and Matiaburj, Bhopal and Hyderabad, and most important of all places at Rampur. Some poets of considerable power were associated with aristocrats in these places, but the tradition has by now, after attaining its dizzy heights in Ghalib, been slowly moving towards extinction. Their works only speak of the glory that has gone and was never to come again.

CHAPTER 5

The Onset of the Western Impact

I RESPONSE TO THE THE CHANGING REALITY

The change in conventional literary traditions, whether Sanskritic or Perso-Arabic, however, was imminent. It came from the awareness of the changing face of society and the life around. The poetry of the aristocrats, where art, not life, was the criterion, was slowly withering out Poetry written by Nazir and Ishvar Chandra Gupta, closer to the mundane experience, made cracks in the wall that kept the "poetic" and the "non-poetic" worlds apart. What Urdu poetry and the poetry imitating the Sanskritic traditions shared was the distinction between the "poetic" and the "non-poetic" Perhaps, every age makes this distinction, consciously or unconsciously; and in every age certain elements are considered to be more 'poetic' or more befitting for poetry.

The older poets such as Dayaram (1776–1852) in Gujarati, Kavisurya Baladeva Rath (1779–1845 ?) in Oriya, Dasharathi Ray (1806–57) in Bengali, to give a few examples, were all without English education, and all deeply rooted in their own traditions. Where they differed with the new generations of poets was, among other things, in their view about poetry and its subject matter. M. Vedanayakam Pillai (1824–1889), the author of the first novel in Tamil, wrote a collection of poems entitled *Peṇputtimālai* (The Garland of Female Wisdom) which deals with the need for female education and the emancipation of women. The Gujarati poet Dalpatram (1820–1898) had Sanskritic education and his biographers inform us that he had no knowledge of English although through his association with A. K. Forbes, then an additional judge at Ahmedabad in 1848, which grew into deep friendship, he must have acquainted himself with English literature. Like his Bengali contemporary Ishvar Gupta he too wrote poems on widow remarriage, education of women, love of the country. A modern scholar finds "instances of Dalpatram's modernity of approach"[1] in the selection of his themes which ranged from the printing press to railways, newspapers and fire brigades. One of his long poems 'Hunnarkhānonī Cadhāī' (The Invasion of Industry) published in 1851, whatever be its literary merit, is historically significant in being an appreciation of the technological changes.

This poem, which was worked out as an elaborate allegory, described how King Industry, whose kingdom was spread over England and China, vowed to run over India, and to displace its carts, horses, and chariots with his own steam-

engines, railroads and balloons, introducing modern methods of agriculture and textile industry. The invasion which was headed by General Coarse Long Cloth, met with a stiff opposition from Indians, who were aided by a powerful ally called opium. King Industry laid siege on the forts of superstitions, ignorance and idleness, but could make no headway against them. The invasion was repulsed and King Industry then ordered another under Field Marshal Machinery, who arrived with ships, big as mountains, loaded with cloth, weapons, instruments and glassware and over-ran India. The masses work up, newspapers began blowing their trumpets, post-offices were established and houses were locked with English locks. The hero of the masses then called upon to adopt machinery and industrialize the country.[2]

Poetry and Urban Life

Despite the fact that this poem of Dalpatram is one of the most eloquent defences of the British rule in India, this is the first poem in an Indian language allegorizing the impact of Western technology on Indian social and economic life. The evidence of our poetic literature seems to indicate, by and large, a decided rural bias. There are, of course, descriptions of urban life, mostly of imaginary cities, or cities which had become already memories of the past. Urdu poetry was, of course, a notable exception. It was a product of the urban centres. The medieval Indo-Muslim culture of the elite, within which Urdu and Persian literature grew was connected with the fortified cities. Huge mansions, audience halls, decorated gardens, water-ways, colourful uniforms, music and dance and painting, codified etiquette and manners presented a sharp contrast with the rural life. With the process of gradual Westernization in India, the new urban centres that came up directly under the British supervision presented a further contrast not only between the rural and the urban areas, but also among the urban areas themselves, between the old cities, built by the Hindu and Muslim kings and the new port-towns and industrial centres and cantonments. Indian poetry either developed a strong rural bias, or a nostalgia for the old Hindu towns and Mughal cities, and an ambivalent attitude to the British towns in particular and urbanization in general. This became more pronounced in the later years, particularly from the seventies of the nineteenth century and continued to grow, presenting cities as centres of power and corruption, citizens as crafty and insincere, and rural areas as havens of peace and simplicity and people living there, as poor but pure. Dalpatram's long poem stands out as a remarkable evidence of the emergence of a new consciousness that found positive aspects in the urbanization and Westernization of India.

The process of Westernization, which started with English education and various reform movements, had made an impact on the urban areas. Their literary manifestations were mainly in the newspapers and literary magazines either in the form of learned discourses or as satires both in prose and in verse. By the end of this period, i.e. 1857, a small class of

people, educated in English, had grown in different urban centres, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and the literary activities slowly passed into their hands. Dalpatram or Ishvar Gupta did not have English education but they reacted to the changes, which were first reflected in the metropolitan cities, with a new awareness

II DIFFUSION OF WESTERN KNOWLEDGE

Along with an account of the spread of English education. what deserves equal attention is the effort of the English educated Indians towards the diffusion of the Western knowledge through the languages of the country. This started in various towns, either through the Christian missions and the government sponsored institutions or through private organizations. The Bombay Native Education Society (1827), for example, established mainly through the persuasion and encouragement of the governor of the Presidency, Mountstuart Elphinstone, conducted four English schools at Bombay, Thana, Panvel and Poona, along with several primary schools in the countryside where the emphasis was on the spread of Western science and knowledge through the mother-tongue.[3] Captain Candy in his report of the Board of Education 1840–41 put it even more strongly:

> The medium through which the mass of the population must be instructed, I humbly conceive, must be their vernacular tongues, and neither English nor Sanskrit. . I look on every native who possesses a good knowledge of his own mothertongue, of Sanskrit and of English, to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefit to his country-men.[4]

In fact the new writers who shaped the course of Indian literature were all proficient in three languages, mother-tongue, English, and a classical language, Sanskrit or Persian. In the Madras Presidency, Munro proposed education of the masses by improving the indigenous schools, but after his death in 1827, his successors did not sympathize with his ideals and several schools established by him were closed by the orders of the Government of Bengal which recommended the withdrawal of aid from these schools, and the establishment of an English College at Madras and of provincial English schools at various places.

The modernization of Indian literature, then, gained pace where the English education was spread along with the vernacular education, and the English educated class took interest in the mother-tongue. When the control of the educational institutions in the North-Western provinces of Agra and Oudh was transferred from the Government of Bengal to the provincial government in 1843, the province had three colleges, at Agra, Benaras and Delhi, and only nine anglo-vernacular schools maintained by the government. However, the decision was to educate people through

the medium of their mother-tongues and not through English, thanks to Thomason, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province. The Province of Punjab was constituted in 1849 and the only official institution that existed in the province prior to 1834 was a school at Amritsar which had Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Punjabi in its curriculum. Macaulay's hope that the English educated Indian would enrich his own language "with terms of science borrowed from Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of population" was beginning to be fulfilled.

We have seen that even before the formal introduction of English, ext-books on sciences began to appear in some languages. After 1835, thanks to the demand of the students in various schools, a larger number of text-books began to be published, all of them contributing to the making of the prose. *Rasāyana Śāstra Viṣayak Samvād* (1837), a work on chemistry, *Lakṣmījñān* (1849), a work on economics, *Padārthavijñāna Śāstratil Kitiek Viṣayanvar Vyākhāne* (1852) essays on physics, *Arthaśāstra* (1855), a work on economics by Krishna Shastri—all in Marathi and based on English books; *Bhūgol* (1841), a work on geography, *Padārtha Bidyā* (1856) a work on physics; *Cārupāṭh* (1852–59), which contains some essays on science—all written by Aksay Kumar Datta in Bengali; or *Padārthasār* (1856) by Nidhi Levi Farwell in Assamese—are indications of this emerging trend.

Along with the schools, one notices the establishment of many institutions for the promotion of different languages, e.g. the *Baṅgabhāṣā Prakāśikā Sabhā* (1836) in Calcutta under the leadership of Gaurishankar Tarkavagish; *The Elphinstone Native Education Society* (1837) in Bombay; a branch of Basel Mission in Tellichore (1839), *Pustaka Prasāraka Maṇḍalī* (1842) by Durgaram Mehtaji and others in Gujarat; the *Vernacular Translation Society* (1843) in Delhi; *Mānavadharma Sabhā* (1844) at Surat; *Scientific Society* (1846) in Ghazipur established by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; *The Gujarati Vernacular Society* (1848), Ahmedabad; *The Decan Vernacular Translation Society* (1849), *Anyonya Buddhivardhak Sabhā* (1850) in Gujarat; *Vernacular Literature Society* (1850) in Calcutta; *Madras School Book and Vernacular Society* (1850); *Dakshina Prize Committee* (1851); and *Vidyotsāhinī Sabhā* (1853). They all indicate a country-wide awareness of the importance of Indian languages. The immediate compulsions for creating a prose literature, as felt by these societies, were naturally utilitarian. What started in the previous period only got enlarged in this period. The scope of prose remained the same, but there was more intensification of earlier trends: prose was confined mainly to text-book production and to religious debate.

With the extension of the British territory and intensification of evangelical programmes, the Indian reaction to Western values became sharper, and the reform movements from within became stronger. If

Rammohan Ray's movement against the practice of *Sati* and idolatry gave rise to the growth of polemical literature. Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar's movement for the marriage of the widows and his effort towards female education gave an even greater momentum to prose literature. His own Bengali essays on Widow marriage are specimens of a new language charged with emotion but tempered with argument which can also be seen in Dalpatram's essays in Gujarati, *Jñātinibandh* (1851) and *Balvivāha Nibandh* (1854), on caste-system and child marriage respectively.

III PROSE AND THE NEW READER

A new reading public was created by the journals published from different towns. Multilingual cities such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, with a better infrastructure in respect of printing presses and competent personnel, and a sizeable readership, took the lead. Not only was *Uddanta Mārtaṇḍa*, the first Hindi newspaper published from Calcutta, but the Urdu and Persian journals also flourished there. Bombay was the centre of Marathi and Gujarati journalism, whereas Madras attracted both Tamil and Telugu journals. *Digdarśan* (1840), a Marathi magazine, was started by Balshastri Jambhekar (1810–46), who knew Persian and Kannada, apart from his own language Marathi, and learnt English and Latin as well. He was persecuted by the Brahmins for his social views, which were far advanced for his time. Like Rammohan Roy and Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar, he too felt the need of journals to propagate his ideas. His example was followed by *Prabhākar* (1841), edited by Bhau Mahajan (1815–1890) also a polyglot and a progressive social thinker; and *Jñānasindhu* (1842), a fortnightly edited by Vireshvar Sadashiv Chatre. About this time *Utayatārakai* (1841), a Tamil fortnightly, *Vartamān Tarangini* (1842), a Telugu weekly, and *Tattvabodhinī Patrikā* (1843), a Bengali journal edited by Aksay Kumar Datta, were published. The Rev. Charles Lacey of the Cuttack Mission Press started two short-lived journals in Oriya. The Christian Mission in Madras brought out *Narpotakam* (1848) in Tamil for the propagation of Christianity, while Morabhat Dandekar launched *Upadeśa Candrikā* (1844) and Krishna Sastri Chipulankar *Vicār Laharī* (1852), both Marathi periodicals, to counteract Christian propaganda in Maharashtra. Malayalam had two periodicals, *Paścimoday* and *Rājya Samācāram*, both initiated in 1847, one under the supervision of the Rev. Miller and the other under the patronage of Dr. Gunhart. The famous *Arunodai* (1846), the first Assamese journal, started by the American missionaries; *Khair-Khak-e-Hind* (1848) and *Fawā-e-Dun-Nāzirīn* (1845), both in Urdu, edited by the famous teacher of Delhi College, Master Ramchandra; *Bibidhārtha Samgraha* (1851), a Bengali journal edited by the noted scholar, Rajendralal Mitra; *Tiṇa Varttamāni* (1855), a Tamil

weekly for the dissemination of scientific knowledge; *Dosate Pārasī Banuan*, a Gujarati journal, and *Māsik Patrikā*, a Bengali monthly, published in 1854, mainly to highlight the problems of women; *Strī Bodh* and *Sundarī Subodh*, both in Gujarati and both published in 1857, exclusively for the women. The catalogue can be lengthened but it should suffice to show that the areas coming under the influence of the new education, and facing questions regarding social and religious issues, discovered the potentiality of journalism and of the prose. A ferment in the intellectual life, howsoever limited, is very much evident and the topics discussed in these various journals present a sharp contrast to the literature of the past. The ornate poetry that flourished and was still produced under the patronage of the Sanskritic of Persian-knowing elite, the devotional lyrics and narrative poems that grew under the patronage of religious sects, had almost no relation with the themes surfacing in these journals. A new literature concerned with the contemporary reality was struggling to emerge.

Problems of Prose Styles

We have already mentioned that the prose emerging under the direct supervision of the Christian missionaries and the government officials was not accepted by the reading public; it became an acceptable medium of literary expression only when the native speakers started using it. The early writers, in most of the languages, came from among the Brahmins or the higher caste group, and most of them had a predilection for Sanskrit. Many of them felt that a written style, in order to be dignified, must maintain a distance from the spoken and intimate style. This happened not only in Bengali and Marathi and other languages where Sanskritic influence was strong, but also in Urdu where Persianized style was considered to be more prestigious. This is the main reason why Mir Amman's prose was not considered acceptable by the writers in Delhi and Lucknow. Whenever a writer thought of using prose for the public, he tended to forget the rhythm of the spoken language or the vocabularly one normally uses in natural contexts, but tried to Sanskritize or Persianize according to the conventions with which he was associated.

Ghalib's prose, admired for its simplicity and clarity, must be treated as an exception. But he achieved that because he wrote those letters to friends without knowing that they would be published one day. His Persian letters, written with great care, mostly to the eminent persons of his time, betray a recondite style.[5] "The idea for the publication of Ghalib's letters first struck his friend Raj Bahadur Munshi Shiva Narain Akbarabadi around 1858", writes P. L. Lakhanpal. But his approach to Ghalib in this context was repulsed by the poet who purposely discouraged the idea, saying, "there is hardly a letter that I have penned with care and purpose.

The language used is just casual. The publication would go against my fame and reputation."[6] That the publication, indeed, enhanced his fame and reputation is a significant matter.

Vidyasagar, who wrote *Betāl Pañcaviṃśati* (1847) and is often hailed as one of the finest writers of Bengali prose, was ridiculed by some of the Sanskrit pandits of his time for not writing a heavily Sanskritized style. The conflict between the two styles, one nearer the speech of the people and the other nearer a supposedly respectable model, away from ordinary speech, continued till the end of the century and is yet to be resolved in some of the languages.

The majority of the writers associated with the journals either knew English or were exposed to the English language, and this conditioned their world-view and literary style to a great extent. Most of them, as we have said before, did not write with literary pretensions; but all of them, consciously or unconsciously, took part in a great experiment which brought about a real break-through in Indian literature. The awareness of the social problems, a rational view as opposed to a theocentric universe, a spirit of enquiry, a desire to examine one's past heritage—all these appeared in prose rather than in poetry. Here is the historic importance of prose in Indian literature.

Each and every poet in every Indian language had to struggle hard to establish his distinctiveness, had to work in the shadow of an immediate predecessor and to adjust himself to a long established literary canon. In prose the Indian writer had no such tyranny of the past; he was more or less 'autonomous'; he could experiment freely and create a new set of norms. In the case of poetry one would notice that the traditional stream flowed throughout the nineteenth century and in some languages even in the twentieth. Old poetry, old in respect of both form and theme and world-view, continued side by side with new poetry. This incongruity is partly explained by the continuity of the tradition. The tradition was not easy to shake off, particularly by the poets who did not have the opportunity of knowing other alternative models. The old poetry continued in the language areas unaffected by English education but even in those areas the first flash of modernity appeared in the prose. In Assamese, Oriya, Kannada and Telugu, for example, the poetic tradition was vigorous and strong, and it continued to be so. That tradition did not face any challenge from the new poets. But the prose which began to appear in these languages was fresh and new, distinct from the old prose, and was a new vehicle of new experience.

It is not a coincidence that some of the makers of Indian prose—Rammohan Ray, Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar, Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan, Raja Shivaprasad, Nabin Chandra Ray, Chinnaya Suri, were primarily scholars, educationists,

social thinkers, rather than creative writers. They created a new medium which gave a measure of unprecedented freedom to the writers. Of course the medium had its own problems, linguistic and stylistic, and the writers continued their search for ideal styles varying from 'register' to 'register'. They were also conditioned by their predilections for Sanskritism and Persianism, and motivated by their social status and group ideologies formed and shaped by their religious and educational background.

The development of prose, particularly its maturity into a literary medium, was indeed a very complex phenomenon. But that complexity itself was an indication of its dynamism. We do not have space enough to deal with the inner history of the Indian prose, which will take one into the problems of standardization of styles, growth of vocabularly, neologisms and various sentence structures. But it is imperative to mention that the prose that emerged in all the Indian languages by the middle of the nineteenth century had to pass through a tortuous process to establish itself first as a medium of thought, as opposed to verse, and then to reach the stage where the medium become an inseparable part of the matter. And in this process the prose developed various dimensions and functions, continuously widening its area, and finally fortifying its own position of strength from which it could meet verse at its own terms.

Biography and History

We have seen in the previous period a new genre, which can be broadly described as history, with biography as its main sub-class, developed within prose literature. In one sense it had a connection with the *tazkirah*, and the hagiographies written in verse. The verse hagiography is still lingering in this period, its finest evidence being *Rasik Prakāś Bhaktamāl* (1839) in Punjabi by Giani Santokh Singh.

But prose is now slowly dislodging verse from this area. *Asām Burañjīr Puthī* (1844) in Assamese, *Oḍiśāra Itihāsa* (1846) in Oriya, *Āsārus-Sanādīd* (1847) in Urdu, *Bhāratbarṣīyetihās Sār Saṃgraha* (pt. i, 1848, pt. ii, 1850) in Bengali, or *Bidyā Kalpadrum* (1846) of Krishnamohan Banerjee—which contained histories of Rome and Egypt and also lives of great men—are instances of this. The historical accounts of Rome and Greece and England appeared in other languages too, mainly because of the demand from students. Biographies, however, emerged from another motivation, religious and moral instruction, and also from the general interest in history. The biographies of the prophet, *Jila-ul-Qulubbi Zikril-Mahabub* (1842) in Urdu or *Mohammad Caritra* (1856) in Telugu, or *Jānu Banyanu Caritra* (1856), biography of John Bunyan in Telugu, Master Ramchandra's *Tazkarat-ul-Kamlin* (1849), lives of the celebrities of ancient Europe and India are examples of this motivation. Slowly this sub-genre will grow into a powerful organ of nationalistic propaganda. The number of publi-

cation of books is not yet very large, but when one looks at the number of journals and magazines the output is not inconsiderable. In these journals one finds the increasing growth of an awareness of a bigger world, of various civilizations, which counteracted the narrow parochialism within which the pre-modern literature operated.

Translations

The same spirit can be seen in translation. It helped renewal with the literature of the past, parts of which were forgotten. It started with Rammohan's translations of the Upaniṣads, and helped by some of the early printers who found a good market for ancient religious texts. Translations were mainly from Sanskrit, Persian and English, and occasionally from one Indian language to another—for example *Padārtha Sār* (1855), a textbook of physics translated from Bengali into Assamese, *Betāl Pañcaviṃśati* (1847), stories of Betal, from Hindi into Bengali.

The translated texts show a few trends very clearly. One is the increasing interest in fiction, both Eastern and Western. The other is the habit of translating verse texts into prose. And the third trend is a growing interest in dramatic literature.

The Gujarati *Rāmāyaṇa* (1837) by Giridhara and the Persian translation of the *Śuka Saptati* under the title *Tutināmeh* (1838) represent the trends continuing for the last few centuries, one of the dissemination of the Sanskrit epics into the language of the people, the other of the attempt to synthesize the Persian and Sanskrit traditions. The Oriya translation of the *Gīta Govinda*, (1840) or the *Raṅganāth Rāmāyaṇa Vacanamu* (1840), a colloquial version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Telugu, belonged to that of the first tradition. But the Oriya translations of *Mitralābha and Batris Siṃhāsan* (both published in 1840) and Vidyasagar's Bengali translation of the Betal stories in 1847 (though translated from Hindi it can be considered a part of the Sanskritic material), or *Nīti Candrikā* (1856), the Telugu version of the *Pañcatantra* done by Chinnay Suri, were mainly for the class room. The only celebrated Sanskrit prose work, other than the tales, translated in this period was Bana's *Kādambarī*. It was translated into Bengali in 1854 by Tarashankar Tarkaratna, which soon encouraged some scholars in the neighbouring areas to translate it, and some of them actually recast the story from the available Bengali version.

Some of the notable translations from Sanskrit in this period are: *Ratnāvalī* (1849) in Bengali by Nilmani Pal, *Prabodh Candrodaya* (1851) in Marathi by Amarapurkar and Bapat, *Śakuntalā* (1854) in Bengali by Vidyasagar and next year by Nanda Kumar Ray (the former recast in the narrative form, the latter retaining the original dramatic form), *Vikramorvaśī* (1854) in Marathi by Bhaskar Damodar Palande, *Mṛcchakaṭika* under the title *Cāru*

Carit (1857) in Bengali by Aghornath Tarkanidhi, and *Veṇīsaṃhāra* (1856) in Bengali by Ramnarayan Tarkanidhi, and also in Marathi by Parashuramapant Godbole in 1857. They indicate not only the growth of a new trend, the growth of dramatic literature, about which we shall speak later, but also of a search for new themes in the ancient plays. Vidyasagar's *Śakuntalā*, a prose narrative on the basis of Kalidasa's play is an indicator. The thirst for fictional literature is also visible in the translations from English. *Aesop's Fables*,[7] *Tales from Shakespeare*,[8] *Pilgrim's Progress*,[9] *Rasselas*[10] and *Arabian Nights* appear to be the popular texts. Some of them were obviously for school children and some for the adult. The *Pilgrim's Progress* had already been translated into some language at the initiative of the Christian missionaries, and it was mainly through their initiative that the text was now made available in other languages. *Rasselas* was a text-book for many schools and was translated mainly for the benefit of the students. Translations followed more or less a uniform pattern. It is remarkable that the Gujarati poet Dalpatram, who did not have any formal English education, wrote a comedy *Lakṣmī* (1850) on the basis of an English translation of the Greek play *Plutus* by Aristophanes. It is interesting not only because it is the first Greek play to be adapted in an Indian language, but because of the choice of this play by Dalpatram. *Plutus* is the last play of the Attic comedian, a kind of moral play with an enjoyable story and occasional flashes of Aristophanic humour, but it is an insignificant work.

Among the interesting works translated in this period is Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.[11] *The Fair Penitent* under the title *Anutāpinī Naba Kāminī* (1856) translated into Bengali by Shamacharan Das, as well as Ramnarayan, Vidyaratna's *Pal o Barjiniā Itihās* (1856), a Bengali version of the English rendering of the French *Paul et Virginia*, however, are instances of random translation like that of *Lakṣmī* by Dalpatram. Two major authors introduced to the Indian reader during this period through translation are Shakespeare and Milton. While *Bhānumatī Cittabilās* (1853), the Bengali adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*, by Harachandra Ghosh, is probably the first attempt to Indianize Shakespeare, *Sukhad Udyān Bhraṣṭa Kābya* (1854), a Bengali translation of the *Paradise Lost* by two obscure poets with the help of a Christian missionary is one of the earliest attempts to introduce Milton to the Indian reader. Both Shakespeare and Milton by now were familiar to the English educated population in India. The students of Hindu College were fortunate to be taught by Captain Richardson, about whom Macaulay wrote, "I can forget everything about India, but your reading of Shakespeare, never." Performances of English plays including Shakespeare's were extremely popular in Calcutta. One Vaishnava Charan Adhya earned considerable reputation in the role of Othello at the Sans Souci Theatre (August-September 1848).

Shakespeare and Milton

In the history of the reception of Western literature in India, one notices a long-drawn battle between the admirers of these two English poets. The Christian missionaries, in particular, who strongly opposed the idea of secular education invariably preferred Milton to Shakespeare, but it was Shakespeare, rather than Milton, who cast his spell over the Indian reader. Milton was popular amongst a section of English educated students for his radicalism, views against monarchy and portrayal of the valiant archangel. He was translated later into a few more languages, and among the major Indian writers Michael Madhusudan Datta was deeply inspired by his poem. But his impact, if indeed any, was marginal and limited. Shakespeare, on the other hand, became the most popular European author in India, and also the most influential not only in the growth of an Indian theatre but also in the emergence of a tragic vision which made the nineteenth century Indian literature distinct from its earlier traditions.

IV WOMEN

The Woman Writer

Women writers were rare in pre-British India, and there was none in the first half of the nineteenth century. A few women poets came into prominence in the medieval period: Andal and Karaikkal Ammaiyar in Tamil Nadu, Lalla Ded in Kashmir, Mahadeviyakka in Karnataka, Mirabai in Rajasthan, Madhavi Dasi in Orissa, Padmapriya in Assam, and Chandrabati in Bengal. All of them must be treated as exceptions. There is hardly any evidence to show that social patronage was available to the women poets. On the contrary, the great corpus of nursery rimes, *vrata-kathā*, fairy-tales, festival songs and various types of labour songs were created partly, if not entirely by women. Although this body of literature was enjoyed by all members of society, it was preserved and transmitted mainly by women. One should believe either that the creative faculty of women operated exclusively within these literary forms and did not trespass into other forms of literature, or that many of the women writers who ventured into other genres preferred to remain anonymous. The few writers of the medieval period we have mentioned were associated with religious sects;[12] some of them were socially ostracized, though apotheosized later. One wonders whether it was possible for a woman who was neither a saint nor a member of any religious sect to be accepted as a poet by society. We do not have much evidence of the existence of women writers who led a normal domestic life.

The candour with which an Andal or a Mahadeviyakka expressed her passionate love for her god was legitimatized within the framework of a

religious poem. It was impossible for a woman poet to express such passionate longing for a human lover under the existing social conditions. A Shila Bhattarika, a Sanskrit poetess, or an Avvaiyar, a poetess belonging to Sangam period, were impossibilities within the rigidities of the social codes of the medieval period. The institution of courtesans gave some opportunity to the women poets, but their talent was mainly directed to please their male admirers. A woman who was neither a mendicant nor a courtesan, but a conventional member of society, was discouraged from serving the muse of poetry. There was hardly any change in the situation till the middle of the nineteenth century. Shaikh Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi mentions only five women poets in his *Tazkira-e-Hindi* (1810). The number increased slightly by the middle of the century as evidenced by Fasihuddin Ranj's tazkira *Baharistān-e-Naz* (1864).[13] But none came into prominence. One wonders whether this was entirely due to the lack of creative talents among these poetesses or because of certain prejudices against a woman's role as writer. One need not press this point further in the absence of evidence, but it is necessary to stress that such prejudices persisted for a long time in different parts of the country.

Female Education

The social reforms movements, many of them directed towards the alleviation of the suffering of women and betterment of their position in society, were primarily responsible for creating conditions favourable for the emergence of women writers. In some families elementary education used to be given to women and the arrangement for a formal education began only in the nineteenth century. The Christian missionaries were the pioneers in this field. Thanks to Baptist missionaries, the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society was founded in 1819 by several English women who started the Bengali Female School.[14] These schools failed to attract girls from the middle-class families. When Miss Mary Ann Cooke came to India to help promote the cause of female education, Radhakanta Dev wrote to the President of the Calcutta School Society in 1821 that "the Hindus will arrange to educate their daughters before their marriage by engaging tutors at home. Recently some missionary schools have been started for the education of poor Hindu girls."[15] Radhakanta Dev wanted Miss Cooke to train women belonging to "respectable" but "poor" families, who would later be appointed home tutoress in prominent Hindu families. 'At this there would be no encroachment on the time-honoured customs and practices of the Hindus, but there would be spread of education among the women.' Within a year Miss Cooke established eight schools for girls. And within the next twenty-five years, despite prejudices and apprehensions of the orthodox gentry, the female education

progressed considerably, thanks to the efforts of the Rev. K. M. Banerji, Vidyasagar, and particularly J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, the legal member of the Governor General's Council and the President of the Council of Education, and the moving inspiration behind all of them.

The first attempt by the missionaries to start a school for Indian girls was made in October 1821 in Bengal. The American Missionary Society started a school in Bombay in 1824, and two more in Ahmedanagar in 1831. In 1845, the first girls' school under partial Indian management was opened in Madras. "At the close of 1850," writes K. K. Datta, "the missionary efforts for female education in India embraced three hundred and fifty-four day schools, with eleven thousand five hundred girls, and ninety-nine boarding schools, with two thousand four hundred and fifty girls, taught exclusively in the vernacular languages."[16]

The Woman Reader

We need not go into the details of the spread of female education, but it is important to mention that till the mid-nineteenth century the readership of the new literature was confined almost exclusively to men, and only with the spread of female education the composition of the readership began to change. In his address on Native Female Education (July 1855) Hur Chunder Dutt, one of the Indo-English writers of this period, appealed "let us also encourage the plan of training up female teachers who shall knock at every door with food for the soul."[17] A significant part of the nineteenth century literature was actually a reflection of this appeal. When Kristodas Pal in a lecture of June 1856 said, "a new race has risen in the land which had ere long no name or local habitation. The worthies of this newly sprung-up class are a glory to the nation . . . they have discovered that women like them are made of flesh and blood, are governed by similar motives, influenced by similar affections, watched over by the same providence, have equal rights, are entitled to similar treatment," he anticipated the spirit that was going to dominate Indian literature in years to come.

In 1851, Maganbhai Karamchand of Ahmedabad endowed a sum of Rs. 20,000 for the establishment of two girls' schools in that city, and that very year Jotiba Govindarao Phule, the celebrated champion of the downtrodden, started a school at Pune for girls. Instances can be multiplied, but it is enough to show that there was a sudden awareness of the problems of women and much of the literature of this period was directed to this problem. The Bengali fiction, *Phulmani O Karunār Bibaran* (1852) by Mrs. Hannah Catherine Mullens was primarily meant for the women; the first Marathi novel *Yamunā Paryaṭan* (1857) by Baba Padamnaji was about widow marriage; the first Malayalam novel, *Indulekhā* (1889), not

only includes enough material for women's education but projects a heroine as an ideal before the contemporary women readers. Chandu Menon wrote:

> twenty years hence there may be found hundreds of Indulekhas in Malabar who would be able to choose their own husbands for pure and sweet love. My narrative of the love and courtship of Madhava is intended to show to the young ladies of Malabar how happy they can be if they have the freedom to choose their partners.[18]

Pyarichand Mitra (1814–1883) and Radhanath Sikdar (1813–1870) started a monthly, *Māsik Patra* (August 1854), for the benefit of the women, and the former wrote a Bengali book *Bāmātoṣinī* (1881) later. That very year (i.e. 1854) Master Pestanaji Dhanajibhai published a Gujarati weekly *Dasate Pārasī Banuan*, devoted entirely to the problems of Parsi women and in 1857 there were at least two women's magazines in Gujarati, *Strībodh* and *Sundarī Subodh*. It will not be wrong to treat these literary activities as part of the larger socio-religious movements. And one can also conclude that the similarity in literary forms and themes is a manifestation of the similarity in the nature of socio-religious movements in different parts of the country. The predictability of behaviour of linguistic and social communities was confined not only to the areas coming under the ambit of English education but experiencing socio-religious movements with similar objectives.

V THE GROWTH OF FICTION

The objectives of the socio-religious movements started at different places were more or less similar, but their intensity differed. The Maharashtra reforms, for example, did not share the radicalism of Bengal and preferred to go slow in certain matters, but their efforts have similar effects on literature. Bal Gangadhar Shastri was not a revolutionary; he followed an orthodox pattern of behaviour, but favoured social reforms, including widow-marriage, which "did not entail giving up religious beliefs."[19] In Gujarat Mehtaji Durgaram Mancharam (1809–1876), who had no education in English, had no difficulty in sharing the indignation of his Western-educated compatriots against religious superstitions. In 1838 he started protesting against the treatment of widows and in 1844, when he established the *Mānav Dharma Sabhā*, he encouraged discussions about caste-system. Lokahitvadi, or Gopal Hari Deshmukh, a product of the government English school at Pune, started writing on social problems since 1840. The similarities in the movements in Bengal, Maharashtra and Gujarat, to some extent, are reflected in similar patterns of growth in literature. Similar social movements in Madras started a little later and took more time to gather momentum. But once they emerged

their focus of attention was almost predictably the contemporary social situation, particularly the position of women.

The growth of fiction, of course, has its inner history. It is a history of the development of the prose narrative in different forms—anecdotes and tales and cycles of stories—and in different modes—didactic and romantic. During this period one notices works like *Nītidarpaṇ* (1837), a collection of didactic stories in Marathi, by Vishnushastri Bapat, or *Vāṭasarācī Goṣṭa* (1838) a collection of Marathi stories exposing the social evils of contemporary life by Ragho Narayan Devale. These are the continuations of the trend already well established in the previous period. Similarly there was a *dāstān*, entitled *Fasāna-e-Ajāeb*, in Urdu by Rajab Ali Baig Sarur in 1842.[20] It is a story of adventures of Prince Jam-a-Alam in love with Anjuman Ara, a princess. The prince wins her hand after braving many dangers. Similarly, the collection of Oriya tales *Niti Kathā* (1843) by A. Sutton, the Bengali cycle of stories *Betāl Pañcaviṃśati* (1847) by Vidyasagar, *Kata Cintāmaṇi* (1847), a collection of Tamil stories by Virapatra Chettiyar, *Strī Carita* (1854), a collection of erotic tales in Marathi by Ramaji Gonoji, etc. are part of this established trend. They were motivated either by pedagogical or journalistic demands. Each of these works can be analysed in respect of plot construction and characterisation, dialogues, and invention of situation, and it is possible to discern individual creative power in them, and to relate them with the later development of the novel. But the story will not be complete unless we realize that the novel, as a form, emerged out of a social necessity, as an instrument of propaganda of social and religious ideologies. The form was discovered as it were by the newly emerging writers for serving a distinct social purpose overriding its aesthetic possibilities. The instances of the early experimentations in this form around this time were: *Phulmani O Karunār Bibaran* (1852), in Bengali by H. Catherine Mullens; *Aitihāsik Upanyās* (1857), a Bengali work by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay,.a well-known eduationist, based on the Rev. Hobart Caunter's *Romance of History* (1836), *Yamunā Paryaṭan* (1857), a Marathi narrative by Baba Padamanaji, and *Ālāler Gharer Dulāl* (1858) the Bengali work by Pyarichand Mitra. All these works have been claimed as novels—often as the first novel—in different Indian languages. The early history of the novel, however, is the history of something that is not yet a novel.

Phulmani, a moral and educative story written by a Christian missionary, Mrs. Hannah Catherine Mullens, is part of the Christian propaganda. It has a cohesive story, moralistic to the core, and quite possibly it is an adaptation or a translation of an English original.[21] Despite the enthusiasm of some scholars claiming it as the first Bengali 'novel', it did not have any relation with the later novels, and there is hardly any

evidence to show that the contemporary reader read it as a 'novel'. The work, however, differs from the existing works of fiction, in its focus on certain problems of women in particular and society and religion in general. If propagandists decided to choose the novel form for a utilitarian purpose, the novelists, on the other hand, chose themes, immediately concerned with contemporary women and other social problems, for their novels. And at times it is difficult to maintain the distinction between the novelist and the propagandist. *Phulmani* is the beginning of that trend.

Yamunā-Paryaṭan by Baba Padamanji (1831–1906) is another interesting work to understand the circumstances in which the Indian novel appeared. Baba embraced Christianity three years before writing the novel. He found Hinduism degrading and the Hindu attitude towards women, inhuman. He was married to a ten-year old girl when he himself was seventeen years old; and when he became a Christian he was not allowed to live with his Hindu wife. He went to the court of law to seek justice, and it was primarily to meet the legal expenses that he wrote this novel, a defence to widow marriage, which was published by the Bombay Tract and Book Society. Baba wrote later "I had a loss of two hundred rupees in the case. But I profited that much from the book. Since the book was written and published for the welfare of the widows, I do not have any regrets for spending the money for the woman, who was subjected to widowhood even when her husband was living."

The plot in brief is that Yamuna, a girl educated in a Christian school, marries Vinayaka who is attracted to Christianity. Vinayaka travels in different parts of Maharashtra and during the course of his travels he meets many widows and learns about their miseries, which makes him even more inclined to Christianity. He becomes mortally wounded by a bullock cart while saving a child's life. Before his death he persuades Yamuna to baptize him formally, and requests her father not to impose the cruel rules of widowhood upon his wife. But his mother, refuses to respect his wishes and starts preparing the usual rituals including the shaving of the head, the breaking of the bangles etc. Yamuna, however, gathers enough courage to run away from her father-in-law's house and takes asylum in the house of a Christian couple. She accepts Christianity and remarries.

The plot is thin, loose and episodic, the tone blatantly propagandist. The author's aim was to champion the cause of the widows on the one hand, and to extol the glories of Christianity on the other. In the first edition of the book, the text of the widow-remarriage act, and an essay in Sanskrit, *Vidhavāśrumārjana*, by Dadoba Pandurang, a well-known scholar, along with its Marathi translation were appended. Baba did not write the work to entertain his audience, but to arouse their sympathy and pity for the widows. Since he believed in the superiority of Christianity over Hindu-

ism, he did not hesitate to propagate its cause too. The contemporary readers had some embarrassment with the work. The orthodox Hindus felt that the author had exaggerated the sufferings of the widows; the common reader, though he did not share his enthusiasm for Christianity, was in sympathy with the author's views on widows. It criticised the caste-system, religious superstitions, priestly authority, and demanded a fair place for woman in society, and portrayed with some success the character of a woman capable of freeing herself from the chains of traditions. Here lies the deeper relationship between this work and the social movements simmering in Bengal and Maharashtra; and also between the growth of a new literary genre and the changing social conditions.

It is a coincidence that the two works *Yamunā Paryaṭan* and *Aitihāsik Upanyās* were published in the same year, representing the two trends in Indian fiction, one propagandist and mainly dealing with the contemporary social problem, and the other historical-romantic, which will gather speed and momentum in the next fifty years.

Aitihāsik Upanyās contains two stories 'Saphal svapna' and 'Aṅgurīya Binimay'. 'Saphal Svapna', a short tale, in certain parts is almost a translation of Caunter's story 'The Travellers Dream' but there is a significant change. Bhudeb omitted the last part of Caunter's story, which has no connection with the plot. Clark observed that "Caunter stopped when the tale ran out, Mukherji stopped when the tale has reached a point which in his view was a satisfactory rounding-off of the whole."[22] Clark points out that this understanding of the difference between the two is a landmark in the history of the novel in Bengal, and in fact, one can add, in the history of the Indian novel. The structural considerations were vital in distinguishing the traditional stories, *kathā*, *ākhyān*, *upākhyān* etc. from the novel. 'Aṅgurīya Binimay', based on Caunter's 'The Maharatta Chief' contains greater originality and one tends to agree with Clark that "it is without question the first historical novel to be written in Bengal."[23]

The work is about love between Shivaji and Roshinara, the daughter of his archenemy Aurangzeb. They enter into a spiritual union symbolised by the exchange of rings. The striking qualities of the work are its narrative devices, its powerful dialogues, and use of soliloquies and letters to bring out the complexities of the characters. Historical novels, as we will see later, emerged not merely out of a curiosity for the past or for romantic excursion into forgotten days, but from the desire to reinterpret our past and from a quest for ideal heroes. But Bhudeb presented the confrontation between Shivaji and Aurangzeb, without glorifying or maligning any religious community to which they belonged. With this work began the historical novel in India which was going to be the most popular form of fiction in the next few decades.

VI THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW DRAMA

The Indigenous Performing Traditions

Although we do not have enough evidence of dramatic literatures in this period, it can be assumed with some justification that the traditional performances continued in full vigour. Among the traditional performances the folk-plays included, *Kathakali* was still enjoying its reputation and *āṭṭakkathas* were being written by men of creative power. The most noted figure in this field during this period was K. Rajaraja Varma (1812–1846). The reign of Kartika Tirunal (1758–98), which proved to be a fertile period of *Kathakali*, was followed by another productive phase during the reign of the enlightened Maharaja Swati Tirunal (1824–47),[24] one of the foremost composers of the Karnatic music. He did not write any *āṭṭakkatha* but Irayimman Tampi (1782–1956) wrote *Uttarā Svayamvaram*, *Kīcaka Vadham* and *Dakṣa Yajñam*[25], and Kilimanoor Raja Raja Varma, known as Koyittampuran, wrote his *Rāvaṇa Vijayam* considered to be one of the outstanding contributions to *āṭṭakkatha* literature.[26]

Āṭṭakkathas are the only form of dramatic literature that flourished under royal patronage in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and developed an expectedly sophisticated form. Powerful poets such as Tampi or Koyittampuran, could, however, make innovation within this structure. Ravana of *Rāvaṇa Vijayam*, for example, deviates from the popular conception and emerges as a hero "endowed richly with human feelings" and "impeccable taste."[27] These innovations within a localised tradition, however, their subtleties and intricacies not withstanding, did not make any impact on the growth of dramatic literature elsewhere. Scholars were still writing plays in the Sanskrit language, following the principles of ancient dramaturgy. While the Sanskrit plays of the classical period did make a contribution to the growth of drama in Indian languages in the nineteenth century, the contemporary Sanskrit dramas, such as *Aditi Kuṇḍalaharaṇa* (1855) based on the theme of the theft of Aditi's erring by a demon, or *Prabhāvatī Haraṇa* (1855), a play on the marriage of Pradyumna and Prabhavati, were sterile and boring, being mere imitations of the earlier tradition. During the Moslem rule classical drama did not find any encouragement, and the drama, in the works of Keith took "refuge in those parts of India where Muslim power was slowest to extend."[28] However, some new dramatic traditions such as the *Aṅkiā nāṭ* in Assam and *Kīrtanīyā Nāṭaka* in Mithila developed during the medieval period. Between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Maithili drama flourished in the courts of Nepal and a new tradition, distinct from classical Sanskrit, developed there.[29] In fact, Nepal can be very well called the birth place of vernacular drama. Not all the plays written here were in

Maithili, some were in Newari and Bengali as well. The written texts in Maithili, or Assamese, or Bengali were confined to the libraries of the Nepal court and the nineteenth century reader-audience had no knowledge of their existence. The writers were familiar either with the classical Sanskrit plays or with the folk dramatic forms current in their areas. Many of them could read the Sanskrit plays in the original and those without any knowledge of Sanskrit could read the translations which had begun to appear. Although two powerful streams, one of the classical Sanskrit plays and the other of the folk plays (such as *Terukkuṭṭu* or *Yātrā* or *Bāyalata*), were present in the nineteenth century, the impact on the growth of modern Indian drama was mainly that of classical Sanskrit. Almost all the major languages took Sanskrit plays as their models, but the popular traditions were not completely ignored. The Western impact was rather feeble in the beginning and unlike the novelist, the Indian playwright's reaction to Western drama was hesitant. The main reason was the presence of a powerful dramatic literature in Sanskrit and a vibrant popular tradition of performing arts. Even in the urban centres, the educated population, patronised various popular performing traditions which were integral parts of religious festivals and rituals. In other words, the popular dramatic traditions were too strongly rooted to be ignored by a change in the artistic taste of the elite. They surfaced quite often in adaptations from classical Sanskrit or in the plays claimed to be constructed on the Western model. A time came when the dramatists and the directors realized the potentialities of the popular tradition and yielded to it. The story of Indian drama is extremely tortuous and more dramatic than that of any other literary genre.

Exposure to Western Traditions

The attempt towards the creation of a new dramatic literature followed two distinct strands: one the exploitation of the available popular traditions with some adjustment with classical drama; and the other, the creation of a dramatic literature on the European model. Both the strands, however, continued side by side, and each group remained distinct from the other.

The earliest English theatre in Calcutta dates back to 1753. The second theatre came up in 1775.[30] The early theatres were not open to Indians. But when the Chowringhee Theatre (1813–39), one of the finest English theatres in Calcutta, produced Shakespeare, Sheriden or Goldsmith, a small group of young Indians showed their eagerness to find entry there. Some of the Calcutta aristocrats started their own private theatre to entertain their friends and British officials in the city. Prasanna Kumar Tagore staged portions of *Julias Ceaser* in 1831 in his Hindu Theatre. *Bidyāsunder* was produced very lavishly at Sham Bazar Theatre (1835) at the house of Nabin Chandra Basu. A group of students started the Oriental

Theatre (1853) and produced a few plays of Shakespeare: *Othello* (1853), *The Merchant of Venice* (1854) and *Henry IV* (1857). Jorasanko Natyashala (1854) staged *Julias Ceaser*. The stages of the growth of the professional theatre in Bombay followed a different pattern during this period. The European amateurs performed at the Bombay Theatre (established in 1770), where several English plays, including those by Shakespeare, were produced. They must have made some impression on the educated section and prompted Jagannath Shankerseth to build a private theatre in Bombay in 1842. That year "the chief of Sangli was profoundly impressed by performances of native plays by the Kanarese players . . . and he asked one of his gifted clerks, Vishnupanth Bhave, to follow in the footsteps of the visiting players, to collect a troupe, and to produce plays in Marathi with music on a Karnataki basis."[31] The experiments of Bhave were, as Yajnik says, "a purification of medieval performances on indigenous lines." After the death of his patron Bhave turned into a professional and "incorporated several devices and stage tricks of Parsi Companies who were imitating the English model."[32] Bhave went to Bombay in 1851 and witnessed a European play which influenced him profoundly. His plays were admired by the audience but one had to wait till the seventies for the real growth of Marathi play and theatre. C. C. Mehta[33] informs that a play entitled *Nathari Firangiz Thekame Avi* was staged in the Andrews Library of Surat in November 1852. The story is about a bad Firangiz woman brought to her senses. This was obviously a Parsi version of *The Taming of the Shrew*. This play written by Dinshah Aredeshir Talyarkhan is the earliest known adaptation of Shakespeare in Gujarati.

The first Hindi play of this period, *Nahuṣa Nāṭak* (1841), by Gopal Chandra alias Giridhar Das, or the first Marathi play *Sītā Svayamvar* (1843) by Vishnudas Bhave, were products of the indigenous tradition, while the first two Bengali plays, *Kīrtibilās* and *Bhadrājun* both published in 1852, betray a tension between the Sanskritic and the Western models. The former is an attempt to write a tragedy and the latter claims to have employed the dramatic structure of the West. It followed the model of the English plays in dividing the acts into scenes, a feature not seen in Sanskrit drama, and avoided the *nāndī* (the prologue of the stage-manager) and the character of the *Viduṣaka* (clown). These plays, however, were never staged. Private theatres in Calcutta encouraged translations of Sanskrit plays as evidenced by the performance of the Bengali translation of *Śakuntalā* (by Nanda Kumar Ray) and *Mahāśvetā* (an adaptation of *Kadambarī* by Mani Mohan Sarkar) at Ashutosh Dev's Theatre; of *Veṇīsaṃhār* at the Vidyotsahini Theatre in the presence of Indians and Europeans, all in the year 1857. It is interesting to note that the affluent English educated Calcutta elite staged English plays and Sanskrit plays in translation but did not patronise the two original Bengali plays, both of

which made significant departures from the rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy. The plot of *Kīrtibilās*, according to some critics, was influenced by *Hamlet*. It was not staged not because of its poor literary quality but, primarily, because of prejudice against staging a tragedy in an Indian language. It may be mentioned here that when Michael Madhusudan Datta wrote his tragic play *Kṛṣṇa Kumārī* a few years later (1861), it was not staged by his patron because of objections from some of the members of his family.

The Private Stage and Drama

The growth of drama is directly regulated by the condition of the stage. Since there were only private stages maintained by the rich, the drama was controlled by the rich. When the patron was enlightened it was possible for a dramatist to experiment with new forms or themes. Ramnarayan Tarkaratna (1822–1866), a teacher of the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta, for example, wrote a play *Kulīn Kul Sarbasva* (1854) which means "Caste is Everything to a High Caste Brahmin." It was written in response to a competition organized by a landlord. The play, a social satire against the Brahmins and their polygamy, was staged and drew favourable critical notice, mainly because of its theme and tone. It was for the first time that a drama was used as a means of social criticism. This play, therefore, is connected with the satirical writings emerging mainly in the periodicals, and the novels highlighting the problems of women. In 1856 Umesh Chandra Mitra, inspired by the heroic efforts of Vidyasagar, wrote a play *Bidhabā bibāha Nāṭak*, on the problems of widows, in Bengali; and the following year Gunabhiram Barua started serializing his Assamese play on the same theme, *Rāmnavamī*, in *Arunoday*, which was later published in book form. Only two years later, in 1859 Samuel Pir Bakhs a Muslim converted to Christianity, wrote a play *Bidhabā bibāha Nāṭak* in Bengali in support of the movement launched by Vidyasagar. Thematically these plays written in Assamese and Bengali are connected with the Marathi novel, *Yamunā Paryaṭan*, and the essays on widow marriage (1850) and the poem *Vena Caritra* (1868) by the Gujarati poet Dalpatram; and all of them are deeply related with polemical writings on the social problems of this period. They are products of one movement, of one way of thinking. These plays also indicate the realization of the potentiality of drama as an instrument of social change. If *Kulīn Kula Sarbasva* exposed the high caste Brahmins, Kashi Vishvanath Mudaliyar's Tamil play *Tāciltār Nāṭakam* (1857) exposed the malpractices in government offices in Madras. The nineteenth-century Indians used literature as a weapon against many enemies—social evils, administrative injustice, the British rule. Indians have often lamented the absence of tragedy in our literary tradition, but they have not wondered why there was an absence of satire too. The classical drama did not allow much scope for social satire—the few

exceptions prove the rule—it was left to the folk drama. But in the nineteenth century social satire became a conspicuous feature.

A New Popular Theatre

We cannot say that a new dramatic literature had evolved before 1857 but the seeds had started sprouting, and the drama was about to emerge as an effective creative medium and also as an instrument of people's resistance against the forces of oppression. It is, however, necessary to mention that the signs of the growth of a commercial theatre, precursor of the Bombay film tradition, thriving on the demands of cheap entertainment, had begun to appear. Wajid Ali Shah, the last Nawab of Oudh, staged a play *Rādhā Kānhaiyyā Kā Qissā* in 1855.[34] This is now accepted as the first Urdu play, a traditional story told in the traditional manner. Next year Amanat, a pupil of Nasikh, and a courtier of Wajid Ali Shah wrote an Urdu play *Inder Sabhā*. It was a musical play with a slender plot but was immensely entertaining because of its breezy fancifulness. In all probability it was written to suit the taste of his patron and in accordance with the rules of a colourful popular performance. Saksena writes, "One of the French companies mooted the idea of Stage and presented the scheme of Opera which was in the hey-day of popularity in France. It was readily accepted as it could utilise the thousands of beautiful singers who thronged the court. Amanat was asked to write the play and give it an Indian garb."[35] The play was staged with great pomp and it leapt into instant popularity.[36] One Madarilal wrote another play with the same title which became popular with various theatrical companies, and it was printed in Devanagari, Gujarati and Gurmukhi characters to meet the demand of an enthusiastic public.

This was the beginning, then, of a popular theatre: its emphasis was on gorgeous costumes, lavish sets, exaggerated actions, loud music and grandiose dialogues. It was stabilised later by the enterprising Parsi community who started theatrical companies in the major Indian cities in a few years' time.

1857–1885

CHAPTER 6

Patriotism, Communalism and Language Tension

1 THE REBELLION OF 1857 AND INDIAN LITERATURE

The revolt of 1857 failed. Delhi was ravaged; Meerut, Kanpur, Lucknow and several other areas where the British arms were challenged came under the firm control of the British only after a fierce blood bath. The voice of the common man was choked with the horrors of atrocities perpetrated by both the British and the Indian soldiers. There is hardly any literature produced on the theme of the revolt immediately. The Muslim aristocracy was humbled; the Hindu intelligentsia, a part of which supported the British, remained silent. There was some jubilation no doubt: the Bengali poet Ishvar Chandra Gupta, wrote a poem celebrating the victory of the British arms, as did the famous Gujarati poet Narmad,[1] but most of the writers, even when they were in sympathy with the Sepoys, silently witnessed the horrors and reprisals of the revolt

The Silence of History

There are moments of silence in literary history when one does not find any evidence of the immediate impact of an event that overwhelms a society. The revolt of 1857, in its magnitude and intensity, in its excitement and suffering, is certainly one of the most memorable events in the history of India. One can think of a few reasons for this silence. The English educated middle class which had become the main controlling force for literary production by now, did not have much sympathy with the Sepoys. Benoy Ghosh tries to explain the apathy of the Bengali intelligentsia towards the Sepoys by pointing out that they thought that "to support the rebels and their cause would have amounted at the time to a negation of all principles and ideals (i.e. social and religious reforms) for which the intelligentsia had fought for over half-a-century. They stood by the British rulers because they had won their battles against the immense resources of reaction mainly with British support."[2] And if one accepts the view of Syed Ahmad Khan expressed in a pamphlet *An Account of the Loyal Mohammedans in India* (Part II) that no 'educated or respectable Muslim' took part in the revolt, then what it amounts to is this that the educated middle class, irrespective of their religion, sided with the British, although the Muslim sensibilities were much offended during the suppression of

the rebellion. Apart from the defence of their own interest, the middle class was yet to develop a literary instrument to capture the implications of the rebellion in its magnitude. Most of them thought that it was a violent reaction of the obsolete feudal lords and of the Indian soldiers who thought their religions were threatened. Hardly did the middle class realise the potentiality of the rebellion at that time, pointed out by Marx,[3] that "it is the first time that the Sepoy regiments have murdered their European Officers, that Musalmans and Hindus, renouncing their mutual antipathies have combined against the common masters." What the middle class intelligentsia also did not realise was that the uprising was not led by the Indian feudals alone, but it had acquired a strong mass base, that the greatest lessons of the Mutiny as observed by Forrest, was the "warning that it is possible to have a revolution in which Brahmins and Sudras, Hindus and Mohammedans could be united against us, and that it is not safe to suppose that the peace and stability of our dominions, in any great measure, depends on the continent being inhabited by different religious systems. . ."[4]

The Rebellion in Folk Poetry

Despite the indifference of the intelligentsia, and also of the people of the areas which either sided with the British or were not directly affected by the violent confrontation, the heroes of the revolt—Rana Beni Madho, Rani of Jhansi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib—passed into folk lore. On the evidence of the songs collected later, it is clear that many of them were composed soon after the revolt. Apart from these songs, what remained, and surfaced later, was the memory of the armed revolution, of horrors, and of massacre; of the hope it raised and the humiliation it brought; the memories of a queen who fought valiantly, of a hero who eluded captivity, or of an old poet, who was also the last emperor of India, his imprisonment and exile in Burma, and the brutal killing of his two children; memories of Delhi being plundered and ransaked. The folk poets, did not care for elegance and sophistication of speech, but created vivid situations with tremendous power.

Oh, come and look!
In the bazaar of Meerut
The Firinghi is waylaid and beaten!
The Whiteman is waylaid and beaten!
His gun is snatched
His horse lies dead
His revolver is battered
In the open Bazaar
He is waylaid and beaten.[5]

This song on Meerut is probably by an eye witness of the initial stage of

insurrection. The Rani of Jhansi, whom Sir Hugh Rose described as the "bravest and the best military leader of the rebels," inspired one of the loveliest and most popular songs:

> How valiantly like a man fought she,
> the Rani of Jhansi
> On every parapet a gun she set
> raining fire of hell
> How well like a man fought the Rani of Jhansi,
> how valiantly and well [6]

Kunwar Singh, an old man of seventy-five, who fought pitched battles against the British, has been celebrated in many folk songs in different dialects spoken in Bihar. He was remembered in a tender lullaby

> Oh Babua, that day our grandpa took up his sword
> Oh Babua, to keep safe our pride and our plenty
> our religion, our cows
> Oh Babua, to protect the rent free lands of our widows;
>
> And to protect our mothers and sisters from disgrace
> Oh Babua, to defend the fair name of our fathers
> and grandfathers,
>
> Oh Babua, when hour of calamity was upon us,
> Oh Babua, that day our grandpa took up his sword.

Samples of folk songs collected by P. C. Joshi and his colleagues are examples of the tremendous response of the folk poets to one of the most memorable events in the history of British India. They are records of the people's enthusiasm and pride, their anger and suffering which did not find a place in the elite literature.

The Voice of Rajasthan

During the 1857 rebellion, known as *Gadar* in Rajasthan, all rulers of the princely states, except the ruler of Bundi, helped the British. Suryamall Mishran (1815–1868), the last poet of the *Cāran* style and a court poet of Bundi, composed *Vīr Satsai*, to arouse the ideals of Rajput chivalry.[7] He wrote in one of his *duhas*

> The boars lay waste the greenery, the elephants
> muddle the lake
> While the lion is lost in his lioness' love
> oblivious of the stake
> Don't be called now Simhas,[8] O Thakurs,[9] while
> alien mercy you seek—
> Only those whose paws fell the elephants, are
> worth the name, not the meek.[10]

It is generally believed that patriotic poetry as a literary genre emerged

in Indian literature only during the British rule and its model came from English. But the poems of Suryamall Mishran, indicate very strongly the existence of a separate stream of patriotic poems in our own tradition. This is a part of the folk tradition which found a most congenial expression in bardic poetry. The songs of the Cārans in Rajasthan or the *Pavāḍās* in Maharashtra dealt with local themes and heroes precisely to encourage the soldiers and the common man to take up arms against the enemy whenever necessary. The new patriotic poem that emerged in various Indian literatures after 1857 was of course different from the bardic tradition in its perception; it too invoked the memories of local heroes and glorified the history and myth of particular regions, and yet an idea of nation, a political one, regulated it. The indigenous tradition, as expressed in the poems of Suryamall, is undoubtedly localised, directed primarily to the warrior class of Rajputana, and did not entail the conception of India as a whole. Nevertheless, similar tradition present in other areas finally merged with the new forms of patriotic poetry. But two strands of patriotic poetry, one indigenous and the other inspired by Western literature, are clearly discernible in Indian literature. Suryamall represented the native tradition. His eulogy to the 'Mother of heroes' or 'the bride of a warrior,' his banterings towards those who fly from the battle-field remind one of the Greek war poems in respect of their robust directness. The rebellion of 1857 brought this tradition of war poems to the foreground and gave new dimension to it.

Sankardan Samaur (1824–1878), who has been described as the *Cāran* poet of the modern time, gave a direct call to his people against the British. He was not a court poet and never enjoyed any feudal patronage. During the *gadar* he chided the princely rulers for siding with the British. At a time when the Rajput rulers became allies of the British he stood against them and openly advocated a violent uprising. One tends to agree with Maheshwari that he was indeed unique in the contemporary literary history of India.[11]

Dastanbu

The only document directly related to the rebellion and belonging to the sophisticated literature of this period is *Dastanbu*, the diary of Ghalib, written in Persian.[12] It is a significant document not only because it is an account of an eyewitness of the turbulent days in Delhi and that too by the greatest poet of the time, but also because of its value demonstrating the predicament of a writer living in a hostile political atmosphere. It is difficult to know whether *Dastanbu* as it has come down to us was indeed a diary maintained during the stormy days through which the Mughal capital passed from 11 May through 15 September in 1857, the day British troops laid siege to the city conquering it three days later. The major

reconquest of Delhi. It is quite possible that he wrote a detailed account of the period when the city was under the rebels, but he did not include it in the published version,[13] or perhaps as another scholar suggests, he wrote only after the fall of Delhi, and he most certainly revised it completely after the re-establishment of the British power.[14] Some scholars believe that his sympathies were with the rebels; he was closely associated with Bahadur Shah, presented him a *sikka* (an inscription) on the occasion of his assumption of full authority in 1857 and that the British Government harassed him later because of his suspected involvement with the rebels. There are others, however, who feel that he was basically with the British and was shrewed enough to anticipate the fall of the rebels. A person who had been sending *qasīdas* to Queen Victoria (as late as in 1855 and 1856) was unlikely to do anything to jeopardize his future. He wrote, Faruqi says, "under tremendous limitation. A slight suspicion would have cost him his life. Therefore, he has suggested the story rather than described it and has enhanced the effect of concealment by employing an oblique and formalized style and using obsolete words of pure Persian."[15]

This work has been interpreted differently in respect of Ghalib's attitude towards the rebellion. Hardy, for example, finds in this work an "outward non-resistance to the ebb and flow of events, combined with a disillusioned inner disdain for the brutal passion let loose on both sides"[16] while Ashraf thinks that Ghalib took every care, because of his predicament, to revise the work for the British eyes and concealed his real sympathies.[17] We need not go into the biographical details of Ghalib. What emerges quite clearly is that though the poet shared the jubilation of the Sepoys in humiliating the British, the ruthless suppression of the rebels and the enormity of the massacre were strong enough to silence his voice against the British. It is quite natural, however, that the anti-British feeling was expressed indirectly and obliquely. But direct expressions were not altogether rare. In the days of the first King of Awadh, Ghaziuddin Haider, the noted poet Sheikh Imam Bakhsh Nasikh wrote

> Dil mulk-e-angrez meñ jine se tang hai rahnā.
> Badan meñ rūh ko qaid-e-firang hai
>
> My heart is distressed as I have to live in
> the country (occupied by the English)
> To keep my soul in the body imprisoned by
> the British.

Another poet, Mir Ali Ausat Rashk, wrote during his stay at Kanpur:

> Yārab ye gore hāi ki farishte azāb ke
> bangle bhī Kānpur mē gorō se kam nahī
>
> Oh God, which people are these, white men
> or angels of tyranny
> The bungalows of Kanpur are no less than graves.[18]

Growth of Patriotic Literature

After 1857, however, the patriotic voice of the poets became more pronounced. Undoubtedly, the literature produced around that time contained a deep-rooted anger seething within. *Fighan-e-Delhi* (The Lament of Delhi), a collection of forty Urdu poems, published in 1863, which describes the ruin and plunder of Delhi is an evidence of that simmering pain and anger that the poets lived through. It is true that a few poems were written expressing loyalty to the British, not only in Urdu but in different languages of the country, but most of the poems contained a baffled and complex emotional response to the continuance of the British rule in India. Almost all the major writers in India in the nineteenth century, some of them even responsible for the growth of a patriotic literature, expressed their loyalty to the British. Their responses were contradictory, to say the least, but not necessarily insincere. They believed in the efficacy of the British rule as an instrument of social change, and some of them accepted it as a strategy. Such a strategy was potentially dangerous and many of them became pathetic victims of the contrivance.

In 1858 Rangalal Bandyopadhyay wrote a Bengali narrative poem, *Padminī Upākhyān* (The Tale of Padmini). Although it is a story of Rajput chivalry and the supreme sacrifice of a Rajput queen for the freedom of her kingdom, it touches the question arising out of the rebellion of 1857. A young Indian visits Chitore, sees the ruins and is told about the glorious days when Padmini, the beautiful queen, lived there and of the fall of the city under the attack of Allauddin Khilji, the emperor of Delhi, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The poet puts a patriotic song, which happens to be a free translation of a poem of Thomas Campbell "From life without freedom/ Oh, who would not fly?/ For one day of freedom/ Oh, who would not die?" in the mouth of a Rajput King; glorifies the Hindu valour and laments over its present humiliation and 'slavery', and almost abruptly ends the poem with the hope that there be not any more *bidroha* (Rebellion) interfering with the beneficial British rule. As Ghalib could not side with the rebels openly, so could not Rangalal, a government officer. He does not speak against the British rule, but writes a patriotic poem, and deplores the 'subjugation' of the country. He goes back into the past, his patriotism finds an indirect expression through a song, which is a sheer anachronism; and in doing so he presents the Rajput King as the oppressed and the Muslim emperor as the oppressor. It was a new framework through which patriotic literature flourished, but a framework fraught with danger, as it presented the Muslim as a villain, a foreign invader, and the Hindu as the defender of his faith and country. The readers got the message loud and clear, that the target were the British and not the Muslim, but it certainly hurt the Muslim sensibility and encouraged

the communalization of literature. It may not be the direct result of the Rebellion, but this process surely started soon after 1857. The Rebellion did not create a cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims. The cleavage cannot be, points out Narayani Gupta, "simplistically stated as being between a declining Muslim aristocracy and a nascent Hindu bourgeoise, between those who sided with the Emperor and those who were far sighted enough to back the British and thus set up a store of security and rewards for the future."[19] The British, however, manipulated the situation to create differences between the two communities. Every Muslim was a suspect. Ghalib wrote, "Every particle of dust in Delhi thirsts for the blood of Muslims."

The popular reaction to the British rule was multi-dimensional, ambivalent and complex. The Hindus in many areas considered themselves a subject people since the Muslim occupation of the country. The British rule, to them, was a continuation of their history of subjugation. Some areas had experienced the Hindu-Muslim confrontation for a fairly long period—Rajasthan and Maharashtra, and Punjab to give a few examples—and for the people of those areas the Muslims were considered as much foreign as the British. The stories of the Rajput and Maratha heroes pitted against the Muslim kings aroused a sense of hostility and hatred among the Hindus and the Muslims. The patriotic literature developed in a situation which entailed a Hindu perception of subjugation. If the history of the subjugation of the Hindus had begun, as it was believed by some, when the Muslims became the ruler of the country, the patriotic literature would be naturally directed not only against the British but also against the Muslims, who too, were considered foreign invaders.

Two major streams of patriotic literature can be easily identified in almost all the Indian languages, one, which was directly against the British without any reference to the Muslim rule, and the other, which was the glorification of the Hindus, and quite often vilification of the Muslims. However, some qualifications are necessary about the nature of the second stream. It was primarily a glorification of one community, the Hindu writers eulogizing their past achievement. The Hindu India, thanks to the Orientalists, was projected as the finest achievement of the Indians. The Hindu writers created heroes from the history of the Muslim India, almost all of them who fought for their kingdom or community against the Muslims. In doing so, they presented the Muslims as the villains. But as already mentioned some of the writers tried to create a framework of the oppressor and the oppressed to project the contemporary Indo-British relation. Stories from mythology and epics were also recast in this framework, with clearly identifiable political overtones. The

oppressor or invader could be a Hindu king or a Muslim but the intention of the author was always to arouse anti-British feeling. The allegory was transparent enough even for the British to read the message, but it was dangerous too, as it did not take the Muslim sensibility into account at all. Either the Hindu writer did not care for the Muslim readership or wrote exclusively for the Hindu readership. This is also true of some Muslim writers; at least some of their writings were meant exclusively for the Muslim readership.

II MUSLIM ATTITUDE TO WESTERNIZATION

A large section of Muslims, a majority of them Urdu speakers though not all, refused to accept the superiority of the English language or of English education. It is true that with the establishment of Delhi College in 1824/25, and particularly after the establishment of the *Vernacular Translation Society*, a favourable attitude towards English education began to grow, but during the revolt of 1857 the College was suspected by the British army. Maulana Imam Bakhsh Satbai, a teacher of this College, and his two sons were gunned down, and the Muslim attitude towards British education and culture hardened. A scholar writes, "Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan undertook the difficult task of reconciling the upper-class Indian Muslims to the British rule and the European way of life. He succeeded with great difficulty but the reactions of the typical Indian Muslims to the whole philosophy of Sir Saiyid were expressed in the satirical verses of Akbar Allahabadi."[20] He writes further, "In Urdu there has never been a period of total acceptance of Western ideologies. In fact, the story is one of constant conflict and ferment."

The acceptance of Western ideologies, however, was never total in any part of the country. Even the radical young Bengal which had welcomed the Western culture with open arms had became subdued by the time the rebellion took place, and its passionate attraction towards the West became tempered with a more critical look at the British administration. The rebellion of 1857 was a turning point in the life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–1898). His father had connections with the Mughal court. Despite his traditional education Sir Syed cut off his connections with the Mughal court and joined British service. His literary works before the Mutiny were mainly theological in nature, except his *Āsārus Sanādīd*, a treatise on the monuments of Delhi, and an edition of *Aīn-i-Akbarī*. He was a loyal officer of the British during the Mutiny and his pamphlet on the causes of the Indian mutiny (written in 1858 but published in 1863) was an exercise in exculpating the Muslims of the rebellion. He was now convinced of the importance of Western thought and its usefulness. He established the Translation Society at Ghazipur (1863), which became a channel for the diffusion of Western learning in Uttar

Pradesh, particularly among the Muslims. He started a journal *Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq* (The Social Reformer) in 1870 soon after his return from a fruitful visit to England. The aim of this journal "was to persuade the Muslims of India to embrace the highest form of civilization with a view to clearing them of the contempt with which the civilized world looks upon them; and in order that they may be called civilized in the world."[21] He on his part tried to reconcile the tenets of Islam with rationality, which made him a target of attack from the orthodoxy. His interpretation of the Islamic way of life reflects the similar urge one finds in Rammohan Ray, Bankim Chandra and Swami Vivekananda, to modernize India and to reconcile religion with the general scientific temper of the nineteenth century.[22] Professor Mujeeb writes,

> He (Sir Syed) desired a position of honour for the Muslims in India, and he felt, quite correctly and genuinely, that the traditional view of Islam was a real hindrance to progress. 'Progress' is not a religious concept, and it would have been illogical to regard it as a criticism, but for the fact that it was the traditional view that worldly power and position was among the blessings bestowed by Islam. Sir *Sayyid* had no deeply thought out idea of progress; for him the blunt and obvious contrast between the British and the Indian Muslims was enough, and he was convinced that he was performing a religious duty in attempting to make the Muslims aware of the disgrace they had brought upon themselves in the eyes of the world and of God.[23]

His singular contribution to the regeneration of the Indian Muslims, however, is a constructive programme of education, which was initiated in the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1877, which later matured into the Aligarh Muslim University. His ideas, both social and religious, made a great impact on a group of young Muslims; and they, Altaf Husain Hali (1837–1914), Azad (1880–1910), and Shibli Nomani (1857–1914), to mention the three most important writers, gave a new dimension to Urdu literature.

The West and the Socio-Religious Movement

The period 1857 to 1885, then, is a time of gradual reconciliation of the Muslim community with the British education and culture, and also a period of transition of Urdu from its medieval period to modern. The influence of the West was already very strong in Bengal not only on its literature but on all aspects of its life in the urban centres, and it had also penetrated to different parts in Maharashtra and Gujarat. In Bombay before 1857 it was mostly the Parsis who came forward to receive English education, followed by the Prabhus and the Brahmins. By 1870, the relative positions of the leading castes and communities at Elphinstone College began to change, and particularly the Gujarati Brahmins and Banias began to take a keen interest in English education.[24] The important figures of this period were Dadabhai Naoroji (1825–1917), a Parsi; Bhau Daji (1822–1874) and Raghunath Narayan Khot (1821–1891), both Saraswat

Brahmins; Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadhar (1823–1898), a Vaishya, who founded the Prarthana Samaj. In the fifties the Elphinstone College acquired a number of exceptional students: Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik (1833–1889), a Chitpavan Brahmin, who shot into fame as a journalist and public man; Narmada Shankar (1833–1886), Karsondas Mulji (1832–1871), Mahipatram Rupram (1830–90), Javerilal Umiashankar–all but Karsondas, Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat. Badruddin Tyabji (1844–1906) was perhaps one of the few Muslim students. The intelligentsia remained confined more or less to the enterprising Parsis and the Brahmins. The chief professions open to them were teaching and positions in government service as writers, accountants, and translators. "The attractiveness of a legal career, and in particular the access it gave to much of the mystique of the ruling order, was perceived by those whose chief interest was commerce, or who were rich and influential in other ways."[25]

It is, however, not unique for Western India but for all other parts of the country as well, wherever the English educated intelligentsia emerged. This class concentrated mostly in urban centres and took an active interest in social and religious issues. Most of these issues, as pointed out earlier, were connected with one of the communities, Hindus or Muslims or Parsis, and much of the literature produced in this period was directly connected with the communal interest. A large number of religious associations grew during this period, apart from the Brahma Samaj of Bengal, and Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, for the regeneration and reformation of various religious communities, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, etc., some favouring radical changes in the social system and religious life, and some championing the necessity for the preservation of the 'fundamentals' of the ancient ideologies. Quite often these associations worked at cross purposes which created various splinter groups, but they resulted in a phenomenal growth of studies in ancient scripture, lively debates, ultimately responsible for the creation of a vast body of prose literature.

The important feature to be noted is the overwhelming presence of Western influence on such activities, both literary and non-literary. The socio-religious reforms assumed great importance mainly because of the Indian awareness of the shortcomings of the Indian social and religious traditions, which were under attack from foreign missionaries. Those who defended—most of the religious organizations defended their own religious traditions to a certain extent—were divided into two major groups. The first group included the reformers, anxious to reconcile their love and attachment to their communities and heritage with their admiration for the West. The second group was positively antagonistic to Western learning and Western civilization, and had hardly anything substantial to offer except reiterating the infallibility of the ancient tradition. The English educated class created a peculiar tension unprecedented in

the history of the Indian society. The traditional society saw a threat to the values it cherished, to the ideals it had nourished through the ages; the threat was more serious because it did not come from a foreign ruler alone but from its own members. Hundreds of works, mostly in the form of satires and comical writings, appeared in different languages, and they were in a large number in areas where this tension was predominant—on the issues relating to Westernization in general and de-communalization (or de-nationalization) in particular. Westernization in literature was defended by several writers but quite often those very writers criticised anglicisation in other walks of life. Not only did the Indian response to Westernization vary from area to area but also within the same linguistic community. The impact of a foreign rule and of a foreign civilization shook the intelligentsia to the core and it took long time to overcome the experience and to make it an integral part of its history. The intelligentsia also found that the Indian traditions were old but they did not yield to a foreign civilization without resistance. At times the resistance was violent and aggressive, but most of the time the tradition worked silently and imperceptibly regulating the Indian mind. For most major writers, in fact, for all significant writers, not only of this particular period but throughout the nineteenth century and for a few decades of the twentieth, it was an intense struggle for a search of identity and of a new expression. They found certain elements in our tradition reprehensible and obsolescent; they also found certain aspects of the Western civilization vital and dynamic; they slowly realized the exploitative nature of the British rule and also the benefits they derived from it. Their problems were of reconciliation, of adjustment and of rejections. The new literature was born out of this agonising spirit.

III THE LANGUAGE OF POWER

Despite the tumult of the revolt, three universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras came into existence in 1857. It was the fulfilment of the recommendations, of the Court of Directors in their Educational Despatch of 1854. The Council of Education took the London University as their model and expected the Universities to encourage different branches of art and sciences. Among other things the Council of Education proposed that the universities must encourage the "cultivation of the vernacular languages of India." It recommended that

> a knowledge of the Sanskrit language, the root of the vernaculars of the greater part of India, is more especially necessary to those who are engaged in the work of composition in those languages; while Arabic, through Persian, is one of the component parts of the Urdu language, which extends over so large part of Hindustan, and is, we are informed, capable of considerable development. The grammar of these languages, and their application to the improvement of the

spoken languages of the country, are the points to which the attention of these professors should be mainly directed; and there will be an ample field for their labors unconnected with any instruction in the tenets of the Hindoo or Mohamedan religions. We should refuse to sanction any such teaching as is directly opposed to the principles of religious neutrality to which we have always adhered.[26]

These three universities were the culmination of the movement for the dissemination of English. The universities, however, did not contribute anything directly to the growth of a new literature, but they helped to create a climate congenial for its growth. When the *Anjuman-i-Punjab Society* was founded in 1865, it advocated the revival of Oriental learning and its diffusion through the medium of the Indian languages; and when the Lahore University College was established in 1869—this was the first step towards the establishment of a University in Punjab which came into existence in 1882—it also emphasized the encouragement of "Vernacular Literature".

We have tried to point out that the English education caused a split in the existing readership, but it needs to be added that it created a new readership as well. The universities and different institutions helped immensely towards the creation of that readership. A group of educated people grew up as Macaulay wished—"Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions"—and they were indifferent and contemptuous of the "vernaculars". The English education propagated a special set of values, and this section of "educated" Indians acted as the greatest obstacle to the growth of modern Indian literature. They enjoyed a special prestige till the independence of the country and continued to justify their stand even after that by aligning themselves with the British educational institutions. In the mid-nineteenth century, this group totally indifferent to Indian literatures could not think of using any Indian language as a respectable medium of literary expression. The Indo-English writers, with a few exceptions, belonged to this group.

Among the noted specimens of Indo-English writings of this period is *The Dutt Family Album* (1876), a family anthology of 187 poems. The Dutts (anglicised form of *Datta*) abjured Hinduism in favour of Christianity; and the family was thoroughly anglicised. All of them had fine English education, some of them visited England with their families, and a few felt at home in India. A critic observes about the poems in this anthology:

The verses on historical or romantic subjects are close imitations of Scott and Byron. Although the romantic poems seem the best in the book, they are imitative and superficial and treat the subjects from a Western point of view. The standpoint is that of Western chivalry and sometimes, except for a name here and there, the events might just as well have taken place in the Scottish border-land.[27]

It is not only the Dutts of Rambagan of Calcutta who did not have any roots in Indian literary traditions, but even a person like Behramji M. Malabari (1853–1912), well read in Gujarati and actively involved in the social reform movements in Western India, failed to produce anything worth remembering in English. His *The Indian Muse in English Garb* (1876) has been described by a modern scholar as "more of the 'English garb' (and that too soiled by the Indian dust) than of the 'Indian Muse'."[28]

Malabari, of course, left his mark on Gujarati, and without any reflection on the merit of the Dutta poets, one can see that the growing demand for vernacular education was primarily in defence against the anglicised brown Sahibs; and despite the growth of vernacular education the tension between English and the Indian languages continued to grow. One may argue that such tensions existed between Sanskrit or Persian and other Indian languages, the former being the language of the elite and the ruling power. But English was a symbol of foreign authority, and an instrument of denationalization. The problem that confronted the nineteenth-century Indian intellectual was how to keep English, a language of power, separate from English the language of the ruling power. Sanskrit and Persian, it must be admitted, alienated the people from the ruling class, but the values associated with these languages and literatures, were to some extent shared by the literatures of the people. The influence of Persian was limited to certain areas, and that slowly got assimilated into Indian life. The influence of Sanskrit was all pervading and comprehensive; modern languages, being part of the same semiological universe to which Sanskrit belonged, did not feel affected the way they did in respect of English. English literature brought a new world, distant but charming; many Indian literatures under its impact saw a new vision of life, but it was so different and so alien that for a certain length of time the new literature that grew under its direct influence appeared to be foreign.

IV LINGUISTIC HEGEMONY

The tension between the English and the Indian languages was never solved in the nineteenth century. It was reflected in the history of each Indian language and also in the history of the Indo-English. In the restructured linguistic hierarchy in Indian society, not only did English occupy the highest position in respect of administrative and educational functions, but also became the model for literary canonization. Thus it also posed a threat to the position that Sanskrit and Persian occupied in literary history. But linguistic tensions began in new areas affecting the growth of literature in Indian languages, and they were the direct result of the language policy and the British involvement in Indian linguistic activities.

The Situation in Assam

In Assam, for example, Assamese was replaced by Bengali in the law-courts and schools in 1836. In general opinion the British did so "under the influence" of interpreters and clerks recruited from Bengal.[29] This was done mainly on the assumption that Assamese was but a dialect of Bengali, and the mutual intelligibility was so high that adoption of Bengali replacing Assamese would be administratively beneficial. It created a bitterness among the speakers of Assamese, and the leading intellectuals of the time came forward with strong arguments demonstrating the distinct linguistic identity of Assamese and the importance of employing the language of the people in administration and education. The American Missionaries, Dr. Miles Bronson, Dr. Nathan Brown, and their associate Nidhi Levi Farwell, a Hindu converted to Christianity, put up a strong resistance against the official policy. Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan,[30] who was a fine writer in Assamese, as well as in Bengali and English, brought out a finely argued and well-documented work, *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language and on Vernacular Education in Assam* (1855),[31] but it merely gathered dust. The agitation for the rehabilitation of Assamese gained intensity after the death of Phukan in 1859. Only in 1873, after a long-drawn battle of wits, did the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal realise the validity of arguments put forward by Phukan, and Assamese regained its rightful place. But the British policy of replacement of Assamese by Bengali left a permanent scar on the linguistic life of these two communities in Assam.

The Situation in Orissa

Oriya too was suddenly threatened by Bengali around 1841 on the plea that it was a dialect of Bengali. Around 1868 one Kantichandra Bhattacharya wrote a pamphlet claiming that Oriya was but a patois of Bengali, and he found support from a group of Bengalis, including the distinguished Indologist Rajendralal Mitra. Although criticised by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, well-known Bengali writer of that time, and strongly repudicated by John Beams, a civilian-linguist, as "profoundly destitute of philological arguments" this book created a stir among the Oriya intellectuals who were up in arms to protect the honour of their language. The Government of Bengal, however, recognized the legitimate demands of Oriya by 1870, although the controversy over the Bengali-Oriya relationship spurred by the publication of Bhattacharya continued for many years.[32]

Parts of Oriya speaking areas and the Ganjam district in particular, had to face the imposition of Telugu which was used in the court and the government offices. The Director of Public Instruction of Madras ordered the abolition of Oriya from schools, and Telugu was introduced instead. In the district of Sambalpur, which was in Central Provinces, Oriya faced a

similar threat in 1895, this time from Hindi. The position of Oriya was restored only in 1902.

The parts of Telugu-speaking areas that were included in Madras and in Hyderabad had also experienced linguistic tensions with Tamil and Urdu respectively. By 1911 the movement for a separate state consisting of Telugu speaking population began.[33]

The British Policy and Multilingualism

It appears that the British found the multilingualism of India a great impediment towards administrative and judicial efficiency, and tried to minimize the number of languages by giving official recognition to only a few. But everywhere they tried to restructure the existing linguistic hierarchy and thus created unnecessary tensions among linguistic groups. It also created or helped the growth of "regionalism" which manifested in linguistic exclusiveness. The introduction of Urdu as the language of administration and education in British Punjab, as pointed out by Attar Singh, created "a rupture between the Muslim mind and Punjabi nationalism on the one hand and the Muslim literary impulse and the Punjabi language on the other."[34] There was a time when the Sikhs wrote in Braj in preference to Punjabi, but used the Gurmukhi script which kept those writings confined to the Sikhs alone. In the British Punjab the Sikhs made a choice; Punjabi in Gurmukhi became the chief vehicle. The Punjabi Hindu, with a few noted exceptions, opted for Hindi, under a pan-Hindi movement, and the Muslim opted for Urdu, which became the official language. The modern Punjabi writing increasingly became an almost exclusive preserve of the Sikh community.

The Agony of Konkani

Among the Indian languages during this period, Konkani was the one which faced the most serious challenge from a foreign rule. During the period stretching from 1857 almost to the end of the nineteenth century, there was some scholarly activity, mostly towards the production of dictionaries and grammars, but very little literary work of merit. "Whatever little literature was produced in the form of religious songs and hymns was mostly by the common man".[35]

The struggle for the honour of Konkani, however, is carried through in these works. Dr. Jose Gerson de Cunha in the preface to *The Konkani Language and Literature* (1881) argues that despite its closeness to Marathi, it is a distinct language, and "not a dialect of any other speech." Konkani, being spoken in a territory occupied by Portugal faced the hostilities of the ruling power throughout its history. This is the period when it tried to assert itself. The compulsion of the learning of Portuguese as the first language, the elimination of the native script and the adoption of the Roman

were all responsible for the stagnation of the language. Because of the Holy Inquisition followed by the persecution of the Hindus, and occasionally of the neophytes, many left Goa and settled in adjoining areas. A well-knit and prosperous Konkani speaking community grew around the city of Mangalore, which nurtured the language with care. But it was hardly used as a literary medium. Only when the Italian Jesuits reached there in 1878 and founded St. Aloysius College, did Konkani receive some impetus. Father Angelo Francisco Saverio Maffei wrote a Konkani grammar in 1882 for the use of the missionaries, and compiled a Konkani-English dictionary in 1885. What he did for Konkani in Karnataka, Dr. Cunha Rivara did for Konkani in Goa. Unlike other literatures in India, Konkani's history is one of an agonizing struggle for survival. Cunha Rivara, a champion of Konkani, found in Goa, "an implacable war with attempts to entirely extinguish and proscribe it."[36] Despite all obstructions, the language survived; and it developed in this period a new type of song, called Mando,[37] a product born out of the indigenous and Portuguese interaction.

V THE BATTLE BETWEEN HINDI AND URDU

The most conspicuous and the most long-drawn battle between languages that the nineteenth century India witnessed was between Hindi and Urdu. It is commonly believed that Hindi and Urdu are identical in their linguistic structure, with some marginal differences in sound and morphological constructions, though their literatures are separate. The linguistic base of both Hindi and Urdu being more or less the same, the divergence between the two is more at the level of styles rather than of grammar. Urdu as it is known today first appeared as *Dakhni*[38] (Southern speech) in the Deccan by the fifteenth century. The basis of this dialect was rooted in the various dialects of Western Hindi and Punjabi. It was written in Perso-Arabic script and largely employed by the Muslims. Its "two-fold characteristics," writes Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "its employment in the hands of Muslims, and its being written in the Perso-Arabic character-gradually created a new literary tradition for it."[39] The language soon developed a literature and was patronised by several Muslim Kings, in Golkonda, and Bijapur and Aurangabad. Only in the late seventeenth century was this new language, often known as *Zaban-e-Urdu-e-Mualla* (the language of the exalted Camp or Court), well established in north India.

Without going into the intricate, and to a great extent controversial, details about the history of the growth of Urdu, one can point out that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the European scholars tried to identify Hindi with the Hindus, and Urdu (which was also called Hindustani) with the Muslims. William Yates, a Christian missionary and a philologist, wrote that Hindustani (i.e. Urdu) "derives principally from

the Arabic or Persian" and Hindi "from the Sanskrit." Urdu of course is not derived either from Arabic or Persian. The preponderance of Perso-Arabic words in the language must have made Yates make a rather loose remark. His observation that Urdu "is peculiar in its application to the Musalman population in every part of India while the Hindooe (i.e. Hindi) applies only to the Hindoos in the upper provinces" is significant if only because he noticed the distribution of the two languages in terms of religious communities. Before Yates, John Gilchrist,[40] a Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William, also described "Hinduwee" (i.e. Hindi) as the "exclusive property of the Hindoos alone." The college of Fort William had a bias for Urdu not because it was predominantly a language of the Muslims, but because of its wide geographical distribution. It appears that howsoever wide the difference between Hindi and Urdu at the level of literaure or at the level of communication among the elites, the difference at the popular level was marginal. Even today Urdu does not have any dialect, and the linguistic base of Hindi and Urdu is almost identical. It is generally believed that the distinction between Hindi and Urdu never existed except at the stylistic level and it was the language policy of the College of Fort William that led to the division of a popular language into modern Hindi and modern Urdu.

Recently Amrit Rai has, however, suggested that "the cleavage already existed when the British came upon the scene, and that in the given situation they, as practical men, decided to adopt a pragmatic policy which would give them the quickest and most profitable results in the governance of the country."[41] The government decision to change from Persian to Urdu in 1837 as the official language of the department of law and revenue in the North Western Provinces can be regarded as the first important step towards the further differentiation of these two languages. McGregor thinks that the change was "a natural one as far as official convenience was concerned" and "senior echelons of government, more removed from the local issues, were bound to favour whatever use seemed possible of the relative homogeneous Urdu—Hindusthani."[42] The government notification (29 July 1836) to the effect that applications and petitions could be presented to the Board of Revenue in Hindi either in the Devanagari or in the Persian-Arabic script was opposed by many Muslims and the government revised its decision in favour of Urdu next year.[43] The government wanted, as interpreted by Bhatnagar,[44] the language to be simple and not Persianized, but the court clerks could hardly avoid their age-old practice and hung to Persian vocabulary. None raised his voice though the resentment was seething, till Raja Shiva Prasad tried to introduce Hindi in Nagari in the court. The Hindi-Urdu tension continued throughout the nineteenth century, and although a circular of 18 April 1900 issued by Sir A. P. Macdonell assured Hindi of

its desired place in court and administration, the tension between the two has not subsided even today.[45]

The most important trend in the history of Hindi-Urdu is the process of Persianization on the one hand and that of Sanskritization on the other. Amrit Rai offers evidence to show that although the employment of Perso-Arabic script for the language which was akin to Hindi/ Hindavi or old Hindi was the first step towards the establishment of the separate identity of Urdu, it was called Hindi for a long time. "The final and complete change-over to the new name took place after the content of the language had undergone a drastic change."[46] He further observes: "In the light of the literature that has come down to us, for about six hundred years, the development of Hindi/Hindavi seems largely to substantiate the view of the basic unity of the two languages. Then, some time in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the cleavage seems to have begun."[47] Rai quotes from Sadiq, who points out how it became a "systematic policy of poets and scholars" of the eighteenth century to weed out, what they called and thought, "vulgar words." This weeding out meant "the elimination, along with some rough and unmusical plebian words, of a large number of Hindi words for the reason that to the people brought up in Persian traditions they appeared unfamiliar and vulgar." Sadiq concludes:

> hence the paradox that this crusade against Persian tyranny, instead of bringing Urdu closer to the indigenous element, meant in reality a wider gulf between it and the popular speech.
>
> But what differentiated Urdu still more from the local dialects was a process of ceaseless importation from Persian. It may seem strange that Urdu writers in rebellion against Persian should decide to draw heavily on Persian vocabulary, idioms, forms and sentiments. . . .[48]

When the language of the courts was changed from Persian to Urdu in 1837 and many people resented this, several British scholars, such as S. W. Fallon, F. S. Growse, and John Beames, joined the fray and took sides in the debate. By the mid-sixties of the century, when a group of scholars strongly advocated Hindi in the Devanagari script, many Urdu speakers, including Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, found that unacceptable. Modern Hindi prose, was born in this tense atmosphere. Raja Shiva Prasad (1823–1895), a much misunderstood man in both Hindi and Urdu circles, represents the vacillation and confusion of the time. Born and brought up at Benaras, he was a scholar of both Sanskrit and Persian; he supported the case for a more Sanskritized Hindi at one time,[49] but later advocated a Persianized style of Hindi.[50] Around 1875 in his work *Urdu Sarf O Nahr*, however, he presented a balanced view pointing out that attempts of the Maulavis to Persianize and of the Pandits to Sanskritize the language were not only an error but against the natural laws of linguistic growth. The common man, he pointed out, used both Persian and Sanskrit words without any qualms; it will be a folly to banish the

elements which had been naturalized in the language. In fact, he started propagating a natural style[51] (which appeared to the purists as Persianized Hindi in Devanagari) in his paper *Banaras Akhbār*. But Jindal thinks, "it was Urdu metamorphosed in *Devanagari* script. People with genuine interest saw through the ruse, and set about eradicating the foreign elements that were going into our language. As a counterblast to *Banaras Akhbār, Sudhākar* was founded by Tara Mohan Mitra in 1850."[52]

The Hindi-Urdu controversy resulted in the widening of the two styles of speech; Hindi became more Sanskritized, and Urdu even more Persianized. Badrilal's translation of *Hitopadeś* (Mirzapur 1851), for example, written at the instance of Ballantyne, was highly Sanskritized.[53] The first significant attempt towards Sanskritization was made at Etawah by Laksman Singh (1826–96), a graduate of Agra College, who translated *Śakuntalā* around 1863.[54] He avoided the use of Persian-Arabic words altogether as a deliberate protest against the style advocated by Raja Shiva Prasad. A few years later he wrote in the preface to his translation of *Raghuvaṃśa* (1878):[55]

> In my opinion Hindi and Urdu are two different languages. Hindi is spoken by Hindus and Urdu by Muslims as well as Hindus well versed in Persian. Hindi abounds in Sanskrit forms of expression and Urdu has abundance of Persian and Arabic words and phrases. It cannot be said that Hindi cannot exist without Urdu words and idioms, and I am not prepared to give the name of Hindi to any linguistic form which abunds in such alien modes of expression.

These words indicate how strong his feeling was about the separate identity of Hindi as distinct from Urdu and how he looked on Hindi as a symbol of Indian cultural identity, which was, however, a Hindu identity.

The Hindi-Urdu question, whatever be its genesis, went beyond the linguistic-stylistic domain and became part of the larger problem that entailed the emergence of a new cultural consciousness both among the Hindus and the Muslims. Bharatendu Harishchandra, generally considered the father of modern Hindi literature, never advocated an overtly Sanskritized Hindi, nor did he support the purist move to banish words of Perso-Arabic origin from Hindi. But his move was severely criticised by Urdu scholars, including Sir Syed. Amrit Rai identifies the cause for the Muslim concern:

> . . . it seems that as the substance of Muslim power was eroded, it yielded place more pointedly to what could be called a general Muslim identity. This was no longer the identity of a present ruling class but of a particular religious community which, in terms of its religious identification with the rulers, tended to think of itself as the erstwhile rulers of the country.[56]

This may or may not be the real cause, but there is little doubt that any supposed threat to the supremacy of Urdu was construed as a movement against the Muslim community itself and an assertion of the Hindu power,

which made Hindi its symbol. Professor Mujeeb's observations are worth quoting:

> Probably nothing has hurt the Muslims of north India more than the deliberate and sometimes provocate way in which advantage was taken of the political circumstances and all other possible arguments to oust Urdu and replace it with Hindi. Changes take place in every living language, and the spoken language of Delhi or Lucknow in 1800 would not have been easily intelligible to a citizen of either city in 1900. But the adoption of Hindi became a question of religious and cultural self-assertion, and Urdu was given up in order that the identity and separateness of the Hindus should be emphasized. We have seen in an earlier chapter that all the beliefs and practices of the Hindus, even untouchability, had been embodied in the common culture during the Mughal period and later. Hindus of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries modified the rigidity of their customs instead of increasing it, but with this modification and the reforms propagated by the Arya Samaj there was also obvious the motive to move as far away as possible from the Muslims culturally. The Muslim reaction to this was to accuse the Hindus of defection, of disloyalty to the common culture, to make claims on behalf of Urdu which transformed the question of language into a political issue. They did not realize that in this fashion they were inviting defeat.[57]

Literary developments in Hindi and Urdu reflected this psychology. The texts were almost inevitably connected with efforts being made towards the development of a new and generally accepted style. Some of them were adaptations from Brajbhasha, and some, particularly from the sixties onwards, translations from the Sanskrit. The standardization of Hindi style, i.e. the style based on *khari boli*, was more or less completed by Bharatendu Harishchandra (1850–1885), one of the most fascinating figures of this century.[58] Born in a wealthy Agarwal family, educated at the Queen's College, Benaras, Bharatendu learnt Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, Bengali and Marathi. He inhertied from his father Gopal Chandra (better known by his pen-name as Girdhar Das), who was a Brajbhasha poet and a dramatist (he wrote a play entitled *Nahuṣ Nāṭak*, 1857/58), a deep attraction for Vaishnavism, his family religion, and love and pride for the newly emerging *khari boli* prose. In an article entitled 'Hindī Bhaṣā' in *Kavi Vacan Sudhā* (October 2, 1872), a jounrnal he himself edited, he dealt with different Hindi speech styles, differentiated by the frequency of occurrence of Sanskrit words and absence of Persian and 'foreign' words, and approved of the styles which use few Sanskrit words or 'pure Hindi' which avoids both Sanskrit and Persian.[59] Bharatendu, however, realized that 'pure Hindi', whatsoever be its value, could not be the vehicle of a literature. In his own writings he used Persian words freely and effectively as his essays and plays would show. Bharatendu had a good following among the emerging writers, and very soon the Hindi movement became a recognized force. It received impetus from the leaders of the Arya Samaj, who championed the cause of Hindi, as opposed to Urdu, and the Hindi movement drew its inspiration from the socio-religious temper of the time.

CHAPTER 7

Poetry: Old and New

1 THE MANIFESTO OF NEW POETRY

In 1858 Narmadashankar wrote an article in Gujarati, entitled 'Kavi ani Kavitā, (Poet and Poetry),[1] which can be called a manifesto of a new school of poetry in Gujarati inaugurated by him. The Bengali poet Rangalal Bandyopadhyay also wrote in that year a long preface to his heroic poem *Padminī Upākhyān* in defence of a new Bengali poetry. Both the poets were under the influence of English poetry, but both were strongly rooted to their tradition and pleaded for new poetry and a new set of canons of criticism different from the traditional ones. Narmad's article echoes the basic doctrines of Aristotle even though he uses the Indian concept of *rasa*, interpreted differently—he describes *rasa* as *andarni majā* (internal delight). His observation that poetry is higher than history (Itihās Kartā Kavitā ghaṇī ūci padavi dharāveche) or poetry is not a representation of what actually happened but a work of imagination, as well as his exposition of the word *kavi*, the *sādhan* (medium) of art etc. remind one of Aristotle. But what makes the essay significant are the echoes of Wordsworthian thought and his references to Hazlitt in support of his view that a 'spontaneous expression of feelings' is poetry. Rangalal who too defines poetry in the introductory essay to his poem sticks to the well-known definition of *Sāhitya Darpaṇ* that poetry is utterance soaked with *rasa* (*Kāvyam rasātmakam Vākyam*); he does not mention either the spontaneity of expression or the emotions recollected in tranquillity as emphasized by Narmad, who certainly is the first Indian poet, familiar with English literature to pronounce an ideal which changed the texture of Indian poetry within a few decades.

When Rangalal wrote *Padminī Upākhyān*, his motivation was to create a new literary model distinct from the contemporary Bengali poetry, condemned by the English educated class as erotic and unedifying. Narmad, too, with his usual flippancy declared that "great poetry was yet to be written in Gujarati" and he chastised the educated young men, many of whom were sceptical about the potentialities of the Gujarati language. Both Rangalal and Narmad tried to create a new poetry in their languages and both tried to defend that poetry eloquently. So far as the merit of their poetic creation is concerned, the critical opinion is divided in respect of Narmad; and Rangalal has been considered mediocre poet both by his contemporaries and by the posterity. But the historical role of both the poets has not been denied by any. *Narma-Kavitā*, a collection

of Narmad's poems (the first three parts came out in 1858, and the remaining seven were published within the next two years) remained a landmark in Gujarati. The poet was idolized in his life time partly because of his stormy career and rebellious attitude towards social customs and partly because of the freshness of his poetic vision. Gulabdas Broker writes:

> with all the impetuosity of youth and with all the boldness of a pioneer Narmadashankar began to write with a personal note. One does not know whether he fully realised that he was ushering in a new era, but it is a fact that the new era was introduced through this action of his. Also his own temperament was such that he could be nothing if he could not be subjective and personal. He was too much engrossed with himself to be anything else so far as this highest medium of human expression was concerned. That changed the very nature of the poetry that was written, but that was not the only change brought about by Narmadashankar in the pattern of Gujarati poetry.
>
> Narmadashankar became the first man in Gujarati literature to independently describe natural phenomenon in his poetry. Nature had its place in poetry before him, of course, but it was not treated as a subject worth writing poetry about independently and for its own sake. The romantic element in the temperament of Narmadashankar kept him aloof, from his fellows even on occasions of great joy, and he liked to be alone. At such times, nature gave him company and revealed its manifold beauties to him. . . His romantic and impulsive nature involved him in many affairs of the heart and that supplied him enough material for writing poems of that kind—again a first in the language.
>
> He loved his country deeply and truly, and wrote many poems dealing with this aspect of his love. Nobody before him had ever, perhaps, thought of composing a poem of this nature. It was the education by the English and sentiments which they inspired that provided the motivating force.[2]

Another Gujarati scholar, J. E. Sanjana, who is rather harsh on Narmad,[3] writes:

> If we dispassionately wade through the wearisome mass of versification dumped in the huge tome called 'Narma Kavita', and if we read his numerous prose writings, and especially his self-revelations in the posthumous publications entitled *Mari Hakikat* and *Uttar Narmad Carit*, we cannot help admitting the truth of Navalram's [a distinguished critic] acute diagnosis; Narmad is just a sensitive barometer that reflects the varying state of the social, political and literary atmosphere, he takes up the current fashion with the impulsive, crude and violent enthusiasm of an adolescent and makes the most of it . . .'[4]

The new poetry that Narmad and Rangalal wanted to create was undoubtedly under the inspiration of English poetry. We have already pointed out that a new poetry had already emerged in the writings of Nazir Akbarabadi, Ishvar Chandra Gupta and Dalpatram, though none of them had any English education. Not only did Dalpatram respond to the changes in the social life, but also gave a new turn to the poetic trends by drawing upon his own experiences. This inwardness was certainly a

feature of our folk and religious poetry, and a distinctive trait of many Urdu ghazals. But it became the most significant feature of the new poetry born under Western inspiration. ". . . this is the chief distinction between the old poetry, and the poetry written after the advent of the British", observes Sanjana, "our modern poets have turned their gaze inwards, they are more and more conscious of their egos, their own emotions and reactions to what is observed and even recorded, while the old poets were suprisingly oblivious of their ego and personality, they were not introspective at all."[5]

Although Rangalal wrote under strong Western influence, he could be hardly called an 'introspective'. His heroic poem, traditional in form and metre and diction, was an attempt to interpret the past according to the needs of the present. While Rangalal's immediate motivation was to create certain ideals, particularly patriotism, both Dalpatram and Narmad were engaged more intimately than any other poet of that time in social reform. Dalpatram was for a slow and steady progress, Narmad for a sudden and radical change. The temperament and the attitudes of these two poets controlled the kind of poetry they wrote. The common feature of the writings of all the three poets is patriotism; their idea of freedom basically the liberty of the Hindus and their idea of India a Hindu India. Sanjana tells us that most of the references to Muslim rule in Narmad's works consist mostly of adverse comments; Narmad describes the Muslims as the Hadveri (arch enemies) of the Hindus in his observations on the 1857 rebellion; forgives Shijavji's raids on Gujarat and his sack of Surat, simply because he is a Hindu;[6] his poem *Hinduo-nī-Padatī* (The Decline of the Hindus, 1866) is an unabashed glorification of the Hindu past. Dalpatram, too, though not a narrow sectarian and communalist in any sense, hardly refers to the Muslims in his writings. His long poem *Hindustān par hunnar khānanī Caḍhāī* is an evidence of his concern for the Hindus alone. Similarly Rangalal's poem, though there is no direct attack on the Muslims, laments the fate of the Hindus 'chained in slavery'.

This is a trend in Indian poetry in general, and in Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi in particular. The communal element in literature is directly connected with the political change after the 1857 rebellion, the British attitude towards the Hindus and the Muslims, the growth of several revivalist religious movements and the growth of the Hindu intelligentsia consisting mainly of Brahmins and the upper caste Hindus. It need not be assumed, however, that all writers everywhere in India became totally sectarian and partisan. On the contrary, when the literature of this period is taken in its totality one also hears a strong voice of secular ideals, and sees a vision of India, an India of many religious communities.

II TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS

The literary situation in regions yet to be exposed to English education or regions where the effect of the new education was marginal remained more or less unaffected. There were, of course, certain innovations within the existing patterns of themes and forms; but the literary trends were more in conformity with the tradition than with the experiments that started in the regions then exposed to Western influence. A brief description of these literatures will be useful in understanding the process of change.

Dogri

This is a period of the reign of Maharaja Ranabir Singh, an enlightened ruler and patron of learning, in Duggar. The Vidyavilas press was established and books in Dogri began to be printed. But Dogri was mainly confined to text books, even the weekly *Vidyāvilās* was published in Hindi and Urdu and not in Dogri. The royal patronage to the Brahmins encouraged compositions of Sanskrit work like *Raṇvīr Prāyaścit* (1874 ?), a work on astronomy, or Braj-bhasha poems like *Nītivinoda* by Trilochana and *Vīra Vinoda* by Vidyanidhi, both based on the *Mahābhārata*, and *Rāmrasa Laharia*, a work on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, by Brijlal.

Literature in Kashmir

In Kashmir, however, there was an uninterrupted literary activity. T. N. Kaul writes, "While there was an unprecedented spurt in masnavi writing, *ghazals*, *vazhun*, *chakri* songs, *sufiana kalam* and *marsias* also continued to be composed. Indigenous themes for *masnavis* were now taken from legends and love romances of Kashmir, Punjab and South India, lessening the abject dependence on Persian themes."[8]

Some of the distinguished poets of the earlier period Rasul Mir (d. 1870), Maqbul Shah Kralwari (d. 1877), Parmanand (d. 1879), Shah Qalandar (d. 1880), Sanaullah Kreri (d. 1884), Lachman Raina Bulbul (d. 1884) and Prakash Ram (d. 1885) died during this period creating a void that could not be filled until the beginning of the twentieth century. The most significant feature of this period, as mentioned before, is the gradual indigenousization of themes. Saifuddin Tarabali (d. 1874) wrote a masnavi *Sahr-i-hilāl* (1864) in Persianized diction but took its theme from a local legend. Several local myths and legends about birds and insects, such as *bombur lolar* (story of the bumble bee), *haer* (myna), *poshinul* (golden oriole), *kukil* (turtle dove) became the subject of poetry. Apart from these innovations, changes in the contemporary life were also reflected in the major works of this period. Sanaullah Kreri (1813–84)'s work *Anwat-i-Akhrat* (1867) on Islamic rites obviously had a limited readership, but Lachman Raina Bulbul's (1812–84) *Sām nāmā* (1874) a masnavi in which appeared a lampooning character, had a wide appeal

because of its exciting theme and hilarious situations. Special mention must be made of Hafiz Kashmiri's *Reshi Nāmā*, based on the life of the noted poet Nund Reshi of the fourteenth century; and *Candra Badan*, a story of tragic love between a Hindu princess and a Muslim merchant. The poem *Qisāi Patwāriyān Va Nambardārān* by Mirza Mir, which describes the tyrannies perpetrated on the tillers of the land by petty village officials adds a new dimension to the Kashmiri literature dominated by romances. This was also a period of combat masnavis, i.e. war poems. Amir Shah Kreri (b. 1838)'s *Zafar nāmā* (composed between 1875 and 1885) is a significant work. Wahab Paray (b. 1846), author of several war poems, translated Firdausi's *Shāhnāmā*, and wrote a masnavi *Bebūj Nāmā* which contains a realistic desription of contemporary life. In all these poems, as pointed out earlier, one notices an uninterrupted continuity of the literary tradition of earlier years, the innovations are marginal, with a few exceptions. The bilingual section of the population, however, did not feel any particular urge for radical changes in the literary tradition. A Kashmiri reader who could read Urdu or Hindi, languages where forces of change were in operation, was happy to be able to enjoy two strands of literary activity, one retaining the traditional quality and the other responding to the challenges of the new

Literature of Mithila

The same must be true of Maithili literature. The population of Mithila is more or less bilingual, i.e. it is familiar with Hindi along with Maithili. The poets did not have much opportunity to propagate their works at a time when Hindi emerged as the most important speech of regions known today as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The English education came very late in Mithila and the educated community devoted greater part of its time to a 'major' language, which happens to be Hindi for utilitarian reasons. Chandra Jha (1831–1907),[9] a versatile scholar, a critic of the British rule but an admirer of the English education, is regarded as the founding father of modern Maithili literature. He wrote mostly in old forms such as *maheśvāṇī* (they were published posthumously in 1921) for a readership which hardly felt the impact of English literature. His greatest work, *Mithilā bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa* (1886), an admirable work by any standard, is an evidence of the vitality of the poetic tradition,[10] free from any foreign influence, which the poets in neighbouring Bengal welcomed with open arms. Till the eighties of the last century, when Maharaja Lakshmishvara Singh (1878–98) founded an English school and offered scholarships for higher education, in the words of Surendra Jha Suman, "there was no substantial change in Maithili literature and the older literary traditions continued unabated."[11]

Rajasthani Poetry

The Rajasthani area, also under the dominating impact of Braj and the emerging Khari boli literature, did not feel the impact of the West, but it did not remain as isolated from the centres of English education as Mithila was. It preserved its indigenous literary traditions for a long time. Kaviya Chemanji (1833–87) wrote a historical narrative *Soḍhāyan* in the traditional *Cāran* style, celebrating the heroes of the Sodha clan. In fact, the tradition of historical narratives continued to flourish for a long time as evidenced by *Śikhar-Vaṃśotpatti* (1869) and *Lāvā Rāsa* (1873) by Kaviya Gopaldan (1815–1885) or *Pābūjī rā Soroṭhā* (1868 ?) by Ramnath Kaviya (1801–1879). In addition to these heroic poems devotional songs continued to be written. Namdev Shri Krishnadasa (1818–1898) and Saman Bai (1825–1885), a poetess, kept the stream of devotional poems flowing. Rav Bakhtawar (1813–1894)'s love poem, *Kehar Prakāś* (1879), although thematically different from the main tradition, is also an integral part of the narrative poetic tradition and shares the general formal features of the historical narrative.

Literature in Sindh and Punjab

Like Dogri, Maithili and Rajasthani, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Punjabi too were under the shadow of a more 'prestigious' language of that time, namely Hindi or Urdu, which affected their readership and consequently exercised some regulating influence on the literary production. The multilingual situation in Sindh and Punjab controlled the literary growth in those areas to a great extent. The traditional modes of transmission in Sind, through the *Sama*, the *Bhaguti*, and the *Cauki*, continued to function, besides the lithographic press, and the poets continued to write the *ghazals*, the *qasīdas*, the *masnavis* and the *gītas*, as well as the songs breathing the spirit of Sufism and Vedanta. Nihal Chand (1798–1865), Qutb Shah (1813–1910), Qadir Bakhsh 'Bedil' (1814–72), and his distinguished son Muhammed Muhsan 'Bekas' (1859–82) were the poets representing the Sufi-Vedanta spirit. The domination of Persian had already gone, but it still attracted some poets. Gul Muhammad Gul wrote his *Dīwān-i-Gul* (1859) on the Persian model, and a few poets were still writing long narrative poems exploiting popular Persian themes as well as local legends. Lalu Bhagat's *Qisso Kāmasen ain Kāmarupa* (1869), a love poem, Bahar's *Saif-ul-muluk ain Badi ul-jamal* (1871), Arif Kalhero's *Sasaui Punhu* (1871) are a few examples.

But Urdu and Hindi found their place beside Sindhi which flourished without any tension, linguistic or communal. The Sindhi writers translated freely from Hindi and Urdu and the translated works became integrated with the main stream, because of the catholic milieu. Surat Singh's (1832–97) *Dīwān Surat Bahār*, a collection of poems written in Sindhi,

Hindi, Urdu and Persian, is born out of this atmosphere. A similar atmosphere of tolerance and amity did exist in Punjab too, but a change in the linguistic hierarchy brought a change in the growth of Punjabi literature. The educated Punjabi in the nineteenth century, irrespective of his religion, was familiar with both Urdu/Hindi and Punjabi, the functions of which were more or less clearly different. Since Punjabi had almost no role to play in administration or in higher education, and Urdu and Hindi being more 'prestigious' in respect of numbers and had a wider area of operation, the Punjabi writers were under great constraints. The Hindi movement in the North, to which a new dimension was added by the Arya Samaj, created a sense of frustration in the minds of the Punjabi writers.

Professor Attar Singh thinks the introduction of Western education in Punjab did not lead to the emergence of a Westernized community as in the case of other provinces. On the contrary there was a perceptible tendency among the new-educated Punjabis "to identify [themselves] with a religious community rather than the Western educated class as a whole. This is what lead the Hindus to rally around the Arya Samaj movement, the Sikhs to respond to the call of the Singh Sabha and the Muslims to join Anjumans and societies of their own."[12] The three communities Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs identified themselves with three languages, Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi respectively. Three different scripts, Devanagari for Hindi, Perso-Arabic for Urdu, and Gurmukhi for Punjabi further strengthened the group-identities. This does not mean that all literatures produced in Punjab and particularly in the Punjabi language were necessarily a sectarian literature. But such a situation was partly responsible for the change in the readership of Punjabi.

We have noticed that a large number of Muslim writers wrote in Punjabi in the first half of the nineteenth century. There was a change in the second half. It is not that all Muslim poets started writing in Urdu, but some did. Now Sikh poets such as Kishan Singh Arif (1836–1900) and Bhagwan Singh (1842–1902) adopted the *Kissā* form and were able to create a readership for them. Hindu poets like Sada Ram (1861–1933) and Dhani Ram Chatrik (1876–1954) joined later in the century and brought Hindu themes into Punjabi literature. But the *Kissā* and *Sufi-Kafi* tradition flared for the last time in the writings of Mian Mohammad Bakhsh (1829–1904), the author of the Kissa *Saif-ul-Maluk* (1862); and Ghulam Farid (1841–1901), the author of *Dīwān-i-Farīdī*. It is interesting to note that these two poets flourished in the remote areas, one in the Punch area of present Jammu and Kashmir, and the other in Bahavalpur State, bordering the Sind province far from the trials and turmoils of the British Punjab where the linguistic identity of the people did not coalesce with their religious identity.

Religion and Poetry

It is necessary to remember that religion remained a strong force not only in the areas unaffected by English education, but also in areas where English education had spread. One must make a distinction between religious literature and sectarian literature; the former is an expression of religious experience which can be universal; the latter is for and of a particular community, though they often mingle and merge with one another. One of the most eminent personalities in the history of Hindi poetry in this period was Bharatendu Harishchandra who exploited the existing traditions of religious poetry and infused new vigour and beauty in them. The major part of his poetry is rooted in the Vaishnava tradition: its language is Braj, theme the love of Radha and Krishna and other episodes associated with the Krishna mythology, and its general quality *Śṛṅgāra-Bhakti* (the amorous-devotion), to use the traditional nomenclature. Harishchandra kept the tradition of the *līlā* poems alive. He wrote nearly three thousand devotional and love songs collected in twenty separate works, all having a direct bearing on Vaishnava *līlā*. Madan Gopal, a biographer of Bharatendu, writes:

> In 'Bhakt Sarvasva' he describes the many 'signs' of the Lord. In 'Prema Malika' he portrays the childhood of Lord Krishna. The yearning of the 'gopis' (milk maids) for the Lord, when he leaves his birthplace, provides a favourite theme. The song begins by describing the torments of the gopis at separation from Krishna. Some other songs describe the sermons delivered to the gopis to enable them to have peace of mind after separation. The Lord's 'lila' (play) and the votaries' sentiments of helplessness are dealt with in a few other songs. . . . He was really the last of the generation that made use of Brajbhasha forcefully.[13]

Religious poetry continued not only in Maithili, Rajasthani, Sindhi, Punjabi and Hindi but in all Indian literatures throughout the century; in some areas it was a continuation of earlier traditions, and in some others it was inspired by new religious movements. The Josmaṇi cult, for example, gained new vigour in the nineteenth century Nepal. The Brahmin saint, Jnandil (1821–83 ?), who lived in Darjeeling for some time, popularised it. The Josmani cult, which drew its inspiration from the *nirguṇa* tradition of medieval Hinduism, inspired a new poetry, socially conscious, rebellious in spirit, critical of popular Hinduism. Jnandil's major work *Uday Laharī* (1877), a Nepali *sawai*, is a part of *Lahari* (waves) type but with a distinct socio-religious message.[14]

In the Tamil poetry of this period one notices the same domination of religious poetry. Minakshi Sundaran Pillai (1815–1876), a scholar and poet known as *mahāvidvān*, acquired great fame in his life time for his works, "full of devotional fervour" and related to Saivism.[15] It was Ramalinkar Swamigal (1823–1874), a great saint and a man of traditional learning, however, who initiated a new religious movement and created

a new body of religious lyrics. He composed, we are told, more than 6000 poems, known as *Arutpā*.[16] These devotional poems simple, graceful and moving, gave a new turn to Tamil poetry,[17] or one can, perhaps, claim that the great Saiva Bhakti tradition culminated in his poems.

The tradition of religious poetry was fairly strong in most of the language areas, although the readership varied from place to place. The later critics may not attach much importance to Kannada works like *Śukra Vārada Gaurī Hāḍu* (1866), a collection of songs on the goddess Gauri, sung by women, or Venkata Subbayya's *Bhakti Rasāyanavu* (1870), Rangarya Shashya's *Guru Bhakti Sāravu* (1876) or *Bhakti Sudhārasa* (1881) by Brahmananda Yogendra, or similar works in Oriya or Assamese or Malayalam, because of their poor literary quality. But a body of literature sustained either by old religious myths or by spiritual experiences, provided the staple diet for a large population. Most of it is repetitive and dull, but not completely devoid of warmth and tenderness.

The most conspicuous feature in the religious poetry of this period is the growth of a new body of Bengali songs which came to be known as *Brahma Saṅgīt*, composed by and for the members of the Brahmo Samaj. It began with the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, but grew in size and intensity only in this period. The songs of the Brahmo Samaj are directly linked with those of Kabir and Dadu and Nanak; they share their catholic spirit and the *nirguṇa* concept of godhead, and resemble the contemporary songs including those of Ramalingar, who preached universal brotherhood and theism. It is quite natural that the corpus of *Brahma Saṅgīt*, though mainly in Bengali, includes songs written in Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu. Despite their religious fervour and simplicity of diction, most of these songs, however, hardly rise above mediocrity. But with the passage of time more talented poets contributed to the growing body of *Brahma Saṅgīt*, and particularly with the compositions of Rabindranath it attained a new height of literary excellence. This body of religious poetry drew much of its sustenance from Sanskrit and medieval religious poetry as well as from Persian mystics, and occasionally from the Christian hymns. The majority of the composers of these songs were also exposed to English education. *Brahma Sangīt*, then, is a religious expression of a section of the English-educated middle class as distinguished from the religious poems written by the rural poets or poets unaffected by the reform movements under the aegis of the English-educated section. This body of songs is conspicuous by sophistication of thought and expression, and different from the other streams of religious poems of that period. Mention must be made of the songs of the blind poet, Bhima Bhoi (1855–95), an illiterate tribal who started a new sect, the *Mahima Dharma*. These simple and sincere Oriya poems only prove the vitality of the tradition of devotional poetry.

III THE NEW NARRATIVE POEMS

The most popular as well as the most important form of poetry in this period is the long narrative poetry, including the epics, which falls in two distinct types. First, the traditional narrative poetry, such as the *qisā, ākhyān, purāṇ* etc., and second, a new narrative poetry that emerged under the influence of the West.

Within the first type there is evidence of uncritical adherence to the traditional themes and forms on the part of some poets in different language areas. But there is also evidence of innovations from within, either in respect of new themes or of experiments in the narrative structure. The second type of narrative poems grew directly under the Western impact, but retained the older structures in most of the cases or tried to evolve a structure making a compromise between the native and the alien traditions. The formal as well as the thematic analysis of these poems demonstrate very clearly that the Indian poet not only tried to create a new narrative structure by grafting certain features of Western narrative poetry to the Indian, but also to infuse the Western values and ideals into traditional Indian themes. The simultaneous existence of these two types of narrative poetry in many languages, naturally caused a tension betwen them but finally the second type of poetry triumphed over the first.

Western Impact: New Models

Michael Madhusudan Datta's two Bengali epics, *Tilottamā Sambhab Kābya* (1860) and *Meghnādbadh Kābya* (1861), were the first significant works of the new type of narrative poetry that emerged under the Western impact. Michael revolutionized the language of Bengali poetry by introducing the Blank verse (which he called *amitrākṣar Chanda*). The story of *Tilottamā* is taken from the Hindu mythology, the quarrel between the two demon-brothers Sunda and Upasunda for the enchanting Tilottama, the paragon of beauty, but Michael recast it accommodating the Greek myths. More than its story, the poem made an impact on the readers by the unimpeded course of the blank verse, which gave a measure of freedom till then unknown in Indian poetry. His model was Milton, whom Michael described as "the best writer of blank verse in English." The introduction of the blank verse, resulting a spectacular change in the poetic diction, was a memorable historical event.

Even a more important event is the publication of his epic *Meghnādbadh*. The story—the death of Meghnad—is borrowed from the *Rāmāyaṇa* but the epic is modelled on Homer's *Iliad*. Michael wrote about the poem that it was his ambition "to engraft the exquisite graces of the Greek mythology on our own", and to defend himself against the possibility "of the un-Hindu character of the poem" he declared, "I shall not borrow Greek stories but write, rather try to write, as a Greek would have done."

The construction of the poem followed the Homeric model, and the Aristotolean canons of "single action", "dramatic principles", "the beginning, middle and end", rejecting the Sanskritc models.[18] The story opens in the middle of a battle and only later does it refer to former events to explain the origin of that battle between Ravana and Ram. The invocation of the Muse, for example, which is an epic convention in the West fascinated Michael. He freely borrowed from several European poets particularly, Homer, Virgil, Dante, Tasso and Milton. It is indeed a remarkable poem in the history of modern epics, mainly because of its eclecticism of material and techniques of construction. The formal features made the poem strikingly new, and the spirit of revolt against the authority, its sympathy for the hero defeated by divine contrivance, made it radical and modern. "I despise Ram and his rabble, but the idea of Ravana elevates and kindles my imagination", wrote Michael. It is, however, wrong to think that he has portrayed Ram with a deliberate design to malign, but his heart was certainly with Ravana, whose land had been invaded by Ram's army, and with Meghnad, who has been killed by Lakshman aided by the gods in an unfair battle. *Meghnādbadh Kābya* is one of the few poems in our literature where the apotheosized heroes, Ram and Lakshman, pale into insignificance, and Ravana overpowers the imagination of the reader by his grandeur and as a victim of destiny. Ravana appeared in the glory of a tragic hero, and the contemporary reader heard in him the voice of Satan, the hero of *Paradise Lost*.

The portrayal of Meghnad as the defender of his country, and Pramila on the model of Clorinda of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata (Jerusalem Delivered)* as a daring heroine vindicated the patriotic feelings of the new elite as well of their vision of a new woman. Michael revolutionised the Bengali poetry by the introduction of a new metre and of a new spirit, and conquered his readers by his sweep and power. He was followed by Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay (1838–1903) and Nabin Chandra Sen (1847–1909), the former known for his *Bṛtrasaṃhār Kābya* (1875–77), its theme being the sacrifice of Dadhichi and the slaying of the demon Vritra, and the latter for his *Palāśīr Yuddha* (1876), a historical poem on the battle of Plassey, and the ambitious epic trilogy—*Raibatak* (1887), *Kurukṣetra* (1893) and *Prabhās* (1896)—based on the character and activities of Krishna. Hemchandra's poem *Bīrbāhu* (1864), an imaginary account of a valiant Hindu king, as well as his magnum opus *Bṛtrasaṃhār* had their moments of popularity, mainly because of the undercurrent of patriotic fervour and idealism. Nabin Chandra, too, won a warm applause for his unbridled emotionalism, fiery patriotism and proximity with Byron in temper, though not in power. This is the main trend of heroic poetry created by poets all well read in English poetry. This new poetry is conspicuous by its style, metre, and structure as well as its spirit.

About the Marathi poets of this period we are told, "they tried to translate some long poems, imitated the English lyrical vein and imbibed English theories of diction and verse."[19] Bajaba Ramchandra Pradhan (1838–1886) wrote a long narrative poem, *Daivasenī* (1867), which was an adaptation of Scott's the *Lady of the Lake*. M. M. Kunti (1835–1888), a teacher and a Sanskritist, a product of Wilson College, wrote a long poem *Rājā Śivājī* (1869) in a simple and vigorous diction, under the influence of Wordsworth's views on poetic diction. The poem, however, was not well received by the contemporary crticis and the reader. Although S. R. Kulkarni describes this poem on national unity as "the most striking departure from convention"[20] Kusumawati Deshpande observes: "The poem remains now only as a curiosity. Such was the effect of an ill-equipped effort, however well meant, to break away radically from a tradition which still had a strong hold."[21] The reception of a text particularly one that is radical in character, naturally depends upon the taste of the readership and its size, and of course upon the creative power and authority of the author. These factors explain the differences between the reception of *Meghnādbadh Kābya* and that of *Rājā Śivājī*. The contemporary Gujarati narrative poem, *Vena Caritra* of Dalpatram, to give an instance of a narrative in the *ākhyān* form, is an example of how the older narrative forms were remoulded to accommodate contemporary problems. The poem describes how the protagonist Vena, meets Kamala, a widow, who decides to commit suicide because of her pathetic life. Vena decides to fight for the cause of the widow remarriage despite strong opposition from the Brahmins and finally succeeds in his mission.

Western Impact: Native Model

The most significant innovation within one's own literary traditions is to be found in Urdu, particularly in the writings of Hali[22] (1837–1914). He came into contact with English literature in 1871 when he was appointed a clerk in the Book Depot, Lahore. Before that Hali was educated in the traditional way; he studied Arabic and Persian and, to use his own words, he was "wholly given to religious fanaticism, and was a pray to dogmas and orthodoxy."[23] He could not read English, but when at Lahore he had to go through, as part of his duty, the Urdu translations of English works, most of which were text books. And that was how he was exposed to the poems of Cowper, Goldsmith and Wordsworth. It was an exciting experience to him; not only did it widen his vision but changed his literary ideas altogether. He wrote, '*Hali ab ao pairawi magharbi kare*' (O Hali, come, let us now follow the West).

In 1890 in the preface to his collection of poems he referred to the Western influence on Urdu and observed that the Urdu poets held that "fanciful love subjects and exaggeration were essential elements in poetry,

while the portrayal of real life and facts was incompatible with true poetry."[24] He further observed:

> Modern Urdu poetry had its birth at the moment when the spirit of the West entered into the Urdu language.... In 1872, Sir Syed had begun to issue his paper the Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq (Refining of Manners), which had brought about a rapid change in the ideas of the Muslims with literary interests. They had come to regard the earlier Urdu and Persian styles as unnatural and contemptible, and had begun to despise their system of poetry. There had been at that time no good imitation of Western poetry. But sometimes at small impetus suffices. Faint as the melody coming from the West, it had yet been enough to inspire the seekers after new ways and to stir their enthusiasm.[25]

Hali and his friend Muhammad Husain Azad started holding a monthly *Masha erah* for the development of new Urdu poetry in 1874. Next year Hali was transferred to Delhi and he came into direct contact with Sir Syed. During this period he wrote four masnavis.[26] Whatever be their literary quality, these poems are exercises in discovering new themes and spirit, refreshingly different from those of contemporary Urdu poetry. His own realization of the limitations of Urdu poetry and his urge to find a new meaning and substance in creative works suddenly found a powerful expression under the influence of Sir Syed, who gave him a vision and a sense of direction. He wrote

> *ab suno Hālī ke nawah umar bhar,*
> *ho cuka hangāma madah va ghazal*

(Listen now to the dirges of Hali for the rest of your life; the days of the odes of praise and ghazals are gone).

With Hali, Urdu poetry all of a sudden, emerged as an instrument of social reform and patriotism. In 1879 Hali published his masterpiece, *Madd-wa-Jazr-e-Islam* (The Ebb and Flow of Islam), popularly known as *Musaddas-e-Hālī* which took the public by storm. All critics, even those who had reservations about the poetic quality of Hali's *musaddas*, acclaimed this poem as a landmark in the history of Urdu literature because it was the first important poem written in the language after the 1857 rebellion. It was the theme, not the diction or style, that made the *musaddas* so popular, and also so controversial. Thematically, it is related to Narmad's Gujarati poem *Hinduo-nī-Padatī* (The Decline of the Hindus, 1866) Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay's Bengali poem, 'Bhārat Saṅgīt' (The Song of India, 1870), and Bharatendu's 'Bhārat Bhikṣā' (1878)—all the four being retrospective in their moods lamenting the past glories and achievements of the Hindus or the Muslims. Hali's *musaddas*, however, created a much greater impact on the readership, generating both heat and light, than any other poetic work of the time.

In this poem of 296 stanzas containing six lines each, Hali traces the history of Islam since its origin in Arabia. the emergence of a new religion

that replaced idolatry and social evils, and gave a new identity to the Arabs who created a great civilization. Hali speaks eloquently about the achievements of the Muslims in all walks of life and their contribution to the world. But slowly begins the decline and Hali laments over the fall and degradation of the Muslims, their present plight and misery, despondency and degeneration, all intensified by memories of the past glory.

If thoughtful people try to listen attentively, then from Ceylon to Kashmir and Tibet, they will hear all—earth, trees, forests, flowers, fruits, sands and hills, complain thus with keen regret: you, who were the pride of the world only yesterday, have brought disgrace to Mother India today.[27]

This is the most recurrent theme in Indian patriotic poetry. One of the features of patriotic writings, including that of Hali's *musaddas*, is the praise for the British rule in India. His attitude towards the British rule may not appear compatible with the growing patriotism, but the patriotic writings of all kinds in this century[28] betray this contradiction. The main contribution of Hali to Urdu literature is his exploitation of the poetic form, *musaddas*, and to make it an effective instrument of propagation of new ideals. We will speak later about his ideals of poetry and his views as a critic, but it is quite clear that he differed from most of the poets of the earlier generation in his predilection for social concern. This is evident in his other poems, *Munājāt-e-Bewa* (1886) and *Shakwa-e-Hind* (1887). The change that Hali brought in Urdu poetry was not because of any slow internal evolution, but primarily because of the socio-political changes through which the Indians in general, and the Muslims in particular, were passing, and also because of his exposure, howsoever limited, to a foreign literature These changes had already appeared in some parts of the country, as we have noticed, and they will appear in course of time in other literatures too. *Munājāt-e-Bewa* (The Widow's Prayer), for example, is related to the Bengali essays of Vidyasagar on the widow remarriage, the Assamese play *Rāmnavamī*, the Marathi novel *Yamunā Paryaṭan*, the Gujarati poem *Vena Caritra*. When the suffering woman in Hali's poem laments

Is me shikayat kya-hai parāyī
apni kismat kī hai burāyi
Chain gar apni bānat me ātā
kyō tu aurat jāt banātā.

(But why complain of others, when my own fate was bad. Had happiness been my lot, I would not have been born a woman.[29])

One hears the echoes of all such writings that had appeared before and connects it with such writings that came after.

IV NEW LYRICS

Innovations in Structure

The Western influence on Indian poetry of this period is more evident in formal experiments than in spirit. To put it differently, since the poets were more attracted towards the external features of Western literary genres, their initial experiments were confined to the grafting of those features on the body of Indian poetry. Only later did the spirit of Western poetry take priority over the external features. By the end of this period the Western influence became more pervasive in almost all the major languages of India. Michael's construction of the epic on the model of the *Iliad* remained in splendid isolation; but Hemchandra and Nabin Chandra made a compromise between the traditional Sanskrit epic structure and the romantic narrative poems of the English writers. This compromised structure, either followed by several poets or separately evolved in other languages,[30] yielded happy results in some cases. Michael's *Bīrāṅganā* (1862), an adaptation of Ovid's *Heroides; Brajāṅganā* (1862), a collection of poems on Radha-Krishna themes conspicuous by various experiments in the stanzaic pattern; and *Caturdaśpadī Kabitāblī* (1866), a collection of one hundred and two sonnets written during the poet's stay at Versailles, opened new possibilities.

The sonnet directly imported from the West—Michael wrote in both Petrachan and Shakesperean forms—became immediately popular in Bengali, though not in other Indian languages.[31] In the words of a Bengali critic, "the lyrical tendency obtained here a fuller scope, and the poet's self a freer expression. The subject-matter of some of the poems reveals the nostalgic, reminiscent mood of the poet who was passing through the dark days of hopeless distress in a distant, foreign land."[32] The sonnets introduced a new element in Indian poetry, that is the personal moods and feelings of the poet, leading to the emergence of modern lyric. Modern lyric, as distinct from the lyrics of religious poetry and the ghazals, began to appear around 1860–Michael Madhusudan's *Ātma bilāp* (self-lament) is an early example—and by the seventies became conspicuous as a literary genre. In a literary society where music and poetry were so intimately connected and short verse forms were available in abundance, it was natural for lyric to flourish spontaneously. It indeed flourished mainly within the domain of religious poetry, and often within the conventional framework of the Urdu ghazals. The emphasis on the subjective and the personal, and the shift from the external to the internal which characterized the new lyric, were almost entirely due to the changing perception of the poets as regards the relationship between the individual and the social authority. The old poetic order was crumbling down as it was inadequate to

accommodate new ranges of experience. The poets started responding and reacting to the various aspects of nature and to the joys and sufferings of human existence in a different way which was prompted by their realization of the significance of the individual identity as distinct from a social or religious identity. This realization made the emergence of the lyric inevitable.

Change in Poetic Attitude

The growth of the lyric was also intricately related to a new attitude, which can be called 'romantic'. The term is useful as long as it is understood as a special attitude towards man and nature, without any reference to the Romantic movement in European literature since there was no such movement in our literature. The romantic attitude or the temperament may be traced back to Kalidasa. Some of his verses in *Meghadūtam*, and certainly the famous lines in *Śākuntalā* (Act V)

> ramyāni vīkṣya madhurāmśca niśamya śabdān
> paryutsuko bhavati yat sukhito'pi jantuḥ
> tatcetasā smarati nūnamavodhapūrvam
> bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntara sauhṛdāni

reflect a mood that defies any precise formulation. It is a feeling, vague and imprecise, at the same time extremely intense, often turbulent and tortuous, and also at times expansive and genial. Rarely, indeed, did such moods appear in our old and medieval literature, though they were not altogether absent. But this mood is conspicuously recurrent in certain sections of the nineteenth century Indian poetry.

Biharilal Chakravarti's *Sāradāmaṅgal* (1879) is one of the powerful manifestations of this mood. Chakravarti studied Sanskrit and had little formal English education. Although heroic poems were the fashion of the time, he chose to write neither a mythological nor a historical poem on the Western model, but a peculiar narrative, actually a string of lyrical poems slenderly connected by a theme, about the poet's relationship with Sarada, the Muse of poetry. Readers found him obscure and critics did not pay much attention to him. The appreciation for his poetry and the realization of its significance came much later. The charge of obscurity was common against this new poetry as it was in sharp contrast with poetry where the meaning was clear and unambiguous. What the contemporary critics condemned as 'obscurity' was actually an intended ambiguity or a different use of language to embody an experience which itself was vague and nebulous. This temperament, which I have called 'romantic' in the absence of a better term, was not associated with vagueness or ambiguity only, but had multiple shades, namely, yearning for the distant and the exotic, joy and wonder in beauty, longing and waiting, restlessness and even revolt. The new poetry was infused with this temperament, which

slowly pervaded other forms of literature too. Before we go into further details, let us take a quick look at some of the movements which started as a reaction against the existing poetic order and gave momentum to the growth of a new poetry.

V CONFLICTS AND RECONCILIATION

Venmani Movement

A literary movement, which later came to be known as *Venmani movement*,[33] started in Cochin around 1850 and continued till the end of the century. The movement, directed against the Sanskritic diction which had dominated Malayalam poetry, gets its name from Venmani Achan Nambudiri (1817–90/91), though Puntottam Nambudiri (1821–65) was also one of the leading figures of this school. The movement was anticipated by Chelapparamp (1690–1780), a celebrated poet of the eighteenth century but reached its height in the works of the two sons of Venmani: Venmani Mahan Nambudiri Junior (1844–93), and Kunjikuttan Tampuran (1865–1913). There were other poets associated with this group: the Natuvath Nampudiris, father (1840–1912) and son (1867–1943), Oravankara Nilakanthan Namputiri (1856–1916), *Konchunni* Tampuran (1857–1925) and Kundur Narayana Menon (1861–1936). The group consisted of two generations of leisured elite, almost all of them Nampudiris: all of them were men of fine sensibility and aesthetes by nature. They used to meet regularly, setting and solving poetic riddles according to the customs of the time and indulging in poetic composition more as a pastime than a serious literary exercise. Krishna Chaitnaya writes about the poetry of the group as follows:

> The group cultivated a limpid, musical diction. If Sanskrit words were used they were of the type with which even the common man was familiar. Involved syntactical constructions were carefully avoided. Great attention was paid to gain a soft, velvety texture. The meaning was transparently clear, the narration was relaxed, with frequent gleams of humour. The independent poem of a single stanza (*muktaka*) was the most preferred species; the short poem came next; the long narrative poem, if attempted, dealt with light themes like a travel or a festival.[34]

None of these poets, except Kundur Narayana Menon had any formal English education, but all of them were well educated in Sanskrit and older Malayalam literature and excelled in the art of 'instant composition' (*druta kavanam*) and music. They reacted against over-Sanskritization and the dominance of the puranic themes in Malayalam. In a way it was a rivalry between Cochin and Travancore (poets belonging to this place advocated Sanskritization), between two views of poetry, one simple, delicate and beautiful as represented by the Venmani school, and the

other gorgeous, serious and pedantic as represented by Kerala Varma and his followers. The Venmani poets created a new poetic diction: they avoided Sanskrit words and case-endings which were common features of the Sanskritic school; they avoided pedantry and made the language simple, natural and musical.[35] But while they avoided Sanskritism in diction, they preferred Sanskrit metres to the Dravidian metres. It is not only their choice of a simple and musical diction but their interest in the contemporary life in preference to mythology, their aversion to didactism and love for humour, and indulgence in eroticism that made their poems extremely popular. Krishna Chaitanya's observations are worth quoting:

> There was no romantic attitudinising about it, but sensibility and sympathy were growing to a wider reach to note the creeper on the fence, the peasant girl returning from work in the field, the locomotive puffing its way past paddy fields and coconut groves, to record with amused tolerance of one's own weaknesses and with irony and imitation the corruption and inefficiencies of the social system. Unpretentious though their work was, it had the great, latent wealth of many germinal beginnings.[36]

Conflict Between Two Models

The poetry of the Venmani group, generally light and casual, is different from the kind of poetry Bihārilal Chakravarti wrote in his *Sāradā maṅgal* or is found in the Oriya work, *Kabitābalī*[37], a joint product of Madhusudan Rao and Radhanath Ray, in respect of the sentimentalism and mysticism of the former and the sombre philosophical tone of the latter. But they are two different aspects of a movement towards the discovery of a new poetic language and eventually a new poetry. Today it appears quite natural that Oriya critics should be involved in a controversy about the relative merit of Upendra Bhanja, the great Oriya poet of the eighteenth century, and Radhanath Ray. But initially it was actually a controversy between two different ideals of poetry, two different views about poetic diction.

The most conspicuous feature in the Indian poetry of this phase is a conflict between two models of poetry, at times between the traditional and the Western, and at times between the Sanskritic and the non-Sanskritic. It was also a conflict between the objective and the subjective, and also between the epic and the long narratives on the one hand and the lyric and the short poems on the other. This conflict was either not pronounced or did not exist in some languages because of the total domination of the traditional poems. In Tamil, for example, mainly because of the spread of printing facilities and scholarly activities, the ancient texts became easily available, and the modern poets had to face a situation where one section of readership was more inclined to ancient poetry, and the other section, deprived of education, remained engrossed with folk poetry. This was

partly true of Kannada, too, where a large number of the editions of ancient and medieval texts began to appear, and innovations in the existing poetic tradition were either retarded or were very slow indeed. *Alliyaracāṇi mālai* (2nd ed. 1869), a popular Tamil work, based on one of the exploits of Arjuna, written in *ammani metre*, or another Tamil work, *Citamparak Kummi* (1869) on the greatness of Chidambaram and its deity Nataraja written in *Kummi* style, or various *sthalapurāṇas* (e.g. Tirupperunturaip Puranan, 1874) and various other poems written in the traditional forms indicate the strong presence of tradition and absence of a challenge to that. According to Zvelebil, short poems in Tamil were under the shadow of more powerful epics, or "degenerated in the hands of the 18th and 19th century poets into a mere occasional, extempore verse mostly with panegyric functions, or became a mere pastime in addition to more 'serious' preoccupation with *prabandhas*, puranas, devotional hymns, dramas and novel."[38]

M. V. Pillai (1824–89), the first novelist in Tamil, began his literary career by writing poems. Although his poems do not have much literary merit, Vedanayakam Pillai, by commenting on the 'flesh-eating Brahmins' or contemporary epidemics or female education, certainly infused a new spirit in his writings in contrast to literature dominated by religious fervour or mythological aura. Change, however, was imminent and all resistance to it finally proved futile. Kerala Varma (1845–1915), who wrote in both Sanskrit and Malayalam, is one of the finest representatives of the forces of resistance. His *Mayūra Sandēśam* (1894) on the model of Kalidasa's *Meghadūtam*, is noted for its grandeur, verbal sonority and cadence, but "an inordinate love for high-sounding words" and elaborate imagery and *maṇi-pravāḷa* diction make it clever work with little personal warmth. P. K. Parameswaran Nair describes it as "a retrograde step at a time when the Venmani style was zealously acclaimed everywhere and was setting the tone for much of future poetry."[39] Kerala Varma's *Maṇi Pravāḷa Śākuntalam* (1882), the translation of the Sanskrit play, an attempt to create a grandiose style, was criticised by the Venmani son in a satirical verse 'Śakuntalā tinte avalāthi' (Lamentations of Śakuntalā). It is not merely a rivalry between two styles, but in fact two different ideals of poetry. Poetry as an exercise in embellishment and decoration and clever artefact was challenged, and it finally yielded place to the new.

Reconciliation

Two trends, then, dominated the Indian poetry of this period: one hesitant and slow in responding to the changes of time but eventually accepting the Western modes with some modification, the other more adventurous and radical eager to impose Western models on Indian poetry but eventually attempting to combine the Western heritage with the best in our own

tradition. If the Sanskritist was on the one extreme jealously trying to preserve the ancient tradition, the other extreme was represented by the writers in English, trying to create a new literature only for the English-speaking elite. Both the groups failed and ultimately reconciled to the pressure of time and of readership.

This new poetry appeared first in Bengal, then slowly emerged in other areas but created a great tension because of the presence of a strong and viable indigenous tradition. In this connection mention must be made of the young genius Toru Dutt, whose life was tragically denied maturity. She was, indeed, trying to create a new poetry—its language was English but its sensibility Indian. The new poetry distinguished itself by forms and metre, its spirit tried to emerge out of the Western influence; it either replaced the older poetry completely or made it totally ineffective. Secondly, the new poetry also emerged in various parts of the country without any direct influence of the West, partly as a reaction against the existing tradition slowly losing its vitality. For example, Hali in Urdu and the Venmani poets in Malayalam contributed to the changing landscape without any direct intervention of Western poetry. Third, there was a growth of narrative poetry, both epic and long poems, exploiting themes from the older epics or history and legends. In each case there was a conscious attempt either towards innovation of structure and narrative pattern or of interpretation of myths and reorganization of the ancient characters. Along with the epics and the historical poems, there were also long poems, their themes being nature, people and places, festivals and social problems. The Venmani poets, for example, wrote travelogues in verse, verse-tales and descriptions of people. The justly famous 'Puram Prabandham' (1865) by Venmani Junior is a description of the *Puram* festival of the Vatakkunnatha Temple at Trichur, with such vivid realism and minute detail that the poem evokes the excitement and gaiety of the festival and captures significant situations of the moving crowd as in vignettes. Kunjikuttan Tampuran wrote a small travelogue on his visit to Madras which is a lively account of the city, its seashore, its people, particularly the British soldiers, all sketched with competence, a refreshing contrast with the age-old ballads and romances. The contemporary life with all its affections and amusements opens up a new vista to the poets. History, of course, retains its power of enchantment and the nineteenth century poetry discovers the potentiality and the beauty of the past. But the present and the immediate acquire a new significance in poetry. Finally, there is a growth of intense subjectivity: it had its beginnings in Narmadashankar and Michael Madhusudan, in the poems of Madhusudan Rao and Radhanath Ray and Bholanath Das; but reached a remarkable height in Biharilal and surfaced in the early poems, *Sandhyā Saṅgīt* (1882) and *Prabhāt Saṅgīt* (1884), of Rabindranath.

CHAPTER 8

Explorations into New Forms and Ideas

I EXPERIMENTS WITH STYLE

The prose literature of this period, like the novel and the drama, had an uneven development. From a crude and hesitant beginning in the first half of the century, mostly under the supervision of religious propagandists, foreign administrators, text-book writers and journalists, prose in some of the Indian languages reached a stage of maturity. Its incredible growth in volume and variety was, of course, not directly proportional to its artistic merit; none the less by the end of the century prose virtually dislodged verse from the position of supremacy it had held for several centuries.

The phenomenal growth of prose was due to various reasons, such as the increasing demand for more reading material both for pedagogical necessity and for entertainment, the sudden proliferation of magazines, periodicals, journals and newspapers in various languages and the growth of religious, political and educational institutions and societies. The creative use of prose found its most eloquent expression in the novel and to some extent in drama. The novelist got ample scope to experiment with the various strands of descriptive and narrative prose, to exploit all rhetorical devices and different levels of styles appropriate to varying contexts. Those experiments were complemented and sustained by similar exercises in other fields of prose literatures, namely biography, autobiography, travelogue, character-sketch, satire and humour, essays in the form of discourse or dialogues, epistles or diary. In fact, the story of the novel cannot be told in isolation from these forms of literatures.

Throughout the nineteenth century the Indian literary critics and the creative writers in most of the languages argued over the necessity and propriety of using certain styles. The novels in particular and other types of prose literature in general provide the documentary evidence of that long-drawn controversy over the proper use of language. In some respects the dramatic literature opened up a new possibility, that of the use of various dialects, both regional and social, by its characters. This was also done by the novelists, some of whom employed occupational or social dialects. But the urgency of such linguistic devices was felt more strongly by the dramatists, and they used them more extensively. In matters of choice of style the dramatists employed more varieties of speech, though committing to the overall supremacy of one particular variety. The characters in the

plays as well as in the novels were predominantly from the upper strata of society and the language used by them matched their social status. But once the writers started introducing characters from the lower stratum of social life and from different occupations, the necessity for employment of various dialects and speech varieties became imperative. Writers responded to that necessity, each according to his literary ideals and social commitment resulting in the growth of an awareness of the potentiality of the language. The different levels of a language were distinguished not simply by the preponderance or the absence of Sanskrit—or in some case of Persian—but also by their religious, occupational, social or educational association. The tradition of the use of different languages for characters distinguished by social position and gender in Sanskrit plays must have exerted some constraints on dramatists and novelists of this period, but they slowly freed themselves from this artificial and static framework and exploited the aesthetic potentialities of different styles.

The Growth of a Popular Literature

The question of stylistic levels is intimately connected with the content itself and to a great extent with the reading public. By the end of this phase Indian literature, particularly that written in prose, divided itself into two streams, in terms of readership. A popular literature, which the critics normally ignore or censor, grew in different parts of the country with remarkable speed. What a critic has said about this kind of literature with reference to Gujarati is, true, more or less, of other literatures in India as well.

> Where so much is being written, trashy literature also is bound to come into being, and also to flourish. It would in no way conduce to the knowledge of the reader nor is it to his interest to become acquainted with such works. But we may give the name of one by way of illustration. The seven or eight volumes of *Nilam ani Manek* by G. K. Dalvadakar would be hard to beat for their trashiness, their unreality, their unhealthiness, and yet such is the taste of the uninstructed masses, that the writer claims that his book has become very popular.[1]

II VARIOUS FORMS OF PROSE LITERATURE

The most popular form of literature in this period is fiction. A large number of narratives were printed for the consumption of the general reader, most of them totally forgotten and lost within a few years. An equally large number of books were printed at that time, most of them related to social and religious reform, generally polemic or propagandist in nature. They too have vanished quickly. Besides that, quite a large number of essays were published in different journals which were never collected in books. Some of them are valuable but are inaccessible to the modern reader. The little that is available of a voluminous output is an indication

of the intellectual ferment of this period. The prose works, i.e. works other than the novels, can be classified into several groups either according to the genres they belong to, or according to the content or mood of the works. It will be, however, more useful if they are seen also as part of the literary trends and movements, to appreciate their historical relevance, the cause and effect of their growth.

We have already noticed that in the previous periods between 1800 and 1857 prose had been already employed in a larger area of intellectual expressions and that various new types of literature had emerged. Some of these forms were inspired by foreign models, and some with indigenous roots flowered with new possibilities. In this period a vigorous experimentation started with those new forms.

The Art of Letter: Ghalib

One of the most distinguished prose writers of this period was Ghalib himself. He wrote both in Persian and in Urdu, and many people do not know that "the quantity of his Persian prose is much greater than his poetry."[2] His fame as a prose writer, however, mainly rests on his letters published in two separate books *Urdū-i-Mualla* and *Ūd-i-Hindī*. These letters were never intended for publication and when the idea for their publication was forwarded by his admiring friend Munshi Shiv Narain around 1858, Ghalib disapproved of it on the ground that they were casually written and their publication would go against his fame and reputation.[3] He was, however, persuaded to agree and the first collection came in 1868 under the title of *Ūd-i-Hindī*. The second book, *Urdū-i-Mualla* was published in March 1869, three weeks after the death of the poet.

There is not a single reader of Urdu literature who has not admired the beauty and elegance, the naturalness and the intimacy of these letters. They have been considered the finest specimens of prose free from formality and conventionality. This is the first time in the history of Indian literature that epistolary prose as a literary form emerged and got established. Ghalib created a new form of prose literature, but he did not do it consciously. The potentiality of this form was realised by many writers later, though they were not aware of the existence of an Indian model in Ghalib. In 1881 young Rabindranath published *Yurop Prabāsīr Patra* in Bengali, which is an account of his travels in Europe in the form of letters. These letters, however, were written probably with the intention to publish. But the letters that Tagore wrote between 1885 and 1895 to his niece, Indira Devi, which were published in 1912 under the title *Chinna Patra* (Torn Letters) are comparable to Ghalib's. They, too, were written only for one reader, but when published the reading public did not fail to respond to their beauty and tenderness. Ghalib's letters can be considered the beginning of the informal prose writing which later developed into personal essay.

Sketches, Satires, Short Essays

The informality of style and manner and the understanding of potentiality of the apparently trivial and common-place subject-matter were first manifested in character-sketch, humorous writings and social satires which began to appear in journals. One of the most significant works of this nature was *Hutom Pyācār Naksā* (Sketches by Hutom the Owl, 1862) published anonymously, but in all probability written by Kaliprasanna Sinha, a talented young and wealthy man of Calcutta. This book, consisting of sketches about the contemporary Calcutta life of the *nouveau riche* in an extremely caustic but delightfully racy style, is a remarkable creation. The author claimed that the sketches were found on facts. That makes the book a rich mine of information about the contemporary society. This breathes the same spirit that pervades the farces of Michael Madhusudan and is part of satirical literature that gew in Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and several other languages around that time or a little later. The language is racy and vigorous, at times extremely colloquial, occasionally "disfigured by obscenity" as Bankim Chandra felt,[4] almost rebellious in spirit against the puritanism of the Brahmas and the Sanskritolatry of the Brahmins.

Such collections of sketches showed the possibility of achieving a balance between narrative and descriptive writings.[5] Moraba Kanhoba's Marathi fiction *Ghāśīrām Kotwāl* (1863), or Sharshar's *Fasāna-e-Āzād* (1880), an Urdu novel, developed out of the older tradition of the chain of tales. *Hutom* does not have any relation with that tradition but develops as a new form of literature, a blending of descriptions and narrations. When Bankim Chandra published his *Kamalākānter Daptar* (1875), also a collection of essays of various types, connected slenderly by one interesting character, he added a new dimension to this very form,[6] although the style and the content of that work were radically different. Bankim can be caustic and ironical at times, but he is generally witty and often lyrical. The personal essay had its beginnings here.

Social satires dominated the prose writings of this period and Bankim was a pioneer in this area. His *Lok Rahasya* (1874), a delightful collection of humorous and satirical writings—some of them containing elements of tale—and *Mucirām Guḍer Jībon Carit* (1884), also a hilarious narrative ruthlessly critical of corruption in the government, are two fine examples of a form that became extremely popular in the next phase.

III JOURNALS AND PROSE LITERATURE

The controversy over style which had been raging in several languages, particularly Hindi, Telugu and Malayalam, and to a limited extent in Bengali, made the writers extremely conscious of their literary experiments. Essayists desirous to reach a wider audience, or writing on social

issues, naturally preferred an easily comprehensible, and persuasive style. Vidyasagar, for example, though a Sanskrit scholar, avoided Sanskritism and steered through a middle course in respect of style. His essays on the widow remarriage published in 1855 and on polygamy in 1872 are good examples of his style. But occasionally he could write in a style much closer to Hutom's. That the stylistic question was related with conservatism in social and religious issues is best understood from the Telugu situation.

Paravastu Chinnaya Suri (1806–1862), a great scholar of Sanskrit and Telugu, a grammarian and lexicographer, and some of his his followers tried to stifle the natural growth of the literary Telugu by imposing many rigid rules. The first effective challenge to his pedantic style came from Viresalingam, for whom linguistic reform was a part of his social reform movements. His translation of the *Pañcatantra* under the title *Nīti Candrikā Vigrahamu* (1874) and the translation of the same work by Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842–1915),[7] a diehard purist and a follower of Chinnaya Suri, ensued a literary warfare between the two. Kokkonda started *Hāsya Varahani* as a supplement to his *Andhra Bhāṣā Sañjivanī* (1871) and Viresalingam *Hāsya Sañjivanī* as a supplement to his *Vivekavardhinī* (1874),[8] where the battle of styles continued.

The journals and the periodicals, such as *Śālāpatrak* (1861) edited by the Marathi scholar Shrikrishnashastri Talekar; *Surat Mitra* (1863), the Gujarati weekly started by Taleyarakhan Aradeshav; *Abodh Bandhu* (1863), the Bengali monthly edited by Jogendranath Ghosh; *Sujana Manoranjini* (1864), the Telugu monthly edited by Chinnaya Suri; *Paścima Tārakā* (1864), the Malayalam newspaper; the Tamil feminist journal *Amirta Vacani* 1865); the Sindhi periodical *Sindh Sudhār* (1866) and the Oriya magazine *Utkala Dīpikā* (1866) started by Gauri Shankar Ray created a new opportunity, not available to writers before, to experiment with style and form, and to write on various themes of immediate and perennial interest. Some of the journals such as *Awadh Akhbār* (the Urdu weekly from Lucknow, 1859), the Hindi journal *Kavi Vacan Sudhā* (first started as a monthly in 1867 by Bharatendu Harishchandra); *Vividha Jñānavistāra* (the Marathi magazine started by Ramchandra Bhikaji Gunjikar in 1867), the Oriya journal *Bodhadāyinī* edited by Fakirmohan Senapati in 1868, the Bengali literary monthly *Bangadarśan* started in 1872 by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, *Viveka Vardhinī* (1874), the Telugu periodical of Viresalingam, *Tahzibul Akhlaq* (1876), the Urdu journal edited by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Awadh Panch* (1877), the Urdu newspaper edited by Munshi Sajjad Hussain, *Hindī Pradīp* (1877) the Hindi journal edited by Balkrishna Bhatt, *Svatantra* (1878) the Gujarati monthly edited by Iccharam Suryaram Desai, the Punjabi journal *Gurmukhi Akhbār* (1880), the Malayalam periodical *Vidyāvilāsinī* (1881), the Telugu monthly *Satihita Bodhinī* (1883) edited by Viresalingam, the Assamese journal

Asam Bandhu (1885) started by Gunabhiram Gohain Barua, only to name a few, contributed immensely to the making of the Indian prose literature.

The questions of standardization of spelling and grammar, style and diction were debated and settled there; different genres and streams of literature, namely the historical, the scientific, the religious and the social essays, appeared for the first time in their pages; they created the new readership and established new canons of literature. In addition to that these newspapers and journals were primarily responsible for the growth of social and political awareness. All contemporary social issues were discussed by the various Indian language journals and quite often equally passionately by the English language journals edited by enlightened and patriotic Indians. The educated Indian readership by now had become totally bilingual: speakers of English and an Indian language. The English journals like *Hindu Patriot* (1853–1892), *The Indian Field* (1858), *Indian Mirror* (1861) of Keshab Chandra Sen, *Induprakash* (1862) a bilingual journal, English and Marathi, *Native Opinion* (1864) founded by R. V. N. Mandalik, *The Hindu* (1876), *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (1878), *Assam News* (1880 ?), *Mahratta* (1881) of Chiplunkar, Tilak and Agarkar or *Tribune* (1881 from Ambala) only to mention some of them, were intimately connected with the growth of Indian literature, and not merely of the Indo-English literature. Not only did the reviews of books in Indian languages and articles on Indian literatures appear in them but the literary movements and socio-political thoughts in different language areas were also highlighted there. They played the role of transmitters of thoughts and literary experiments from one region to the other.

IV WOMEN AND THE DEPRESSED CLASS

Most of the social reformers and religious thinkers had their own journals. Their writings in those journals, some of them collected later in book forms, enriched the growing Indian prose literature. It is necessary to mention that the problem of women and depressed classes were first focused, as expected, in the pages of the journals. We have mentioned some of the feminist journals that were published in the previous period. The number of such journal increased in this period and in all probability the readership too grew in size. *Bāmābodhinī Patrikā* (1863, Bengali), *Amirta Vacani* (1865, Tamil), *Vāmābodhinī* (1874, Hindi. ed. by Bharatendu), *Satihita Bodhini* (1883, Telugu, ed. by Viresalingam), *Priyamvadā* (1885, Gujarati) were the reputed journals mainly for women, and some of them were exclusively devoted to women's problem. Along with the feminist magazines one must mention those few magazines that took up the problems of the depressed classes. In 1879 a Tamil journal, *Cūryōtayam*, was started in Madras by a group of people, who called themselves *Ati*

Tamilar. They belonged to the scheduled class and the journal, about which very little is known, printed essays on their problems and tales about their life. The most well-known journal, not necessarily for its literary accomplishment but for its deep social concern, dealing with the caste problem was the Marathi weekly *Dīnabandhu* (1874), published by the *Satyaśodak Samāj* which drew inspiration from Jyotirav Phule. It is a coincidence that the Bengali magazine *Bhārat Śramajībī* (The Indian Labour), the first journal for the working class, was published in the same year.[9] The paper was edited by Sasipada Banerji, a young member of the Brahmo Samaj actively involved in social work. In the first issue of this journal Shivnath Sastri, a Brahmo leader, wrote a poem beginning with the line "Awake, arise, workingmen." Its circulation reached 15,000, a striking figure in these days. In 1885 another Tamil journal, entitled *Tirāvita Paṇṭiyan*, was published under the editorship of J. K. Rattinam exclusively for the benefit of the scheduled castes and tribes of Tamilnad. The kind of social awareness manifested in contemporary plays about the labourers in the indigo and tea plantation, or the coolies, or the agricultural workers was reflected more extensively in those journals.

Works on Inequality

Two works deserve special mention in this context. The first one is *Gulāmgirī* (1873), a Marathi prose work by Jyotivara Govindrav Phule (1827–1890). Jyotivarav, prodigious son of a gardener, was one of the few writers and social reformers in the nineteenth century India to come from a lower caste. He experienced the tyranny of the Brahmins and all his life he fought against them. In 1869 he published a collection of songs *Brāhmaṇāce Kasab* about the greed of the Brahmins demanding gifts from the Sudras. His *Chatrapatī Śivājī-varil Povāḍā* (1869) is a poem on the exploits of Shivaji, but he missed no chance to criticise the Brahmins in this poem.[10] It was quite natural that the Brahmins found these writings repellent. His *Gulāmgiri* (Slavery), written in the form of dialogue, is the most trenchant criticism of the Brahmins, a pungent sarcasm against their claims of superiority and an uninhibited reproach for their role in Indian history. His success as a social reformer was of course limited but he "brought a directness and bluntness" in Marathi prose, and one can look for the seeds of the Dalit literature of our times in his writings in general and *Gulāmgiri* in particular.

The other important work of this period is Bankim Chandra's *Sāmya*. Although it appeared as a book in 1879, the essays in Bengali were first published in *Bangadarśan* between 1872 and 1873. It is a treatise on equality, a concept as defined by Rousseau and later European social thinkers, and an analysis of the historical background of the growth of inequality in India.[11] *Sāmya* is one of the pioneering works to focus on the problems of

rural poverty and inequality in Indian society, written with lucidity and precision. Bankim withdrew its publication later because, according to many scholars, of his growing conservatism, but parts of it were reprinted in his collection of essays, *Bibidha Prabandha* (1892).

V PROSE AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Religious debates fascinated almost all the nineteenth century intellectuals. Some of them had intrinsic interest in theological issues and the relative merits of different religious thought; some wanted to study religion as a social phenomenon and its relation to social life, and some were actively involved in religious organization and propagation of their faith. It was really a period of intense activity in religious sphere.

Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1857 and mainly through his initiative, power of organization and oratory, the Brahmo faith spread fairly quickly. After his inspired tour of Madras in 1864, a new society called *Ved Samāj* was established there, and three years later *Prārthanā Samāj* came into existence in Bombay under the leadership of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang. The *Prārthanā Samāj* attracted some of the finest intellectuals of Maharashtra and Gujarat including S. P. Kelkar and N. G. Chandravarkar, and also Pandita Ramabai, though for a brief period till she embraced Christianity. In 1866 Keshab Chandra parted from Debendranath Tagore and started a new organization, *The Brahmo Samaj of India*, which displayed greater catholicity and progressive attitude towards social issues. But there was another split in the Brahmo Samaj in 1881 and the *Sādhāraṇ Brāhmo Samāj* (The Republican Brahmo Samaj) was inaugurated. In between the first and the second split in the Brahmo Samaj, a new religious leader, Swami Dayananda, had emerged in north India. He differed from the Brahmos and the Prarthana Samajists in their theological positions and in their attitudes towards other religions, although he shared their criticism against idolatry and caste system and their faith in a personal god. But he wanted to revive the Vedic thought in its pristine purity. In 1875 he founded *Ārya Samāj* in Bombay but two years later his success in Ludhiana and Lahore made Punjab the more congenial area for his activities. When the leaders of the Theosophical Society, Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky came to India in 1879 Swami Dayananda cooperated with them and their strange union continued for two years. It was the time when several religious organizations grew up to defend Hinduism, some of them were quite fundamentalistic in nature. Arya Samaj stood against the challenges of Christianity and defended its own variety of Hinduism with vehemence. The militancy of Arya Samaj, however, aroused bitter feelings not only among the Muslims and Christians, but also among Sikhs. The first Singh Sabha, the beginning

of a movement to preserve the identity of the Sikh community and to eradicate the evils obstructing its growth, started in 1873 and widened its base by 1879.[12]

All these religious organizations, engaged in intense propaganda activities, made a tremendous impact on the writers, many of whom were involved with their organizational work. The volume of work produced under the direct impact of these organizations was large and their literary merit uneven. But their contribution towards the growth of prose in particular and other forms of literature in general was considerable. A work like *Satyārtha Prakāś* by Swami Dayanand, though it is not a literary work and nor should it be judged by literary canons, is a significant document of this century, influencing the life of innumerable Indians. This is a manifesto of a religious faith and movement inspiring many writers and readers.

The religious movements of this kind encouraged scholarly editions of ancient religious texts, translations and interpretations of theological treatises, and gave incentive to the growth of polemic as well as academic works, including religious histories and biographies. The essays of Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, contained in his celebrated work *Nibandhmālā* (1874), or *Dharma Vicāra* (1885) by Narmad, *Samgrahamūla* (1872) by the Telugu scholar Paravastu Venkatarangacharyalu are some of the notable works, but there are many more which were considered important at the time of their publication and are still considered so as documents of the temper of a particular phase of our cultural crisis. The most important thing, not necessarily beneficial and praiseworthy, is the growth of a religious nationalism which slowly penetrated our literature.

VI HISTORY

The historical writings which germinated in the first half of the nineteenth century grew in size during this period. Histories of India, e.g. Maulavi Kartmuddin's *Wāqi-at-e-Hind* (1863) in Urdu; Fakirmohan Senapati's *Bhāratbarṣara Itihās* (pt. I, 1869, pt. II, 1870) in Oriya; histories of different regions e.g. *Deś Darpaṇa* (1870) in Rajasthani; Dalpatram's *Gujarātana Ketalāk Aitihāsik Prasaṅgo āne Vārtāo* (1876) in Gujarati; Munshi Ram Sahai Tamanna's *Tārīkh-e-Suba-e Avadh* (1876) in Urdu; *Tārīkh-e-Bundel Khand* (1884) in Urdu by Sham Lal Dehlavi Asi; *Gujarāt Deśacā Itihās* (1885), a history of Gujarat written in Marathi by Lokahitavadi; histories of different communities or kingdoms, e.g. *Sikhān de Rāj dī Vithiā* (1866), an account of the Sikh religion and the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by Pandit Shardha Ram Philori in Punjabi; and *Umdat-ut-Tawārīkh* (1884), a Persian work by Lal Sohanlal about the Sikhs from the time of Guru Nanak to Ranjit Singh are works worthy of mention. Two Bengali works, *Bhāratbarṣīya Upāsak*

Sampradāy (1870) by Aksay Kumar Datta, and *Sipāhī Yuddher Itihās* (in 5 vols. 1879–1900) by Rajanikanta Gupta are remarkable for their erudition and spirit of enquiry. The first work, based on H. H. Wilson's *The Sects of the Hindus* (1861), is a mine of information about different religious sects, some of them are esoteric groups, and many of them are still to be thoroughly studied. The second work is the first comprehensive history of the 1857 rebellion in an Indian language.

The growing interest in the Indian past was amply reflected in numerous essays published in different journals such as *Bibidhārtha Samgrah* and *Rahasya Sandarbha,* both edited by the noted scholar Rajendralal Mitra, and *Bangadarśan* of Bankim Chandra. Bankim wrote several historical essays all marked by his incisive analytical temper, only to be rivalled, if not excelled by the essays in Marathi by Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856–1895). He argued, "If freedom was to be won and maintained, the struggle for it must be fought simultaneously on the political and the social fronts. Political freedom and social slavery could not go together."[13]

Despite the publication of numerous text-books and articles in various journals on history, historical writings did not mature, barring one or two exceptions, mainly because of a general lack of historical sense and also because of the growing nationalism which tended to create a history for its own purpose. One is inclined to agree with the observations of Sanjana:

> It is this lack of the historical sense and historical perspective that leads to extravagances of matter and manner, to distortion and misreading of history, to unbalanced historical and literary criticism, to ridiculous ranting and rhapsodings and to the perversion of literary taste which makes the reading public regard such ranting and rhapsodising as good and even great literature.[14]

The statement is harsh, but not untrue about the general quality of the historical literature in most of the Indian languages till the beginning of this century.

Literary History

Except the Urdu and Persian scholars, who took great delight in preparing the *tazkirah* (chronological accounts) of poets, the Indians did not take any interest in the history of literature or biographies of writers. S. C. Chitty's *The Tamil Plutarch* (1859), published from Jaffna, which was translated into Tamil in 1886 under the title *Pāvalar Carittira tīpakam,* is an interesting work, it being the first attempt in Tamil literary history. Designed in the form of a dictionary, it gives information about Tamil authors and their works. V. K. Shastri wrote *Gujarātī Bhāṣāno Itihās* (1866), a history of the Gujarati language, but there was no information about the evolution of literature. The first scholarly history of literature published in an Indian language was a history of Sanskrit literature [15] written in Bengali by

Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar in 1857. This was followed by a history of Bengali literature in 1872 by Ramgati Nyayratna (1831–94), a writer of traditional narratives; and a Bengali essay (1878) by Rajnarayan Basu, more well known for his delightful work *Sekāl ār Ekāl* (1874, Those Days and These Days) about social changes in the nineteenth century. Another history of Bengali literature was written in 1877 by Romesh Chunder Dutt (Chandra Datta) under the title *The Literature of Bengal* in English. In 1881 Azad (1830–1910), an essayist and author of *Qisās-e-Hind* (1869 ?), a collection of stories, wrote *Āb-e-Hayāt* (The Water of Life), the most admired work of his. It deals with the growth and development of the Urdu language in its first part, and the influence of Persian on the Urdu language and literature in the rest of the book. Azad collected information from different *tazkirahs*, and also from the knowledgeable people—an admirable exercise in oral history. Apart from its value as history, the work has been praised by scholars for its fine style. Saksena praises it "as an example of inimitable prose" in Urdu .[16] In 1881 P. Govinda Pillai wrote a *History of Malayalam Literature*, which like *Āb-e-Hayāt*, set the tone for later histories in the language.

Biography

The biographical writings appeared in the earlier periods as exercises in pedagogy. The same trend continued during this period too. Although a major part of it was mainly for the use of students biographies were written with different motivations as well.[17] Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Urdu work *Āsārus-Sanādid* (1847), for example, which contains biographical sketches of the luminaries of Delhi is about Delhi, its architecture and monuments and mausoleums and ruins. The accounts of important men give the book a great liveliness. One of the first significant biographies of this period was *Kavi Caritra* (1865), essays on different poets, written by Narmad in Gujarati. Narmad wrote another book of biographical essays, *Mahāpuruṣonāṅ Caritra* (1870) dealing with the lives of saints. Gurajada Shrirama Murti's *Kavi Jīvitamūlu* (1876), a work on the lives of Telugu poets, follows the pattern of Narmad's. In 1865 one Martha Saudamini Sinha wrote a book entitled *Nārī Carit* in Bengali. It contained the lives of nine European women. This was followed by several biographies of women in Bengali. *Mahilābalī* (1867) for example, included accounts of Charlotte Bronte and Florence Nightingale, among others. Durgadas Lahari chose Ahalyabai, Rasmani, Rani Bhavani, Lakshmibai as subjects for his *Dvādaś Nārī* (1885). There was a rich crop of biographical writings in Bengali[18], a considerable part of which was meant for the edification of the students. But a significant part of it was prompted by the women movements and aimed to create a women-readership. The subjects were chosen from a moral angle: the model of writing was the English version of Plutarch's

Lives and Johnson's *Biographies of Poets*. Johnson's statement that "history may be framed from permanent monuments and records, but 'lives' can only be written from personal knowledge" impressed several Bengali biographers of this period. Both Pearychand Mitra and Ramchand Ghosh quoted this sentence as their motto in their books, *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare* (1877) and *A Biographical Sketch of the Rev. K. M. Banerjee* (1893) respectively. Some biographies of this period were indeed written from personal knowledge.

Except in Bengali, Marathi and Urdu, biography as a new literary form was not firmly established in most of the languages by this time. Earlier hagiographical tradition was strong in some languages, and for most of the languages biography was yet to be recognized as a literary genre. Early biographies treated the lives of eminent men or women, both Indian and Western, without much discrimination, their focus was on the moral or intellectual qualities rather than on the total activities of the heroes. Some of the finest writers of this period, including Bharatendu Harishchandra and the great Oriya writers Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Rao, contributed to the growth of this stream. In the next phase of development, subjects were chosen from contemporary history, facts were collected largely from primary sources, the general attitude however remained eulogistic. The biographies written by the Mitra brothers, already referred to; the Gujarati works *Farbas-Jīvan-Caritra* (1869), life of Alexander Forbes by Mansukhram Tripathi; *Uttam Kapol Karsandās Mulji Caritra* (1878) and *Mahētāji Durgārām Mancchārām Caritra* (1879) both written by Mahipatram Nilkanth, one about a contemporary social reformer and one about a writer; Gunabhiram Barua's life of Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan (1880) in Assamese; Srimati Kashibai Kanitkar's biography of Dr. Anandabai Joshi (1878) in Marathi; and Nagendranath Chattopadhyay's life of Rammohan Ray (1881) are the best examples of this category of biography. One can add to the list *Madhiya Śam Siya* (1863), the Urdu biography of a nawab of Hyderabad, *Mahārājā Mānsingh Rī Khyatna* (1872), the Rajasthani work on the life of Maharaj Mansingh, the Nepali work *Bhānubhakta Jīvan Caritra* (1881) and the Marathi work *Paraśurāmabhāu Paṭavardhan Yānce Caritra* (1882).

The other category of biography followed the hagiographical tradition with some innovations. The Bengali work on Guru Nanak, *Nānaker Jīban Carit* (1865); the Tamil work *Napimārkaḷ Varalāru* (1867), accounts of the *Nabis*; the Sanskrit work on Shivaji, *Śivarāja Vijayam* (1870) and the life of the Prophet Muhammed, *Khuda ki rahamat maulud Sharif* (1872) in Urdu are some of the examples taken at random. An interesting hagiography of this time was the Tamil work *Tiruvātavūrar Purāṇam* (1880), written by Arunachal Mudaliyar. It is a 'biography' of the saint poet Manikkavasahara in the form of a *purāṇa*.

The other category of biography that started emerging in this period was directly connected either with literary criticism or with the growing political awareness. Bankim Chandra's biographical essay on his friend Dinabandhu Mitra of *Nīldarpaṇ* fame published in 1877 is one of the finest and a pioneering attempt towards critical literary biography. That very year saw the publication of Vishnushastri Chiplunkar's Marathi work *Dr. Johnson* about which Vasant Shirwadkar writes:

> Chiplunkar, acknowledged to be the founder of modern Marathi prose, attempted a new form here. Instead of narrating the life story in the usual chronological order, he has built it around the significant events in Dr. Johnson's life . . . (it) is the first creative work in Marathi biographical writing and it laid the foundation of modern biography.[19]

Although Yogendranath Vidyabhushan, a patriotic Sanskrit scholar, did not have either the conscious artistry of Bankim Chandra or the keen social awareness of Chiplunkar, he wrote two very significant biographies in Bengali, one of John Stuart Mill (1877) and the other of Mazzini and Garibaldi (1879) in eloquent prose.

Autobiography

Like the biography, the autobiography took long, in fact much longer time to emerge as a literary form. Autobiographies in different Indian languages produced in this period—extremely few in number—are more valuable as social documents than as literary art. Among them are *Mārī Hakīkat* (1866), the autobiography of the Gujarati poet Narmad who lived the stormy life of a social rebel; *Rāser Itibṛtta* (1868) the autobiography of the Bengali poet Krishnachandra Majumdar (1834–1907), who earned fame for his adaptation of Hafiz (*Sadbhāba Śatak*, 1861) and lived a tumultuous life to some extent similar to Narmad's; *Ātmakathā Saṁkṣepa* (1872?) by Paccu Muttalu,[20] considered to be the first autobiography in Malayalam; *Āmār Jīban* (1876), an inspiring account in Bengali of the life of the self-taught village woman, Rasasundari Debi—this appears to be the first autobiography of an Indian woman—and *Ātma Carit* (written between 1868–72) in Marathi by the famous grammarian, Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar (1814–1882).

VII TRAVELOGUES

Some of the early travelogues in Gujarati, all of them about experiences in England, e.g. *Garet Baritānā Khāteni Musāpharī* (1861), *Inglāṇḍni Musapharī* (1864), *Inglāṇḍman Pravās* (1866) are valuable documents in the understanding of the changing Indian perceptions of Europe. *Yāttiraik Kummi* (1873), a Tamil travelogue about the author's journey to France and Italy, Rabindranath's *Yurop Prabāsīr Patra* (1881) and the Marathi

travelogue *Inglaṇḍcā Pravās* (1883) by Pandita Ramabai—both are accounts of the authors' European experience—fall in this category. All travelogues, however, were not about foreign lands. There were works describing the people and the places in India as well. The places that attracted the writers were generally centres of pilgrimage and also places such as Kashmir famous for scenic beauty. *Kāśmīr-nō Pravās* (?) by the Gujarati poet Kalapi (1874–1900) is one such work. *Dakṣiṇa Ketalāk Bhāgani Musāfarinuni Varṇaṇ* (1869) in Gujarati, or the articles of Bharatendu like 'Sarayū pār kī yātrā' and 'Haridwār kī yātrā'—describing the sacred places in India represented the more common trend of travelogue-writings. One of the most interesting travelogues of this period is *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India* (1869) written in English by Bholanath Chunder. Equally interesting and aesthetically more satisfying is the Bengali work *Pālāmau* (1882), a delightful account of the author's journey to and stay at Palamau in Bihar. It is written by Sanjib Chandra Chattopadhyay, the elder brother of Bankim Chandra.

VIII TRANSLATIONS

Translations from Persian

Translations from Perso-Arabic sources began to decline in this period. Many texts, which were earlier translated directly from the Persian, were now rendered into modern Indian languages from English. *Cār Darvish Kathālu* (1863), for example, was translated from English into Telugu. It is doubtful whether the Tamil *Tuttināmā Ennum Kiḷikkatai* (1876), the story of *Tuti Nāmā*, was translated from the Persian original or from an English translation of it. Although the Urdu writers still continued to translate directly from the Persian, very few literary texts were translated by any writer of note in this period. *Hazār Dāstān* (1869), the Urdu translation of the Arabian Nights, or *Guldastah-e-Shajaat* (1878), the Urdu translation of Nizami's *Sikandar Nāmah* are a few examples of the continuing traditions of literary translations from Persian into Urdu.

Translations from Sanskrit

Translations from Sanskrit, on the other hand, continued unabated. Only a few of these translations have been considered by the posterity as valuable literary works. None the less they made an impact on different literary movements of the time directly or indirectly. Both the epics the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, which were available in most of the languages in their transcreated form, were now translated directly from the Sanskrit. The new translations could not, and were not intended to, replace the earlier versions, many of which had by this time acquired the halo of sacred books. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was translated into Gujarati (1875 and 1886), Persian

(1877), Tamil (1878 and 1884), and Oriya (1880), among other languages. These were scholarly exercises, faithful to the original work of Valmiki, but not necessarily very popular. The *Mahābhārata* was also translated into Bengali (1860), Oriya (1869), Tamil (1871, 1877; 1878, 1881), Telugu (1872, 1878), Kannada (1885) and Gujarati (1885) to mention a few languages. It was partly connected with the nineteenth century scholarly programme to make Sanskrit religious texts available to the reading public as faithfully as possible, and also partly to meet the demand of the more serious reader anxious to know the difference between the original and the popular versions. Kaliprasanna Simha (1840–1870), a wealthy youngman, translated the complete *Mahābhārata* with the help of seven Sanskrit scholars. The translation, motivated by "the welfare of the mother land", was freely distributed. The work till this day remains a landmark in the Bengali language. The translation of the *Mahābhārata* in Oriya was done by Krishna Simha, an enlightened landlord of Dharakot. Like the Bengali version it, too, earned popularity.

The Tamil translation of the *Mahābhārata* in 1871 was an abridged one, and the 1877 version an adaptation in *Kummi* form. They must have impelled Tecika Tatacariyar, a Sanskrit scholar, to translate the complete Sanskrit text into Tamil prose, which was published in 1880. The Telugu *Āndhra Bhāratamu Vacanamu* (1872) is a prose-rendering of the earlier Telugu versions of the *Mahābhārata*, and the 1878 version (entitled *Śuddhāndhra Bhārata Samgraham*) prepared by Kandukuri Viresalingam is written in 'pure' Telugu, i.e. without using any Sanskrit word. In 1881 Charvana Pantitar translated only the *Aśvamedha* canto into Tamil, and in 1885 Ravana Siddhesvara Venkatacharya rendered the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* into modern Telugu.

Among the classical writers it is Kalidasa who has been most frequently translated, and *Śakuntalā* appears to be the most popular work with the translators. It was translated into Marathi in 1861, Hindi in 1863, Gujarati in 1867, 1875 and 1881, Telugu in 1870, 1875 and 1883, Tamil in 1876 and 1880, into Bengali several times since 1855 and into other languages as well. Among his poems *Raghuvaṃśa* was translated into several languages, notable among them are translations into Oriya (1868 and 1872), Marathi (1883) and Hindi (1877). *Meghdūtam*, too, was translated several times. Among other frequently translated Sanskrit works were *Uttararāma Carita*, *Mālatī Mādhav*, *Kādambarī*, *Mudrārākṣasa* and *Mṛcchakatikam*.

Translations from English

Although translations from English literature were quite large in number they do not adequately reflect either the taste of the reading public or the impact of English on various Indian literatures. *The Arabian Nights*, for example, was translated from English into Tamil at least three times

between 1875 and 1880. Translations of certain texts such as Johnson's *Rasselas*, Bacon's *Essays*, or Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* were common in many languages mainly because of pedagogical necessity. Frequent translations of *Rasselas* or *The Pilgrim's Progress* in different languages also indicate their special significance in Indian life and literatuare. One has to concede that these two works were held in great esteem by the Indian reader.

Translations in different Indian languages show an interesting pattern. Certain books were translated into different languages almost simultaneously despite the absence of any planned action. One can see a continuum of certain authors or texts. *Rasselas* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* are two such texts and Shakespeare is one such author. Shakespeare is the only author who has been continuously translated, and adapted in some languages, namely Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu. Between 1858 and 1885 about ten plays of Shakespeare were translated, some of them more than once by different authors, in these four languages, fairly regularly. One of the reasons for the frequent translations of Shakespeare was to meet the demand of the stage. That explains why Shakespeare translations were more frequent in Bengal and Maharashtra than in other areas. The other attraction was the story element in Shakespeare's plays which accounts for the phenomenal popularity of *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Comedy of Errors* (there was even a Sanskrit translation of this play in 1877). But at the same time one notices that these translations were generally done by less known authors, with the exception of Kandukuri Viresalingam who translated *The Merchant of Venice* in 1882. It is mainly because of the status and financial prospects of most of the translators. Rabindranath translated *Macbeth* into Bengali—the work is now lost except the witch scenes which were rendered competently—but he was then only a fourteen-year old lad without any literary reputation.

Translations of Shakespeare particularly those of comedies were popular but did not have much impact on Indian literature. The writers who were inspired by Shakespeare—and their number was large—read him in the original. In a society where the majority of the writers and a viable number of readers knew English the appreciation of Shakespeare was easier without any mediation, and encouragement to translation was minimal. Those who did not read English or who were denied English education were the main patrons of these translations. But they must have found that the cultural difference between them and Shakespeare was too wide. The translators, in most of the cases, therefore tried to Indianize Shakespearean characters and situations and thereby transform the spirit of the plays. The titles of the some translations given below indicate the trend: *Cārumukh Cittaharā* (1864, Bengali, *Romeo and Juliet*), *Nalinī Basanta* (1868, Bengali, *The Tempest*), *Suśīlā Bīrasingh Nāṭak* (1868,

Bengali, *Cymbeline*), *Vijaya Singh* (1872, Marathi, *Julius Ceaser*), *Sijāru Caritramu* (1876, Telugu, *Julius Ceaser*), *Tārā* (1879, Marathi, *Cymbeline*), *Piracaṇṭa Mārutam* (1880, Tamil, *The Tempest*), *Venisu Vartaka Caritrama* (1880, Telugu, *The Merchant of Venice*), *Mahavilasit* (1882, Marathi, *Romeo and Juliet*), *Śaśikalā āṇi Ratnapāl* (1882, Marathi, *Romeo and Juliet*), *Sūrasena Carita* (1885, Kannada, *Othello*). All these translations enjoyed brief popularity, some for their stageability and some simply as exciting stories.

Despite the increasing demand for stories, poets translated their favourite poems from English into various languages, most of which appeared in magazines and some included in text books. Very few of these translations were collected and published in book form. Yet one finds a Tamil translation of *Paradise Lost* published in 1863 and of *Paradise Regained* in 1868. In 1882 there was a fresh translation of *Paradise Lost* in Tamil. This enthusiasm for Milton translation in Tamil—*Samson Agonistes* was also translated into Tamil in 1872—was not shared by other language areas, despite their admiration for Milton. What appears very clearly is that translation as a literary activity was not very seriously taken by the publishers, editors and the reading public. There was neither any policy in the selection of works nor any conscious thinking on the methods of translation. It went on erratically. Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay translated Longfellow's 'The Psalm of Life', Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast' ('Indrer Sudhāpān'), Shelley's 'To a Skylark' ('Cātak pakṣī') into Bengali. In 1876 there was a Bengali translation of *Lalla Rookh* by an anonymous poet.[21] One finds an Oriya translation of Parnell's 'Hermit' (*Bhram Bhañjan*, 1868), a Telugu translation of Cowper's 'On Receipt of My Mothers' Picture' (Mātṛpaṭamu, 1879), a Marathi translation of Tennyson's 'The Princess' (*Indirā*, 1869?), a Gujarati translation of Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* (*Nindā Khanum*, 1883). These are all examples of sporadic translations without any plan. Michael Madhusudan Dutta translated parts of the *Iliad* from the original Greek to Bengali (*Hekṭar Badh*, 1871) and Jyotirindranath Thakur, Moliere's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (Haṭāt *Nabāb*, 1884). Michael's translation remained a curiosity, it failed to encourage translations from Greek literature into Bengali, but *Haṭāt Nabāb*, on the other hand, became a turning point in the history of translation in Bengali, mainly because Jyotirindranath took translation as a serious literary activity. He translated from Sanskrit and French and later from Marathi extensively and continuously, creating a body of literature with an identity of its own.

The finest translator of this period was Toru Dutt, whose *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876) still remains a marvel of translation. She must have inspired some translators including her cousin Ramesh Chandra Dutt and made some of our poets interested in French poetry. The Marathi poet Govind Vasudev Kanitkar (1854–1918) translated Toru's "Still Barred

thy Doors"; and Keshavsut adapted two poems of Toru Dutt, "Aha Pakshi" and "Don Baji", the second being the translation of Victor Hugo's "Nepolion le petit".

Translations From Indian Languages

Although very few works were translated from one Indian language into another, it is interesting that the Tulsi *Rāmāyaṇa* was translated twice (1860 and 1861) into Urdu. Nabhaji's *Bhaktamāl*, another medieval classic in Hindi, was also translated into Urdu by Munshi Tulsi Ram in 1880. The Urdu work *Gul Khāndān*, a popular romance, was translated into Sindhi. Mirza Qalich Beg translated a Gujarati play into Sindhi, entitled *Khursid* (1885). Among Marathi works Baba Padamanji's *Yamunā Paryaṭan* was translated into Kannada in 1869 under the title *Yamunābāiya Sancarvu.*

Translations from Bengali into other Indian languages are quite conspicuous. Several text-books such as Aksay Kumar Datta's *Cārupāṭh* and Nilmani Basak's *History of India* were translated into Oriya in the early sixties. Among other Bengali works translated into Oriya were *Kādambarī* of Tarashankar Tarkaratna (1868), *Sītā Banabās* (1869) from Vidyasagar's version, and *Raghuvaṃśa* (1869) from a Bengali version of the Sanskrit work. Bharatendu was one of the first major writers to translate from Bengali into Hindi. His *Vidyāsundar* (1868) and *Bhārat Jananī* (1877) are translations of Bengali plays. That *Nīldarpaṇ* and *Śarmiṣṭhā* were translated into Marathi (1872) and Hindi (1880) respectively is interesting—both the plays were available in English. More interesting is the Marathi collection *Vadhu Darpaṇ Mālā* (1882), a series of three novels *Sadgunī Sūn Strī, Ānandībāī* and *Hīrābāi āṇi Tārābāī* among which the first two are translations of Bengali novels: Sivanath Sastri's *Mejo Bou* and Dwarakanath Gangopadhyay's *Suruci Kuṭir* respectively.[22] The most significant translation from Bengali into other languages, however, was Bankim Chandra's novels. His novel *Durgeśnandinī* was translated into Hindi in 1883 and in Kannada two years later. With these translations Bankim Chandra soon emerged as a novelist of all India reputation.

CHAPTER 9

The New Stage: The New Plays

I THE SEARCH FOR A NEW THEATRE

The Parsi Theatre

The Parsis, an enterprising community which accepted the European way of life with remarkable flexibility, were the first to start regular theatrical productions in Bombay. Around 1850 the Parsis at Elphinstone College had already formed a theatre group—the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society—for the performance of English plays.[1] Soon after that a group of Parsis, started giving performances only on Saturday nights and the huge profits accrued from these productions attracted several other groups—Parsi and Gujarati—to build their own theatres and to produce plays on commercial basis.[2]

But what is normally known as 'Parsi theatre' came into existence in 1870s. It began as a commercial venture with the establishment of a company by Seth Pestanji Franji.[3] After his death Balliwala founded the Victoria Theatrical Company in 1877, and Kawasji Khatan the Alfred Theatrical Company around that time. Parsi theatre, financed by rich businessmen, was riddled with rivalries, its main motive being profit. The rivalries among the sponsers led them to spend a substantial part of their resources to dazzling display of costumes and scenes making their productions as spectacular as possible.

The plots of the text used in Parsi theatre were derived mostly from mythology and legends, and writers were hired, many of whom remained anonymous. The story centred round violent actions, the music was loud and the acting exaggerated and melodramatic. The language employed in these plays was usually Hindustani. Quite often the stage-machinery was ordered from England to produce marvellous scenic effects and to ensure rapid movement. The Parsi theatre, with its moving troupes, travelled in different parts of the country and made a tremendous impact on the audience. It did not produce any notable playwright or any great play worth remembering, but for a long time it influenced the theatrical performance, and the commercial theatre that grew in different cities in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries borrowed from it many of its features. It will be remembered in the history of Indian theatre mainly because of its emphasis on the "spectacle" and its influence on the style of acting. Modern drama and theatre in some of the Indian languages, particularly

Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi[4], grew mainly as a reaction against its crudity and superficiality. It must be admitted, however, that with the growing popularity of the Parsi theatre and of the theatres that were modelled after it in the later years, the Indian theatre and dramatic literature had to reckon with the demands of the general audience and compromise with the popular taste. But before we talk more on that subject let us have a quick look at the growth of dramatic literature during this period.

Experiments of Michael Madhusudan

Michael Madhusudan Datta, who had earned considerable reputation for his poem *The Captive Ladie* (1849), was commissioned by the Raja of Paikpara to translate Tarkaratna's Bengali version of the Sanskrit play *Ratnāvalī* into English. Michael translated the play but felt unhappy that so much money was being wasted on what he considered a poor play. As a challenge he wrote his first Bengali play *Śarmiṣṭhā* (1858) which was brilliantly produced next year. Michael also translated that play into English and in its preface he claimed that it was "the first attempt in the Bengali language to produce a classical and regular drama." Although this claim was unjustified, this play based on a theme from the *Mahābhārata* defies the rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy. Anticipating complaints against the 'foreignness' of his play, Michael wrote, "I am writing for that portion of my countrymen who think as I think, whose minds have been more or less imbued with Western ideas and *modes of thinking*, and that it is my intention to throw off the fetters forged for us by a servile admiration for every thing Sanskirt."[5] This was an extremely bold and important pronouncement from a man who would write an epic on the Greek model and introduce blank verse and sonnet in Bengali in a few years time. *Śarmiṣṭhā* was followed by *Padmābatī* (1860, written in 1859), based on the Greek legend of the golden apple, and *Kṛṣṇa Kumārī* (1861), based on a theme from Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*. In between these two plays he also wrote two well-executed farces, *Ekei ki bale Sabhyatā* (Is this what is called Culture) and *Buḍa Śāliker Ghāḍe Rõ*, satirizing the half-educated young rich imitating Western manners, and the hypocrisy of a lecherous old landlord respectively. "They are among the best farces in Bengali", observes Sukumar Sen, "and have influenced almost all the subsequent productions of the type."[6]

By 1861 Michael Madhusudan emerged as the foremost dramatist in Bengali and there were few in other parts of the country at that time to equal his reputation. It is not that his plays are great works of art—except the two farces none of his plays was seriously considered by later generations—but they presented a new model of drama. He thought that "the genius of the Drama has not yet received even a moderate degree of development in this country" and noted the difference between the

Eurpoean drama with its "stern realities of life, lofty passion and heroism of sentiment" and the Sanskrit plays distinguished by their "softness" and "romance". Although he wanted to discard the Sanskrit dramatic traditions, he was aware that the Shakespearean model could not be accepted in its totality. He cautioned his friends who applied the canons of Shakespearean plays in judging his plays: "I write under very different circumstances. Our social and moral developments are of a different character. We are no doubt actuated by the same passions, but in us those passions assume a milder shape."[7] Deeply versed in Western literature, acquainted with several European languages Michael made his reader and audience aware of the potentialities of the new drama and he dreamt of a National Theatre that would provide the future dramatist the scope to exploit the full possibility of the form. Not only was he the first Indian dramatist extremely conscious about the dramatic art but also a first serious thinker about the Indian theatre.

Nīldarpaṇ and Dinabandhu

A greater impact on the Indian theatre was made by Dinabandhu Mitra (1829–74), an extremely well-read man in European drama, whose first play, *Nīldarpaṇ* (The Indigo-Mirror) was published in 1860. This Bengali play exposed the oppressions and exploitations of the white Indigoplanters in the Bengal countryside and presented the simple life and courageous struggle of the peasantry in vivid details. Its technical flaws and sentimentality notwithstanding it is the first play in the history of Indian drama to choose contemporary rural life as its theme, and to make drama an instrument of soical protest and of awakening the masses. This play has been often compared with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in respect of its stark realism and robust humanism. The English translation of the play was proscribed by the government and its publisher, the Rev. James Long, was fined and jailed. But the play went far in exposing the villainy of the British planters and making the Bengali middle class still confident of British justice aware of the sordid plight of the peasantry.

Dinabandhu, however, soon switched to comedies and farces, most notable of them being *Sadhabār Ekādaśī* (1866), and won great popularity for his hilarity and humour. Despite his great love for and familiarity with the indigenous tradition, he was greatly influenced by the English plays of the Restoration period and by those of Molière.

Ranchodbhai and Gujarati Plays

When Michael Madhusudan and Dinabandhu were at the height of their power and fame Ranchodbhai Udayram (1837–1923), 'the father of Gujarati Drama' serialised his first play in the Gujarati monthly, *Buddhi Prakāś*, in 1862, also the year of the publication of the first Gujarati play

Gulab by Nagindas Tulsidas Marfatia, one of the first graduates of the University of Bombay. This play of Ranchodbhai, entitled *Jaykumārī Vijay Nāṭak*, was published in full in 1864. It is a story of love between Jay Kumari, an educated but poor girl and Pranlal, a cultured youth of a wealthy family, their struggle against various odds and their final union. The play was a great stage success, and we are told that it "served for a long time as the prototype for many subsequent plays."[8]

Ranchodbai, like Michael Madhusudan, took to dramatic writings as a reaction against the crudities of contemporary drama and like his Bengali counterpart, he too, brought a new seriousness to the theatre. "Ranchodbhai borrowed from Sanskrit classical plays and also developed mythological themes", writes Shiv Kumar Joshi, "but, at the same time, he tried to make theatre a 'social reformer'. His themes incorporated such episodes as would make an audience think twice about the prevailing social evils."[9] As *Nīldarpaṇ* inspired several other plays in Bengali, all having the word *darpaṇ* (mirror) as part of the title, similarly Ranchodbhai's highly popular play *Lalitā Dukh Darśak Nāṭak* (A play on the suffering of Lalita, 1866) became the source of several plays known as *dukh darśak* (spectacle of suffering).

Lalitā Dukh Darsak is a tragedy of a Hindu heroine who succumbs to the tyranny of the Hindu society. It is the story of an ill-suited marriage, portrayed with feeling and sincerity. The play became extremely popular on the Gujarati stage and made a great impact on the moral life of Gujarat.[10] The heroine Lalita became almost a symbol of feminine virtue and the name of her husband Nanda Kumar, shortened into Nandan—became a by-word for imbecility and low morals. Ranchodbhai wrote plays on social and moral issues, of which *Vyabhicāra Khaṇḍan*, written in censure of adultery, and *Madyapān Dukhdarśak Nāṭak* against drinking, are notable. He also wrote plays on mythological themes, such as *Hariścandra*, a Gujarati adaptation of an English translation of a Tamil play,[11] *Nala Damayantī* and *Tārā Kumārī Svayamvara*.

Other Trends

The number of plays written in different languages, except Bengali, till 1885 was few. The themes were mainly mythological and occasionally contemporary social issues. The first Assamese play *Rāmnavamī* (1857), a play on widow-remarriage, was followed by Hemchandra Barua's *Kāniyār Kīrtan* (1861), a play about the evils of opium, and Rudra Ram Bardoloi's *Baṅgāl Baṅgālanī* (1871) about the illicit love between an Assamese woman and a *Baṅgāl*, meaning 'an outsider'. The first original Marathi play *Thorale Mādhavrāv Peśāve* (written in 1861, staged in 1865) by V. J. Kirtane, with which began the professional performance of

dramatic companies in Maharashtra[12], was a historical play on the life of Madhavrao Peshwa the elder. Like *Kṛṣṇa Kumārī*, the first historical play in Bengali, the Marathi play was also a tragedy, an innovation in Marathi literature. Historical themes attracted most the Tamil playwrights during this period. *Vīra Kumāra Nāṭakam* (1868) by M. M. Pillai, dealing with the legend of a prince of Vijayanagara, *Tēciṅkurājan Nāṭakam* (1869) by Virapattiravaiyar, on the story of Tez Singh, a ruler in Tamilnadu, *Maturai Vīra Nātakam* (1870) by K. Upattiyayar, on the tragic story of a great warrior chief in Madurai, etc. are examples of Tamil plays in this period. While the Western impact had begun to be felt in several languages Tamil was more or less free from the Western dramatic influence and was contented with the vibrant folk forms. However, the Western theatre made its influence felt on Tamil around 1875 when the 'Madras Dramatic Society' was formed. Since then amateur British groups and the Parsi theatre started visiting Madras. The story of the Telugu drama followed more or less the same pattern. It operated within its own indigenous performing traditions and the Western influence came rather late. The first original drama in Telugu was written by Korada Ramachandra Shastri (1816–1900) in 1860. This play *Mañjari Madhukariyamu*, a romantic work modelled after classical Sanskrit, is historically important, but it did not initiate any serious dramatic movement which was quite late in appearance.[13]

The situation in these languages indicates that there was a trend favouring the continuation or the revival of the Sanskritic dramatic tradition. This is reflected in the choice of themes, adherence to the ancient dramaturgy and in the frequency of translations of Sanskrit plays. Very few of these translated plays were staged and it is difficult to know the extent of popularity enjoyed by them. But that the authors felt the need of translating these ancient plays in modern languages at a time when a new theatre was struggling to emerge is an indication of the dramatists' search for strong traditional roots.

The other trend, that of adopting the Western models, is visible in the works of the English-educated Indians, in their comments about the state of drama in India and also in the increasing number of translations from English. If one leaves aside a few works such as *Nindā Khanum* (1883), the Gujarati translation of *The School for Scandal*, or *Cimcōn Vilācam* (1872), the Tamil translation of *Samson Agonistes*, and *Haṭāt Nabāb* (1884), the Bengali translation of the French play *Le Bourgeois Gentil homme*, the translations of European plays into Indian languages were confined entirely to Shakespeare.[14] The popularity of Shakespeare, at least of some of his plays such as *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Comedy of Errors* which were translated into almost all the major languages of India several times

by different authors, both in the dramatic form and in the form of narrative, does not necessarily indicate the impact of the Shakespearean technique or his vision on the Indian drama. The main attraction towards Shakespeare was entirely because of the exciting story[15], intriguing situations and characters.

The critical judgment of the English-educated class about Shakespeare was hardly shared by the traditional scholars or the common spectators. Bankim Chandra's observation that Shakespeare is "the one man in the world's literature whose works hold up a mirror to every possible phasis of man's inner life", and Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay's eulogy: *Bhārater Kālidās jagater tumi* (Kalidas belongs to India, you to the world) are manifestations of the English educated Indian's passionate admiration of the English bard. But the Shakespearean tragedy influenced our poets and novelists more than our dramatists who learnt to adopt only certain devices and techniques from Shakespearean plays. The reason, of course, is not difficult to seek. It was mainly the demand of the audience which regulated the stage-production. The audience was yet not ready to appreciate the spirit of Shakespeare, the intricacies of his characters and his tragic vision. The playwrights too were not courageous enough to influence the taste of the audience, and were too willing to compromise. The taste of the general spectators was conditioned by the strong traditions of folk theatre, particularly the tradition of musical plays. In addition to what fascinated the audience, at least that section of the audience which was exposed to the Parsi theatre, was the grand spectacle. The history of Indian drama is a history of tensions as well as reconciliations among all the three forces, Sanskritic, Western and indigenous folk traditions.

Indigenous Traditions: Kirloskar

Despite the start given by Michael Madhusudan and Dinabandu, the Bengali playwright Manomohan Basu (1831–1912), a literary disciple of Ishvar Gupta and the *Kabiwālās*, introduced mythological stories with a strong religious element and followed the technique of the old folk performance, *Yātrā* which gave prominence to music. This style dominated the Bengali stage and was more successfully employed by Girish Chandra Ghosh (1844–1912), the most influential person in the history of Bengali theatre. One also finds in the history of Oriya drama, which began with *Bābājī Nāṭak* (1877) by Jagmohan Lal, a shift from the Western technique to the indigenous form. *Kāñcī Kāberī* (1880), a play written by Ramshankar Ray soon after the publication of the Bengali poem *Kāñcī Kāberī* (1879), indicates that shift. "The preponderance of music in *Kancikaveri* and the dialogue, couched mostly in poetic form, are clear pointers to the Oriya *Jātrā* tradition in the initial development of Oriya drama."[16]

The Marathi theatre also found its own roots when Balvant Pandurang (Ānna Saheb) Kirloskar (1843–1885) founded his troupe, *Kirloskar Nāṭak Maṇḍalī*, in 1880. He wrote his earlier plays, including *Śaṅkar Digvijay* (1875) following the style of Bhave, which is normally designated as *ākhyān* style, i.e. a narrative with a moral. But he abandoned that very soon. A graduate of Bombay University, he was familiar with English dramatic literature and witnessed many performances of English plays in Bombay. He admired them but at the same time did not favour their total adaptation on the Indian stage. His first play characteristically is a translation of *Śakuntalā* (1881). He preferred the Indian classic to a new theme. At the same time he changed the classical structure of the play by introducing appropriate songs. His innovations, most important of which was the introduction of songs, gave a new direction to the emerging Marathi plays, and the opera like *Saṅgīt-nāṭak* (Music-drama) was born. It was opera-like but not inspired by the opera; it was a modification of the theatre existing in the folk tradition. After the success of *Śakuntalā*, Kirloskar wrote *Saubhadra* (1882), about which Deshpande and Rajadhyaksha observe:

> [Kirloskar] took the story of Subhadra and Arjuna from the *Mahabharata* in its outline, and giving free play to his imagination filled in vivid, human details to create *Saubhadra*, which has had an undimmed appeal to the theatre-goer to this day. It is not merely a well-constructed play. Its characters are truly human, they are as modern as they are pauranic.[17]

The element of music, we have pointed out, exerted its influence on the Bengali plays written by Manomohan Basu, and also on the Oriya play, *Kāñcī Kāberī*. But in Marathi, it became almost the most important component. Kirloskar used folk music—*lāvaṇi* and *diḍṇi*, Karnataka music and Hindustani classical music. "The innovation became so popular that, since that time," writes a critic, "the Marathi theatre has had a distinctive tradition of the Sangit nataka.... Kirloskar was probably influenced by the operatic plays on the British stage, but the Marathi *Saṅgīt Nāṭak* was never quite an opera, it combined prose dialogue with songs."[18] It is interesting to note that the very year Kirloskar produced his *Śakuntalā*, Rabindranath Tagore, then a young man of twenty, wrote his first musical play *Vālmīki Pratibhā* (The Genius of Valmiki). It was composed one year after his return from his first journey to England, where he was exposed to European operas. Even within his own family some had composed operatic plays with limited success. Tagore wrote about his play: "Valmiki Pratibha is not a composition which will bear being read. Its significance is lost if it is not heard sung and seen acted.... Very few of the songs are important or attractive by themselves, they all serve merely as the musical text of the play."[19]

Unlike Kirloskar's *Saṅgīt nāṭak*, the play of Tagore was not prompted

by the contemporary stage-conditions; it was the young poet's response to the European music. He wrote that the play was born out of a "mixed cultivation of foreign and native melody." But a search for a new theatre, as distinct from the contemporary was also entailed in this attempt. He was also encouraged by Herbert Spencer's essay 'The Origin and Function of Music', particularly his idea that through a development of emotional moderations of voice, man created music. He wrote:

> Why should it not do, I thought to myself, to act a drama in a kind of recitative based on this idea? The *Kathakas* (reciters of puranic legendary lore) of our country attempt this to some extent, for they frequently break into a chant which, however, steps short of full melodic form.[20]

Tagore, too, like Kirloskar looked into our folk traditions to create a new play but he did not pursue the form he created. Kirloskar gave *Saṅgīt nāṭak* a content and form and made it a powerful stream of Indian literature.

II PARALLEL STREAMS OF DRAMA

The story of the development of Indian drama, however, did not follow a simple linear movement. The Parsi theatre, the European theatre, and the two important traditions, Sanskritic and the folk, created a complicated fabric, and the Indian dramatist was in constant tension. In Karnataka, for example, dramatists depended almost entirely on translations from Sanskrit. Basavappa Shastri (1843–91) translated six Sanskrit plays, of which *Śakuntalā* was considered his magnum opus, and Churamuri Sheshagiri Rao's (1827–84) musical *Śakuntalā* (1869) was its stage version. We are told that "it was the very first translation of Kalidasa's play into Kannada. Most of the stanzas and even the prose of the original play were rendered into popular tunes and sung."[21] Kerala Varma was the first to write a drama in the modern sense in Malayalam. As *Śakuntalā* played the role of the path-finder both in Marathi and in Kannada, so did it in Malayalam though in a limited way. It was staged and the play did encourage others to do fresh translations. But one had to wait for another decade for a real breakthrough.[22]

Influence of the Parsi Theatre

In 1882, a troupe of Parsi actors called The Balivala Company visited the royal court of Mysore. The spectacular production left a deep impression upon the local playwrights and actors. The first ever professional theatre in Karnataka, *Śrī Camarājendra Karnāṭaka Nāṭaka Sabhā*, was two years old at that time. The northern part of Karnataka, too came under the spell of the Parsi theatre, and Sakkara Balacharya (1856–1920), generally known as *Santa Kavi*, built up a theatrical movement with the help of his knowledge of folk form, *bayalata*. His two mythological plays *Uṣā Haraṇa*

(1874) and *Vatsalā Haraṇa* (1875) were great stage success. He grafted certain features of the Parsi theatre on his productions. For example, the demon in *Uṣā Haraṇa*, talks to the army chief in Urdu, as the latter is cast as a Muslim.

The first Sindhi play, *Laila Majnun* (1880) by Mirza Qalich Beg (1853–1929), shows a blending of the native and the Parsi theatre traditions. Although it had theatrical potentials it could not be staged in the absence of a dramatic organization. His second play *Khursid* (1885) was a rendering of a Gujarati play.[23] Recent studies[24] suggest that the play was inspired by an Urdu play *Zar Kharid Khursid* produced by the Victoria Drama Company, a Parsi organization, in Bombay which Mirza had seen during his student days at Elphinstone College.

The city of Bombay, thanks to the initiative of the Parsi theatre, became the main centre of Urdu plays since the seventies of the last century. The Parsi theatre produced a play called *Rustam-o-Sohrab* (1871) by Dada Bhai (Dahyabhai) Patel.[25] Parsi Companies used to employ playwrights who were known as *Kavi*. One such *Kavi* was Aram who wrote a large number of plays, most of them lost or forgotten, including *Hirā* (1876), *Bāgh o Bahār* (1876), *Bahrām aur Sirin* (1877). His *Nurjahān* (1872) staged at the Bombay Theatre was a great success. The Parsi theatre, which made a strong impact on Urdu and Sindhi dramatic literatrue, and an equally strong impact on the commercial theatre in other language areas, performed several adaptations of Shakespeare.[26] According to some critics the crudest form of Shakespearean influence was on the Parsi theatre.

Bharatendu: A New Vision

This was the time when Bharatendu Harishchandra, often claimed as the father of modern Hindi drama, appeared on the literary scene. His first play[27] *Vidyāsundar* (1868) is an adaptation of a Bengali play by Yatindramohan Tagore based on the poem of the same title written by the eighteenth century Bengali poet Bharatchandra Ray. This was followed by *Pākhaṇḍ Viḍamban* (1871), a Hindi translation of the third act of the Sanskrit allegorical play *Prabodh Candroday*. His first original play, a satire against the meat-eating and alcohol-loving elite, *Vaidikī Hiṃsā Hiṃsā na Bhavati* (The vices of the elite are not vices, 1873), presents Harishchandra as a dramatist committed to certain principles. He ridiculed the reformers and the so-called progressive youngmen with a smattering of English. He translated several Sanskrit plays, including *Mudrārākṣasa* (1875), into Hindi which he dedicated to his opponent, Raja Shivaprasad.

His power as a serious dramatist, however, was recognized by the public when his *Satya Hariścandra* (1875), a mythological drama, was published. The structure of the play is conventional, its plot well known and its characters stabilised through centuries; any major variation could

offend the taste of the audience. But the choice of the theme itself—many scholars have suggested that it was written primarily to counteract the growing influence of the Parsi theatre—added an edifying note to the contemporary dramatic literature. King Harishchandra, one of the noblest characters in Indian mythology, has earned the respect of the Indian people for his dedication to truth and sacrifice. The story was taken up for dramatic treatment in this century first by Ranchodbhai, and almost around that time by several Tamil dramatists. The theme continued to be popular in other parts of the country throughout the century. The nineteenth century Indian in search of a new system of ethical values looked back to his past history and mythology, and discovered a new social purpose in the old characters. The great popularity of the play owed much to the ideals for which the protagonist stood, as well as to the simple and straightforward presentation of a moving story.

Around 1876 and 1877 there was a change in Bharatendu's dramatic writings. It was partly due to his familiarity with Bengali plays and poems which reflected a strong patriotic urge, and partly due to his own concern for the political condition of India.

The Public Theatre

The first public theatre in Bengal, the National Theatre, as distinct from private theatres, came into existence in 1872. It gave a tremendous impetus to the playwrights and created demands for various types of dramatic works—farces, social satires, pantomimes etc., in addition to full-length plays. The National Theatre, as the name indicates, had the intention of producing plays with a social purpose. Accordingly, the National Theatre was inaugurated with *Nīldarpaṇ*. The Theatre produced various types of farces and comedies and pantomimes of indifferent merit and had to cater to the taste of the public for its survival. But it also became a centre of propagation of anti-British ideas and attitudes. Manomohan Basu, like Bharatendu, wrote a play *Hariścandra* in the same year, but the Bengali play transgressed the limits of mythology and became a medium of contemporary patriotic feeling. It contained a song which later became popular with the revolutionaries, lamenting the plight of the Indians and the economic exploitation by the British. Such attitudes were motivated by anti-British feeling and became a part of later plays both historical and mythological.

The Dramatic Performances Control Act

Patriotism as a lofty ideal found bold expressions in both the mythological and historical plays. Upendranath Das (1848–95) introduced the theme of subversion and revolution. He wrote and produced a play, *Surendra Binodinī* (1875), a poor work of art, but throbbing with patriotic fervour

and strong anti-British feeling. It was the time when the British Government was seriously considering whether it ought to take measures against dramatic performances. Two plays, *Cākar Darpaṇ* (The Mirror of the Tea Planters, 1875) by Dakshina Charan Chattopadhyay and *Gāekoār Darpaṇ* (The Mirror of Gaekwar, 1875) by Amritlal Basu, the former a realistic account of the white man's exploitation in the tea-gardens of Assam, and the latter about the trial of Gaekwar,[28] were primarily responsible for the initiation of a debate in the Government circle to have a law similar to one existing in England, where theatres were licensed and no play could be produced without the previous approval of Lord Chamberlane.[29] Upendranath Das wrote a devastating lampoon against a loyal British subject the staging of which was prevented by the police. That prompted Upendranath to write another lampoon against the police, entitled *The Police of Pig and Sheep* (The title was given in English, obviously inviting a direct confrontation with the authority) and staged that along with *Surendra Binodinī*, which was also anti-British in spirit. The performance was disallowed. Upendranath Das and Amritlal Basu, a playwright and actor, were arrested and jailed for a month. The charge against *Surendra Binodinī*, however, was not of sedition but of obscenity. All these factors led to the promulgation of the Act, known as the Dramatic Performances Control Act of 1876.[30] This can be rightly viewed as the culmination of the government's reaction to Indian drama that began with the celebrated *Nīldarpaṇ*. And the Act of 1876 also made the politicization of the Bengali theatre complete.

Patriotism and the Indian Drama

Before the advent of Upendranath Das, whose *Sarat Sarojinī* (1874) and *Surendra Binodinī* (1875) advocated a violent uprising against the British, the nationalistic sentiment had penetrated deep the Bengali stage. Manomohan's *Hariścandra*, one of the earliest examples of patriotic plays, was followed by several dramatists.

Jyotirindranath Tagore's (1848–1925) *Puru Bikram* (The Might of Puru, 1874) was a stage success as was his *Sarojinī* (1875), both because of their patriotic fervour. The former play is about the battle between Porus and Alexander—a convenient substitute for the British—glorifying the patriotic spirit of the Indian king; and the latter about the tragic conflict of a Rajput princess between her devotion to father and her duty towards the motherland, modelled on Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. His another play, *Aśrumatī* (1879), is based on Rajput history against the background of the conflict between Pratap Singh of Chittore and the Mughal emperor Akbar.

What Manomohan and Jyotirindranath did for the Bengali stage, Bharatendu Harishchandra did for the Hindi stage single-handed. His

celebrated plays *Bhārat Jananī* (1877) and *Bhārat Durāśā* (1800) share the thematic and formal features of the Bengali plays. The former is a translation of a Bengali play, entitled *Bhārat Mātā*[31] and the latter, the best-known play of Bharatendu, is indebted to the Bengali poem *Bhārat Bhikṣā* by Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay.[32] But his vision of India and the idiom of patriotic sentiment were exclusively his own. His relationship with the Bengali playwrights is a relationship of *pro-phanic* and *meta-phanic* features.

We have pointed out earlier that patriotism was often manifested through allegories and episodes of the past history, and rarely directly against the British. This had often created a tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. About Bharatendu's *Bhārat Durāśā*, a foreign critic observes that "the overall statement is one of India's impotence, discontent and despair rather than a general indictment of effects of outside influence, and the inclination is to see Muslim influence as more harmful than Western."[33] Even if this is not accepted as an accurate observation about the spirit of Bharatendu's play, there is little doubt that many plays, and poems and novels, were written by the Hindus which hurt the Muslim sensibilities.

Bharatendu's greatest achievement was to establish the modern Hindi drama by making it a confluence of the major trends of the period, the mythological, patriotic and social. He also created a group of talented dramatists around him who followed the trends set by him.[34] While his mythological and patriotic plays touched the contemporary life indirectly, his social plays streamlined the contemporary problems with power and courage. Bharatendu, like his contemporaries in other languages, particularly Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi, developed this branch of dramatic literature with great care. His farce *Andher Nagarī Caupaṭ Rājā* (1881) is an exposure of administrative inefficiency, corruption, bigotry, and callousness of the ruling class. The very phrase *Andher Nagarī* in Hindi has now become synonymous with organizations without order and justice.

An Indian Morality Play

Most of the farces and light comedies written during this period in different languages centre round the problems of Westernization on the one hand and the weaknesses and inconsistencies in Indian social and religious life on the other.[35] It started with Michael Madhusudan Datta and was later taken up by many competent dramatists including Bharatendu. One of the interesting plays written on the problems of Westernization happens to be the first original play in Tamil *Pratāpacandra Vilāsam* (1877). Its author Ramaswamy Raju (1852–97), a brilliant product of the Madras

Presidency College, was a writer in English, Telugu, and his mother tongue Tamil.[36] The play is didactic and the author made it clear in the preface: "I have written this play to put . . . young men on the right path. While stressing the need to avoid Evil, it is but necessary that Evil has to be described." Pratapchandran, the hero of the play, is a well-educated son of a Zamindar in South India. He falls in bad company and passes through a series of incidents, apparently satisfying but painful in the long run. Good sense dawns on him finally and he rescues himself from the depth of degradation. He seeks for his father's pardon which is readily given. He rehabilitates himself with the kindness of his father and the sympathy of his friends.

The play reads like *The Castle of Perseverence*, a morality play written in the 16th century, and resembles all didactic plays and fiction published in contemporary India. Each character in the play, as in allegorical plays, is a personification of a quality, e.g. *Vidyā Sāharan* (Ocean of Knowledge), *Nipunakosarar* (Expert), *Svadesamitrar* (Patriot), *Purātanar* (Traditionalist), *Pattayi Master* (Country-liquor expert). It is difficult to say whether Ramaswamy Raju was influenced by any particular European work or not, the theme of the play undoubtedly emerges out of the West-East tension in the Indian intellectual life. There is very little dramatic action in the play which abounds with discussion about the problem of unemployment, patriotism, urban affluence and rural poverty, social reforms, advantages of learning English, and even 'national integration' though only a brief reference has been made to it. The patriot, Svadesamitrar, recites a poem describing how this great country extending from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari has been a victim of periodic attack from foreigners including the Muslims, who nearly destroyed her cultural fabric, till the advent of the British which has brought 'stability, unity and tranquillity'. Vidyasaharar and Puratanar emphasize the importance of the English, the former for academic reasons, the latter for financial prospects. Loukikar (Worldly-wise) thinks patriotism is a folly and material comfort is the ultimate goal of life, and Visvasakathakan (Traitor) enamoured with the external manifestations of the European culture, believes in hedonism. There is also a debate on the essence of European civilization, and its impact on Indian domestic value. The play also presents two religious characters, one a Shaiva and the other a Vaishnava. debating at a brothel, claiming the superiority of their respective deities. The hero, Pratapachandran spoilt by Traitor, becomes a prey to the wiles of a dancing girl, but is finally rescued by his friends. The play is, as it were, an epitome of all the issues that kept the writers of farce and didactic novels and plays busy in all the Indian languages. It focussed particularly on the problems of Westernization, purity of domestic values, patriotism and the role of the British rule.

This play, therefore, is an important documentary evidence of the social temper and the concerns of the intellectuals in the seventies of the last century. In fact, it is a collection of discursive talks put together by a slender and trite theme, more a discourse than a play. The characters, not being just proto-types of eternal virtues and vices but representations of contemporary thought and values, present the nineteenth-century Indian society almost in its entirety. A scene relating to the Durbar of Lord Mayo, though dramatically inconsequential, added probably to affirm the author's loyalty to the British Government, is also in consonance with the contradiction of the nineteenth-century patriotism.

CHAPTER 10

The Novel

I THE DIDACTIC AND THE MARVELLOUS

During 1858 and 1885 drama grew into an extremely popular form of literary entertainment in India. The popular response was primarily to the theatre, the enactment of drama, the spectacle associated with it, the histrionic talent of the player, the magic of the spoken word rather than the literary text itself. Of course, many plays could not be produced because of various constraints, and some of them were not meant for stage at all. We do not have much evidence to show that 'reading plays', as distinct from 'stage-plays', had a good clientele. On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence to show that the novel was an extremely popular form, and certainly by 1885 it became the most popular literary genre.

The Bengali work *Alaler Gharer Dulāl* (1858) by *Tekchand Thakur*,[1] the pen-name of Peary Chand Mitra (1814–83), was the first novel to be published during this period. It was serialized in a monthly penny magazine for women, *Māsik Patrikā*, edited by the author himself. He wrote in the preface:

> It chiefly treats of the pernicious effects of allowing children to be improperly brought up, with remarks on the existing system of education, on self-formations and religious culture, and is illustrative of the condition of Hindu society, manners, customs etc and partly of the state of things in the Moffussil.

Although the story is didactic, the work received contemporary critical acclaim mainly because of the simplicity of the narration, its realistic descriptions of men and manners, effective use of social dialects and the portrayal of the character of a cheat.[2] Two salient features of this work are the style and the originality of the story. The language used in this work is absolutely free from Sanskritism and all kinds of embellishment; it is simple and colloquial, bordering on cockney, marked by an uninhibited use of slang and dialects which add a certain liveliness to some of the characters. The story is not technically complex or emotionally moving, but it is an original one. Neither the style of the book nor the theme dealing with contemporary society, however, inspired any Bengali writer of that period. The situation is almost similar in Maharashtra. The novel *Yamunā Paryaṭan* introduced a simple style of narration and chose a contemporary problem as its theme. But it was followed not by another realistic novel but by Lakshman Moreshwar Halbe's *Muktāmālā* (1861), a didactic

romance where neither the characters nor the locale have any specific geographical or temporal identity. The author's intention was to encourage the Marathi reader to read "books and newspapers in their own language,"[3] but he adopted a highly Sanskritic style and the rhetorical features of Sanskrit narratives. It is a story of a virtuous man who is thrown into prison on a false charge by his brother-in-law. His wife, Muktamala, escapes and wanders from one place to another under constant threat of danger. Finally, every thing ends happily, virtue is rewarded and evil punished. The story has not only a fairy-tale ending, but bristles with coincidences bordering on miracles. The narrative is slow, because of long and elaborate descriptions which appear in predicatable regularity and long flamboyant dialogues.

In Halbe's second novel *Ratnaprabhā* (1878), critics observe, "exaggeration and decorativeness reach an even higher degree."[4] With *Muktāmālā*, a new school of 'novel' started in Marathi, distinguished by a pompous style and exciting incidents and moralization. Naro Sadashiv Risbud even surpassed Halbe in decorativeness and stylistic artificiality. He too aimed at didactic narratives. In the preface to his *Mañjughoṣa* (1868) Risbud wrote "The basic aim of works like 'novels' is to show how in this world a virtuous man attains happiness after suffering various setbacks at the hands of evil men." But his defence of the predominance of the marvellous in the narrative is even more interesting:

> Because of our attitude to marriage and for several other reasons one finds in the lives of us Hindus neither interesting views nor virtues, and this is the difficulty which we find in trying to write novels. If we write about things that we experience daily there would be nothing enthralling about them, so that if we set out to write an entertaining book we are forced to take up with the marvellous . . . .[5]

Both didactism and the marvellous dominated the initial stage of the Indian novel and interestingly the arguments put forward by the defenders of the exciting and the exotic elements in the novel were also used by the exponents of realism to condemn them. Lal Behari Day wrote in the introductory chapter of his *Bengal Peasant Life* (1874) that readers were "not to expect anything marvellous or wonderful" in the book because "the age of marvels has gone by" and "sceptism is the order of the day."[6] He also warned his reader not to expect any love scenes precisely because "marriage is an affair managed entirely by the parents and guardians of bachelors and spinsters" and there was no scope for pre-marital love in Indian society. But the romances that Halbe and Risbud and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay created satisfied the common reader's thirst for the exotic and the marvellous. In his first novel *Rajmohan's Wife* written in English Bankim Chandra incorporated exciting incidents in an otherwise common-place story of domestic life.

The Emergence of Bankim Chandra

Despite occasional flashes of competence, *Rajmohan's Wife* (1864) could not sustain the interest of the readers and was soon forgotten. Next year when he published his first Bengali novel *Durgeśnandinī*, Bankim Chandra did not choose a theme from contemporary life, but constructed a story of triangular love against the background of confrontation between the Pathans and the Mughals in sixteenth-century Bengal. By giving a firm specification of historical time and place, he made a significant departure from the narrative tradition followed by Halbe and Risbud, a tradition which could be traced back to Sanskrit romances, the finest representative of which was *Kādambarī*. Bankim initiated a new genre of romance—he cautiously made a distinction between the historical novel and the novels with a historical locale—where actions took place in the past, long ago from the present to allow imagination to run freely, yet not too distant to get the story merged into the haze of legend. The historical background lent the story a solid base of factuality, provided a greater scope for romanticization, and of building up stories of human passions with greater freedom against the background of nature with all its elemental power and magnitude. The river and the sea, the forest and the field are the invariable scenes of action, as are the brooding fortresses and forsaken temples, battlefields and royal courts, all with a quality of splendour as well as elusiveness.

Bankim Chandra in his three successive novels, *Durgeśnandinī* (1865), *Kapāl Kuṇḍalā* (1866) and *Mṛṇāliní* (1869) created a magic world. He was indebted to the novels of Sir Walter Scott, as it was promptly pointed out by the contemporary critics, but he did not reject the tradition of the Sanskrit narrative altogether. What kept his readers in Bengal—and later in other parts of the country where he was avidly read—spell-bound were his exciting themes, his ability of plot construction, manner of narration, his keen sense of dramatic situations and his elegant prose. He rejected the style of Peary Chand Mitra in preference to a Sanskritized one, but his manipulation of sentence structures, balancing of clauses and ordering of paragraphs gave his language a rare architectural beauty and suppleness of movement. His characters too presented variety and their actions, whether noble or venal, were always bold and powerful. His women characters in particular, rather than men, are complex, vivacious and articulate. His heroes pale into insignificance in contrast to the self-sacrifice and innate nobility of his heroines. On top of that all the three novels mentioned above end in tragedy, a feature which made them moving and memorable.

Bankim's second Bengali novel *Kapāl Kuṇḍalā* is a moving story of a beautiful woman reared up by a sinister *Kapalik* in a forest, who is rescued

by a young man who marries her. The heroine fails to adjust herself to human society and finally drowns herself in the sea after a series of intriguing incidents. The tender lyrical narration alternated by dramatic movements of sinister nature, the symbolic dimension of the heroine, representing the beauty and impersonality of nature, and the invisible presence of Destiny regulating each and every action to its pre-determined end give this novel an enduring quality. There is also an intervention of historicality in the form of the vivacious Moti Bibi, one time lover of Jahangir, which heightens the tension of the action and finally coalesce with the forces of destiny.

In *Mṛṇālinī*, too, Bankim uses history, but with a different purpose, to disprove the belief that Bengal was conquered by eighteen Turk soldiers. He reconstructs not with scholarship but with creative imagination the situation that led to the defeat of Bengal. Bankim, soon to emerge as a poet and prophet of nationalism, introduces the idea of patriotism in its germinal form, particularly through a character, Hemchandra, dedicated to the cause of the revival of Hindu empire in India. The merit of the novel, however, does not rest on this 'inspired' but insipid hero, but on the villain Pashupati who betrays his country only to repent and die for his love for an enigmatic woman who dominates the story.

The importance of these three works lies in the fact that the novel as a form emerges distinctly in them distinguished from the *ākhyān* tradition. Both Baba Padamanji and Peary Chand Mitra identified the potentiality of the form and introduced it to the Indian reader. But that form was not immediately taken up by any serious writer. The Marathi romances that came after *Yamunā Paryaṭan* belong to a different tradition. Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay and later Bankim Chandra, though apparently closer to the indigenous tradition in their love of the dramatic and exotic elements, really identified themselves with the European novel form Bankim's choice of history was regulated by his admiration for Scott, but his use of history was different from that of the British novelist. The anachronisms in Bankim are his deliberate choice. His depiction of love between the Rajput general Jaysingha and the Pathan princess Ayesha is an absurdity from a historical point of view. But Bankim contrived the situation to portray pre-marital love, which he could not have shown in a story dealing with contemporary Indian life, since that was an absurdity too. But the distance in time gave him the scope to suspend disbelief. He presents a woman who decides her own fate, who makes a choice, and thus he creates a woman who is yet to be born in real life. It is the contemporary perception about woman's status that gives Ayesha her uniqueness. In *Mṛṇālinī* Bankim uses history as an instrument to arouse the Hindu pride and remove the sense of humiliation accumulated through centuries. What makes these three works an inseparable unit is the high seriousness of

their content. They are not just exciting stories for brief enjoyment but moving human documents.

The Other Streams

Muktāmālā, which was followed by *Rājā Madan* written in Marathi by Babaji Krishna Gokhale,[7] belongs to a different stream of fiction. It is interesting that both *Rājā Madan*[8] and *Durgeśnandinī* appeared in the same year. These early Marathi romances, *Muktāmālā*, *Manjughoṣa*, *Rājā Madan*, *Vicitrapurī*, etc. commonly known as *adbhut kādambarī* (fantastic stories) were harshly criticised by K. B. Marathe,[9] one of the first eminent Indian critics, in an article 'Nāval vā nāṭak hyāviṣayi nibandh' (An essay on the novel and the drama) read at Marathi Jnanaprasarak Sabha in 1872. Later, another critic Vishvanath Kashinath Rajwade also in an article entitled *Kādambarī* (1902),[10] observed that these works were created mainly for the consumption of a leisured class. Halbe for example, used to get annual pension from Khanderav Holkar because of his novels.

Mocangaḍ (1870), considered to be the first historical novel in Marathi, by Ramchandra Bhikaji Gunjikar (1843-1901), was a natural product of a time when historical researches were taken up by patriotic young scholars. The action of the story centring round a fort culminates in its capture by Shivaji, founder of the Maratha state. Both in style and in technique of narration—particularly the way the story begins—this novel is a great advancement, and in terms of themes it certainly inspired several writers to exploit historical materials, and indicated a new source for the narrative fiction.

The first Gujarati novel, *Karan Ghelo* (1866) by Nanda Shankar Tilijashankar Mehta (1835-1905), which is also a historical novel, indicates the growth of a new temper among the novelists in the country. Their interest was in the history of the region. All the three romances of Bankim are set in Bengal, and *Mṛṇālinī*, like *Karan Ghelo* and *Mocangaḍ*, tried to reconstruct the history of the region with a definite purpose to vindicate the glory of the people of that area. Another Bengali novel, one of the largest written so far, *Baṅgādhipa Parājay* (1869)[11] by Pratap Chandra Ghosh published about the same time, made Pratapaditya, a local chieftain, its protagonist. The novel was not well received by the public, but Pratapaditya was soon accepted as a national hero. These novels, therefore, nursed the emerging regional patriotism, which maintained its identity separate from national patriotism also emerging around this time.

Karan Ghelo[12] narrates the story of Karan Veghelo, the last Hindu King of Gujarat, who was referred to as *Ghelo* (crazy). Nanda Shankar, an Inspector of Schools and later the Dewan of Kutch, was fairly well read in English literature and was attracted to the novels of Lord Lytton, which were popular in India at that time. The sub-title of *Karan Ghelo*,

'The Last Rajput King of Gujarat' reminds one of the titles of Lytton's work *Last Days of Pompeii*, or *Last of the Barons'*. The story of Nanda Shankar is based on a historical incident. Karan abducted Rupsundari, the wife of his minister Madhav, who, enraged by the royal conduct, invited Allauddin Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, to invade Gujarat. Allauddin conquered Gujarat as no Hindu king came to the help of Karan, and he also took Karan's wife and daughter to Delhi. Karan fled from Gujarat and passed his days in a small town in the south only to die in disgrace in a battle.

The novel became popular mainly because of its power of evocation of the glory of the ancient city of Surat which happened to be the birth place of the novelist. It was a city ravaged by Allauddin, plundered by Shivaji, a victim of many natural calamities, yet it survived all ordeals and continued to be a humming centre of trade and commerce and of intellectual activities. Surat as described in the novel in all its details is not the capital of Karan Ghelo but the city in which Nanda Shankar lived. A modern critic has aptly remarked that "*Karan Ghelo* is a novel written by a true child of Surat." The novel shares some features of the *adbhuta kathā* and, despite fine graphic descriptive passages, fails to attain the qualities of a good narrative. It attempts to present a character with a tragic flaw but fails to add a real tragic dimension to the story. The most important contribution of this work, however, is to lay the foundation of the historical novel in Gujarati.

Continuity of the Realistic-didactic Trend

Before we examine the next phase of growth of the Indian novel, a reference must be made to the Urdu novel *Mirat-ul-Urūs* (1869) written by Nazir Ahmad (1836–1912), one of the most interesting figures of Urdu literature. *Mirat-ul-Urūs* (The Bride's Mirror),[13] like all other social stories of this period, is didactic in nature and written with a definite purpose. It is a story of two sisters, Akbari, a spoilt child who fails to get along with her husband and in-laws and comes to grief, and Asghari, intelligent and sobre, who faces all problems at her mother-in-law's house with courage and tact and finally succeeds in establishing her authority in the household.[14] The plot, consisting of two characters of opposite nature, one stupid and the other intelligent, each getting punishment or reward according to her action, can be traced back to the fairy tales. Nazir Ahmad's another story *Banāt-un-Nash* (1872) is again a story of a Muslim girl, her early failings and final transformation.[15] Nazir tells very clearly about the motivation of his writings in a preface to a text book (*Rasmul Khat*, 1912):

I began writing books at the time when my own children were of an age to start their schooling. I had my own experience both of learning and teaching, and as an employee in the Education Department also had the occasion to supervise

teaching. I knew in every detail all the defects of the educational methods and of the books in use. 'Once you have seen the fly in your drink, you cannot swallow it'—and so I began to write books on my account and to teach from them. This was the motive which first impelled me to write.

Despite all the moralization, the stories of Nazir Ahmad undoubtedly reflect the spirit of the time, a growing desire for the "actual and the real against the unreality of the uncritical romance", as Sadiq points out.

II BANKIM AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

The Novels of Bankim: the second phase

Bankim Chandra published his first social novel *Biṣabṛkṣa* (The Poison Tree) in 1872. It was serialized in his famous journal *Baṅgadarśan* which appeared that year. The contemporary reception was overwhelming. Writing many years later Tagore recalls the excitement created by this novel.

> *Bangadarshan* was like a comet in the sky. Suryamukhi and Kundanandini (two characters from *Bisbṛkṣa*) went to and from in every house as if they were members of the family. The whole country was on edge with anxiety to know what had happened now, and what was going to happen next.[16]

The initial excitement of the admiring contemporaries calmed down with the passage of time, but the popularity of Bankim has not abated down the years.

Between 1872 and 1885 Bankim wrote six novels, *Biṣabṛkṣa* (1872), *Candraśekhar* (1875), *Rajanī* (1877), *Kṛṣṇa Kānter Uil* (1878), *Ānanda Maṭh* (1882) and *Debī Caudhurāṇī* (1884), and four tales, *Indirā* (1873), *Yugalāṅgarīya* (1874), *Rādhārānī* (1877) and *Rājsinha* (1882), of which *Indirā* and *Rājasinha* were developed into novels in 1893. Among these writings only *Biṣabṛkṣa*, *Kṛṣṇa Kānter Uil*, *Rajanī* and *Indirā* are about contemporary life, the others deal with the past. Both *Biṣabṛkṣa* and *Kṛṣṇa Kānter Uil* make widow marriage the central problem of the story. *Rajanī*, the locale of which is Calcutta, brings out certain aspects of the contemporary domestic life. Bankim can be as deft in narrating a story centring round a domestic problem as in narrating a historical romance: his language is more simple and supple in social narratives, his descriptions more realistic. His sense of the comic runs throughout his narrative; his characters, all belonging to the landed gentry or educated middle class, do not present much wide variety and complexity, but almost all his women characters, beautiful and intelligent, are memorable as artistic creations. The natural inclination of Bankim Chandra, however, was towards the spaciousness of history, towards the majestic and the grand and the mysterious. His imagination had a sweeping power but it was always tempered by his strong ethical views and conservatism. Except *Kṛṣṇa Kānter Uil* and *Indirā*,

all his novels have elements of miracle and *deu ex machina*, and none is free from too many coincidences and thrilling incidents.

It is quite natural for him to write a novel like *Çandraśekhar*, a historical romance, immediately after the resounding success of *Biṣabṛkṣa*. The scene of *Candraśekhar* is set against a politically tumultuous period of Bengal in the mid-eighteenth century. Bankim displays his power of description and of creating exciting situations, but also exposes his special weakness for the occult and the supernatural. In all these novels Bankim experimented continuously with techniques of narration and organization of plot. While the omniscient narrator dominates all his novels, he introduces a new technique in *Rajanī* (which he borrows from Wilkie Collins's *A Woman in White*) where the story is narrated by four characters. Similarly, he introduces the autobiographical narration in *Indirā*. About the form of the novel, Bankim, instead of taking any particular Western novelist as his model, tried to create a new form which could accommodate the kind of story he wanted to write. It was amorphous in nature, a combination of the narrative, the dramatic and the lyrical. But the most important thing about his novels is their high seriousness. He wrote in the preface to *Kṛṣṇa Kānter Uil* that "novels are expositions of difficult problems of human life" and not mere stories written for entertainment. *Kṛṣṇa Kānter Uil* is generally considered the best novel of Bankim despite its controversial and rather abrupt end, dictated more by the author's moral conviction than any artistic need. The story has been narrated in a charming and graceful prose, without any intervention of extraneous matter; the construction of plot is extremely simple, the movements swift and linear, the presentation of the problem clear and direct. It develops with ease, slowly acquiring complexity, and finally reaches the height of dramatic intensity. No novel with such passion and such tension of human emotions was written before and only a few have appeared there after.

The Novel in Oriya and Assamese

It was about this time (1877–78) that Ramashankar Ray, better known as a dramatist, started serialising an Oriya novel, *Saudāminī* in the journal *Utkal Madhup*. The novel was never completed. His second novel *Indradhaṇu* too remained incomplete. The first Oriya novel *Padmamālī* was published in 1888. But with these two unfinished works experiments in Oriya novel began.

The novel in Assamese emerged around 1877 with *Phulmani āru Karuṇā*, *Elokeśī Beśyār Kathā* and *Kāminī Kāntar Caritra*, all of them written by the Christian missionaries with the purpose of propagating Christianity. The first two books were translated from Bengali and the last one was written by A. K. Gurney, a distinguished Christian missionary of that time. *Elokeśī Beśyār Kathā* is about a child-widow, a victim of the ortho-

doxies of Hindu society, forced to become a prostitute. She ultimately rescued herself from the indignities of life by becoming a Christian. The locale of *Kāminī Kānta* is a village near Calcutta, and the story is about two affluent Bengali families. The hero Kamini Kanta, an educated Bengali, embraces Christianity for which he is persecuted by the Hindu society. Ultimately Sarala, wife of Kamini Kanta, and her friends also accept Christianity. The story is the glorification of Christianity and severe criticism of Hinduism and particularly of Brahmoism, which was becoming popular among the educated Bengalis.[17]

"The first attempt at anything approaching a plot," writes a scholar, "was Hemchandra Barua's (1835–96) *Bāhire rang cang āru Bhitare Kovā Bhaturī*."[18] This work, as the title, "Colourful Appearance Empty within", indicates is a pungent satire on religious hypocrisy. It exposes the scandalous life of the head of a monastery, and ridicules the Assamese middle class aping British manners and customs. It is doubtful whether Barua wanted to write a novel, but certainly this narrative published in 1876 a year before the publication of the three narratives written by Christian missionaries, has greater claims to be regarded as a novel.

Between the Present and the Past

It is interesting that the contemporary life received the attention of the first novel in almost every language in India. Historical romance came afterwards and a competition between the social novel and the historical novel continued for a long time. We have mentioned how the *adbhuta kathā* in Marathi retarded the growth of realistic narratives. But another trend slowly emerged counteracting the *adbhuta kathā*, though not always successfully. The novel *Avaliā* (1859) by Vinayak Balkrishna Damle, practically unknown to later generations,[19] was an attempt to explore psychological problems which did not attract the writers or the readers. The first counter offensive to the *adbhuta kathā* trend came from historical romances which began with *Mocangaḍ*. It was followed by Vishnu Janardan Patvardhan's *Hāmbirrāv āṇi Putaḷābāī* (1873), a historical novel with a sub-title '1857 Sālace Baṇḍācī Dhāmadhum'. It is not a well-constructed novel; the author failed to integrate the historical episodes of the 1857 Revolt with the life of a couple, Hambirrav and Putalabai, and the movement of the narrative is retarded by many unnecessary dialogues. Yet this is the first attempt in Indian literature to write a novel about an incident which shook the very foundation of the British rule only sixteen years ago. The memories of the rebellion must have been fresh in the minds of many of its readers. The novel gives a fair account of the great revolt, but it depicts Nana Saheb as cruel and reckless and makes cautious references to the British officials.

Bodhsudhā (1871) by Keshav Balavant Kelkar, though usually

considered a romance belonging to the group represented by *Muktāmālā*, according to Raeside, "has as much claim to be called a social or realist novel as *Yamunā Paryaṭan*, and is equally didactic in tone."[20] The time of the story is present and its protagonist a critic of the British rule as well as of the missionary activities.

Little before the publication of this novel Gauri Datt wrote a tale in Hindi entitled *Devrānī Jeṭhānī kī Kahānī* (1870) which illustrates "the life of women in a joint family and written from an orthodox viewpoint for an overwhelmingly conservative public."[21] Four years later, when Bankim's *Biṣabṛkṣa* had taken the Bengali readers by storm Taraknath Gangopadhyay (1843–91) wrote a novel entitled *Svarṇalatā* (1874), a story about a Bengali family's domestic life, completely free from the influence of Bankim Chandra.[22] An intimate account of the middle-class Bengali family with its pathos and comic moments, this novel became extremely popular. It ran into seven editions during the author's life, and when dramatised and staged as *Saralā* (1888) it drew full house for one year. The public response had been oscillating like a pendulum between the social and the historical novel. *The Bengal Peasant Life* or *Gobinda Samanta*, a novel in English by Lal Behari De, also published in 1874, is a vivid account of the peasant life. Its readership was of course limited because of the language in which it was written, and those who read it valued it more for its documentary authenticity than for its creative merit. But it is a remarkable work in view of the fact that it is the only novel written in this century to go beyond the confines of middle-class domestic situations and to present rural life in its totality. A memorable human document, *The Bengal Peasant Life* did not reach a large readership, and the contemporary writers, all belonging to the middle class, did not perhaps consider the life of the poor villagers a subject worthy of treatment. It was natural that *Baṅgabijetā* (1874), a historical romance by Ramesh Chandra Datta (1848–1909), the celebrated economic historian, was received with great enthusiasm. This Bengali novel, followed closely the Bankim model presented in his first three romances. The time presented in the story is that of Akbar. Ramesh Chandra's second novel, *Mādhabī Kaṅkan* (1877), is set against the background of the rule of Shajahan. Both the works are immature but make pleasant reading. His next two novels, *Mahārāṣṭra Jīban Prabhāt* (The Dawn of the Maharashtra Life, 1878) and *Rājput Jīban Sandhyā* (The Evening of the Rajput Life, 1879), the former narrating the exciting story of the conflict between Aurangzeb and Shivaji and the emergence of the Maharashtrian power, and the latter about the decline of the Rajput power, are well-executed works. Ramesh Chandra did not have the imagination of Bankim Chandra, nor did he have the gripping power of Bankim's art of narration, but he could narrate with poise and grace. These two novels in particular reflect a fervent

nationalistic feeling and both are manifestations of the nineteenth-century search for heroes in history. The same urge is reflected in the novel *Dīp nirbāṇ* (The Burning out of the Lamp, 1876) by Svarnakumari Debi (1855–1932), the first Indian woman to write a novel.[23] The theme of this novel is derived from the life of Prithviraj, the last Hindu king of Delhi, who lost his kingdom to Muhammad Ghouri. Both Ramesh Chandra Datta and Svarnakumari Debi also wrote novels about contemporary life. This oscillation between history and contemporary society continued till the end of the century.

The Gujarati Situation

It is not surprising therefore that Mahipatiram Nilkanth who started with a realistic story *Śasu Vahuni Laḍāi*, first of its kind in Gujarati literature, should try his hand at writing historical novels. His *Vanarāj Cavḍo* (1881) and *Sadhara Jesaṇg* (1896), both dealing with historical themes, have little artistic merit.

According to critics the Gujarati novels of this period that can claim greater literary merit are two social novels, *Ratṇalakṣmī* (1881) and *Kulīn ane Mudrā* (Money and Aristocracy, 1884) written by a Parsi, Jehangir Ardeshir Taleyarkhan.[24] Even more interesting, perhaps, is *Andherī Nagarīno Gardhavasen* (The Donkey of the Anarchic City, 1881, by Dvarakadas Kantawala), a novel exposing the conditions of life in a native state in Gujarat. Bharatendu Harishchandra's play *Andher Nagarī* not only deals with a similar theme, but was published in the same year from Banaras.

The First Novel in Tamil

Although D. V. Seshaiyangar's verse narrative *Athiyuravadhani*, or *the Self-made Man* (1875) described itself as "an original Tamil novel, delineating pictures of modern Hindu life", critics and literary historians are unanimous in giving that honour to *Piratāpa Mutaliyar Carittiram* or *The Life and Adventures of Prathapa Mudaliar* (1879) by Samuel Vedanayakam Pillai (1826–89).[25] The author, an English educated Christian, but well versed in traditional Tamil scholarship, a district munshiff and a social thinker, wrote the novel with a didactic purpose, a feature shared by almost all the first novels in Indian languages. He stated in the preface that his object in writing the book was "to supply the want of prose works in Tamil" and "to give a practical illustration of the maxims of morality" contained in his former works. He made it clear that his novel differed from the general run:

> I have not followed the example of those novelists who depict human nature as it is, not as it ought to be, and who thus exhibit bad specimens of humanity which are often mistaken by the young and inexperienced for objects of imitation.

I have represented the principal personages as perfectly virtuous, in accordance with the opinion of the great English moralist Dr. Johnson.[26]

The novel is a long story told in the first person. The hero Prathapa marries his childhood-friend Gnanambal, a virtuous woman, after a series of intervening incidents. Later Gnanambal became the ruler of a nearby state and ruled it with the help of her husband efficiently, and introduced many reforms. Finally, when a good government was established in the state, both of them came back home. Zvelebil finds it "a bad story, entirely unrealistic, a mixture of naive romanticism and moralising, with chains of improbabilities and badly constructed plot, without any attempt to bind the main plot and the secondary themes together." But he admits that it has a few redeeming features as well, namely "brief life-like scenes and reflections of the author's own experience; in a few spots, acute observations of life."[27] Despite its looseness of construction, blatant moralizing and improbable incidents the work was given a favourable reception. The novel was described as "rambling" by some critics implying that it was badly constructed. The fault in the construction was due, among other causes, to the presence of several anecdotes and stories used as illustrations of the author's moral principles,[28] and also because of long discussions on mother-tongue education and good government which are totally irrelevant to the story.[29] But the contemporary readers responded to the novel favourably mainly because they found in it a form of story which was new, but not altogether different from the older narratives. The idealization of the women characters is another feature of nineteenth century Indian literature. Gnanambal in the role of a ruler must have satisfied a section of readers. The last section of the book presents Gnanambal as the 'king' in disguise, not a 'queen', and she has been portrayed so as the 'highest pinnacle of human greatness', as the author explains in the preface, with a view to meeting of the taste of the Hindu readers, "who are very fond of kings and queens."[30]

Encouraged by the success of this novel, Vedanayakam Pillai, wrote another novel, *Sugana Sunthari (Cukuṇa Cuntari Carittiram*, 1887). But it was not well received probably because, as Asher suggests, "he had packed so much into the first one that he had very little left to say."[31] Some critics, however, think that the novel is "more compact in form." The story appears to be an elaboration of the feminine virtues depicted in the earlier novel. The author declared in the English preface to the work, "my object in writing this work of fiction is to give a practical illustration of the maxims of morality contained in my former works. . . ."[32]

Piratāpa Mutaliyar Carittiram, however, cannot be judged by the modern standards of the novel. It has to be viewed as the culmination of the

indigenous narrative tradition in the Tamil land and also as "a great forerunner of the massive prose literature that developed in Tamil."[33]

Realism and the Melodrama

A Marathi novel *Nārāyaṇrāv āṇi Godāvarī* by M. V. Rohalkar published in 1879 (the same year of the publication of the first Tamil novel) is quite remarkable. The author ridiculed, almost in a similar vein as Lal Behari De had done, the contemporary novelists for their monotonous stories, and obsession with princes and princesses and rich people. Like De, he too declared that he wanted to write about ordinary people and wished to be free from the bondage of predictable happy-endings. He described his work as *duhkhapariṇāmī kalpit kādambarī* (unhappy ending fiction). The story begins with a social theme. Godavari, the heroine, is about to be sold by her miserly father to become the second wife of an alcoholic. However, she avoids that misfortune and marries Narayan, a young school teacher. From this point the story turns into a melodrama. Narayana, for certain reasons, comes to think that Godavari has betrayed him and kills her in a fit of jealousy. Raeside describes the novel as a "blood thirsty story", an example of the influence of *Othello* and *The Mysteries of London* operating together. This, however, does not detract from the competence of the author, at least in the first part of the novel, in creating a realistic atmosphere and natural situations.

The First Novel in Telugu

Before Vedanayakam Pillai's novel appeared in print the celebrated Telugu writer and social reformer Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu (1847–1919)[34] had started serialising his *Rājaśekhara Caritra* from 1878 in the journal *Viveka Candrikā*. It was published in the book form in 1880 and since then it has been generally recognized as the first novel in Telugu and Viresalingam is held as the father of Telugu novel. There is, however, a difference of opinion amongst the critics some giving the status of the first novel in the language to *Mahāśvetā* written by Kokkonda Venkata Ratnam Pantulu (1842–1915), a great Sanskritist, in 1867 (and published in parts much later), and some making that claim for *Śrī Ranga Rāja Caritra* (1872) by Gopala Krishnamma Chetty (1849–1921). Both these works are important specimens of prose narratives that existed before the Western influence became dominant in Telugu literary activities. Though chronologically they precede the work of Viresalingam, they actually belong to the tradition of *kathā* rather than the novel. Gopala Krishnamma Chetty wrote in his introduction to the book:

This attempt to delineate the manners and customs of the Telugus in their own language in the form of a novel, owes its origin to the announcement by the late

lamented Viceroy of the offer of a reward for the best story in Bengali, illustrative of native life and manners in lower Bengal. . . .[35]

The author chose a theme from the annals of Vijaynagar involving incidents that lead to the marriage of the hero with a *lambadi* girl, Sonabai. S. R. M. Konkamadi observes:

It is likely that *Shri Ranga Raja Caritram* is, chronologically, the first Telugu book that can be classified as a novel, but if structure, characterization and language are considered, then *Rajashekhara Caritra* is the first Telugu book to make an impact as a novel.[36]

Rājaśekhara Caritra was inspired by *The Vicar of Wakefield* by Oliver Goldsmith. At first Viresalingam wanted to translate the novel, but after having translated a couple of chapters he decided to write an independent story as he realized that the atmosphere of the English novel would appear too foreign to his readers. His purpose was to present a picture of the contemporary life and to comment on the prevailing social evils. The locale of the story is the lower Godavari and the characters belong to the typical middle-class Andhra family. The similarities between this novel and that of Goldsmith are many. Rajashekhar, the protagonist of Viresalingam, resembles Dr. Primrose of *The Vicar of Wakefield*; Rawa Raju, Rukmini and Sita resemble Mr. Bruchell, Olivia, and Sophia respectively. But Viresalingam creates convincingly and ably a typical Andhra atmosphere, and depicts the customs and traditions of the Andhra people with a wealth of detail. The story is of Rajashekhar, an innocent and gullible young man, who changes and matures through various experiences of life. In respect of theme and the novelist's social philosophy *Rājaśekhara Caritra* shares some of the features of most of the early novels in other Indian languages. V. R. Narula's assessment that "it may not be a first rate novel, but it is superb social history"[37] seems very fair. One reviewer of the English translation[38] of the novel who, unlike the Indian critics, did not worry about its resemblance to *The Vicar of Wakefield* but admired it for its intrinsic value wrote:

The story itself is simple and from an European point of view, of no great interest, but the pictures of Hindu domestic life, of religious ideas, modes of worship and superstition and the condition of women, with their denial of all rights of choice in marriage are so well-drawn and illustrated that the book will have a charm for all readers who concur in the author's desire for an amelioration in the social status of the native race generally.[39]

The novel grew out of the reformatery zeal of one of the greatest philanthropists of the nineteenth century India, and it belonged to the tradition of *Yamunā Paryaṭan, Ālāler Gharer Dulāl, Govinda Samanta* and *Svarṇalatā* rather than to the tradition to which Bankim Chandra belonged. But at the same time he also shared the spirit of reformation of many contem-

porary dramatists, and it is no wonder that Viresalingam found in drama a more congenial form for the propagation of his social ideas. He, of course, continued to write novels, his second novel *Satyavatī Caritra* (1883) about an ideal housewife, was a great success. He gave a momentum to the growth of the novel in Telugu which reached a new high at the hands of Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham (1867–1946).

The Dāstāna Tradition: Fasāna-i-Āzād

The year 1880 is memorable in the history of the Indian novel being the date of the publication of the first significant Telugu novel by Viresalingam as also the year of the publication of *Fasāna-i-Āzād* (The Tale of Azad) by Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar (1845–1902). It was not only the longest novel published in any Indian language at that time, but also one of the memorable writings in Urdu literature.

The first important feature of this work is its form. It has been compared with *Don Quixote* and resemblances between the two are obvious. Sadiq, however, thinks that "there is no evidence of its [*Don Quixote's*] influence in the first half of the first volume which . . . is a loose bundle of sketches of the life of Lucknow, with Azad as the central figure. If it resembles any work at this stage, it is the Sir Roger de Caverley Papers."[40] We know that Sarshar was familiar with *Don Quixote* which he translated into Urdu. But the form of his work is more intimately related to the *dāstān* tradition. The Persian word *dāstān* means 'tale' and is generally attributed to cycles of tales and stories, primarily the medieval romance, comparable to those of medieval Europe. This form of literature evolved from the story-telling tradition and the term can easily be extended to the stories of Vetāla and of the magic throne of Vikramaditya.[41] Many *dāstāns* were widely popular in India as part of oral literature, and were written down in their present form mostly at the instance of a farsighted printer and publisher, Nawal Kishore. Sarur's *Fasāna-i-Ajāib*, written in the forties of the nineteenth century, was already extremely popular with the reading public.

Although Ratan Nath Sarshar claimed that *Fasāna-i-Āzād* was something new in Urdu fiction—and the novelty can be hardly disputed—its natural relationship with the *dāstān* tradition is also obvious. Like a typical *dāstān* narrative, *Fasāna-i-Āzād* has a brave, handsome and intelligent hero, Azad, with his endless adventures in a succession of loosely connected episodes. Azad is a hero endowed with a number of virtues; he falls in love with Husn Ara, a beautiful woman of an aristocratic family, who promises to marry him on condition that he will join the Sultan's army in Turkey to fight against the Russians. Azad obeys the command, fights the Russian, finally returns to Lucknow and wins the hand of the woman he loves. Innumerable incidents involving the hero crowd within this thin narrative framework, a device which Aristotle[42] censored and

the novelists generally avoided. But this was an accepted framework of story-telling in India. Sarshar followed it fondly and successfully.

There was a factor which popularized this structure. With the expansion of literary journals and growing demand for stories, the authors started serializing their works, a practice unknown to the authors before. The serialization encouraged the incorporation of episodic materials, often loosely connected with the main theme, primarily to sustain the interest of the reader, and the construction of each part was more regulated by immediate considerations, such as popular applause than by the logical necessity of the plot. Sarshar was appointed editor of the journal *Avadh Akhbār* (by its proprietor Munshi Nawal Kishore) which was a rival of the popular journal *Avadh Punch*. Sarshar started this series of tales, published under the title 'humour', to outwit *Avadh Punch*. The result was, as Sadiq tells us, an open war between the two papers. *Fasāna-i-Āzād* grew out of the sketches which appeared between December 1878 and December 1879.

The structure of the novel, then, was regulated by the existing narrative tradition of *dāstān* as well as by the constraints imposed by the literary journals. Consequently it developed out of these two factors without the intervention of any European model.

The second important feature of this work is the story itself. There is no plot, except a thematic framework which accommodates a large number of episodes in the life of Azad. The work is picaresque in form, grown out of the decadence of the Lucknow society. The adventures of Azad with his comrade Khoji, who resembles Sancho Panza of *Don Quixote* in his comicality, during their wanderings in Lucknow constitute the contents of the first volume. The second volume is divided between the exploits of Azad in Europe, his love affairs, captivities and escapes, and the details of the predicaments of Husn Ara at Lucknow. The story moves incoherently, but it is this incoherance, which gives the book its uniqueness. "Sarshar unfolds before the reader," observes Sadiq, "a teeming world of men and women of all sorts, the effete nawabs and their retainers, drunkards, opium-eaters, thieves, idlers, doctors, quacks, pandits, ascetics, beggars, dancing girls, dervishes, fools, wrestlers, swashbucklers, adventures, and whatever we witness, the *muharram* ceremonies, a wedding, or a dancing party, and wherever we are, in the street, the market, or the seraglio, there is the tang and savour of life, and an air of verisimilitude obtained by local colour and a reproduction of the language peculiar to those people"[43] The interest in the trivialities and commonplaces of life and the acute sense of realism come from a modern mind and here the work differs from the medieval tradition. But the work is a peculiar blending of the medieval and the modern both in its structure and theme and in its vision.[44]

A Political Novel

Bankim Chandra started writing his well-known novel *Ānanda Maṭh* in 1800, which was first serialized in *Baṅgadarśan*, and was published as a book in December 1882, the year *Parīkṣā Guru*, the first novel in Hindi, appeared. The novel of Bankim based on the Sannyasi rebellion of 1773 in North Bengal, became the gospel of the revolutionaries in the later years, and the song *Vandemātaram* which occurred in it spread all over the country within a few decades. It is not the kind of a historical novel that tries to reconstruct the details of the past and capture the mystique of bygone times, but a novel that uses history to achieve political ends and transforms historical incidents by injecting a new meaning in them.

The story starts with a stark realistic description of the horrible famine of 1772 in memorable prose. This realism, however was soon replaced by the romanticization of characters and incidents, and Bankim constructed a thrilling and edifying story of a secret society consisting of members dedicated to retrieve the glory of their motherland. The main plot of glowing patriotism has been woven with several sub-plots, of human passion and love, with remarkable skill. But it ends tamely, declaring the importance and significance of the historical role of the British rule in India. The story disintegrates and the nineteenth-century Indian ambivalence to the British rule surfaces but the agony of the patriots who failed heightens the tone of the narrative. The novel had all the ingredients of a successful historical romance: the young and brave soldiers ready to give as well as to take lives, brave and beautiful women, old and dilapidated temples in the heart of a brooding forest, mysterious movements of a superman, thrilling battles, powerful descriptions of nature and turbulent drama of love leading to frustration. But Bankim wanted to construct a novel to instill patriotism. He twisted the Sannyasi rebellion to transform it into a battle organized by a secret society against the British. Not only did he change the details of the Sannyasi rebellion to fit them into the activities of secret societies, about which he had read in Italian history, but he also incorporated contemporary materials, such as the exploits of Vasudev Balwant Phadke. What grew out of it was a 'political' novel[45] loaded with far-reaching implications.

Despite Bankim's apology for the British rule in India in the concluding section of the novel through a superman-like character, the message of patriotism and revolt was loud and clear. This novel, noble in conception and powerful in mythmaking—the myth of the motherland was fully transfigured in this novel—was also self-defeating to some extent. The conflict in the narrative between the Hindu *Santāns* (children) of Mother and the British was reconciled, admittedly for a temporary period. The superman of Bankim spoke of a Hindu India, and Bankim in course of his narration often referred to Muslims with contempt. Recent researches

have proved that many of the references to the English were later replaced by those to Muslims to subdue the militant tone of the novel. Bankim revised extensively all the editions—there were five editions of *Ānanda Maṭh* during his life time to camouflage his real intentions, and that made him even more vulnerable. The work remains controversial even a century after its publication. Muslim reaction to it is as sharp and strong as it was at the time of its publication.[46]

In the history of the Indian novel, *Ānanda Maṭh* will be remembered not primarily as a fine work of art—no critic has ever expressed his satisfaction about its artistic quality—but as an example of a narrative structure, which is peculiarly Bankim's own, a combination of the romantic and the realistic, the historical and the contemporary; and more because of its theme, a mixture of religion and politics. This is the first Indian novel, where the dominant political trends of the time merged and were transfused into a myth, and it continued to inspire a large section of the people for more than half a century in its struggle against an imperial power. This is not necessarily a praise of the work as a novel, but an admission of the power that it exerted upon the people.

The First Novel in Hindi

Two more novels of this period deserve our attention. One is *Parīkṣā Guru* (1882) written by Shrinivas Das, which is considered the first novel in Hindi,[47] and the other is the Marathi novel *Madhalī Sthitī* (1885) by Hari Narayan Apte (1864–1919). The growth of the novel in Hindi was rather slow and the Hindi reading public, as McGregor observes, "for its part showed a generally undeveloped literary taste throughtout this period"[48] (i.e. till the emergence of Premchand). The lateness of the development was partly because of instability in the language situation and experiments with Khari boli as the language of prose and partly because of the strong influence of the traditional narrative. But when the novel emerged in Hindi, it followed the line of growth similar to that in almost all other languages.

Like the other 'first novels'. *Parīkṣā Guru* too was written with didactic intentions and its theme was derived from contemporary life. In spite of a frequent use of verse and anecdotes which affects the smooth flow of the story, *Parīkṣā Guru* develops as a realistic account of the life of the traders and the rich middle class. The hero of the story, a weak character who becomes a prey to the existing social evils, gambling, prostitution, alcoholism etc. is rescued by his idealist friend Braj Kishore. The story reflects the changes in the life style of the Indian society brought about by socio-economic and educational changes. The development of the Hindi novel, as we shall see presently, followed the predictable pattern, the oscillation between the didactic-realistic narrative and the narrative

dealing with the marvellous. One year before the publication of *Parīkṣā Guru*, a Marathi novel *Śirastedar* (though written much earlier) by Vinayaka Konddev Oka was published. This is also one of the social novels written with a purpose to depict the life of the new class of officials, *shirastedars*, *karkuns* etc., employed in government offices and their role as oppressors and exploiters of the people.

The Emergence of Hari Narayan

The year 1885 will be best remembered as the year of the publication of *Madhalī Sthitī* (The Middle State), the first novel of Hari Narayan Apte. The title of the novel has been interpreted in two ways: it tells the story of persons belonging to the middle class, or/and it is the story of a time in between the phases of Westernization in Maharashtra.[49] The story, first serialised in the periodical *Pune Vaibhave*, was conceived as a part of a series of novels to be published under the general title *Ājkalcā Gosṭhi* (stories of contemporary Life). The first novel in this series, although it depicts the life and activities of the middle class of Poona with a good measure of realisms, was inspired surprisingly not by the realistic novels in English with which Apte was familiar but by Reynold's *Mysteries of Old London*. Apte, a voracious reader and a keen observer of turmoils caused by social reforms, infused a new spirit in the Marathi novel even though he was attracted to the stories of Reynolds. About the time Apte started his career as a novelist, B. Malabari published pamphlets criticising child marriage and enforced widowhood which raised a storm in the orthodox circles of Maharashtra. The writings of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunker (1800–1882) and of Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856–1895) and B. G. Tilak (1856–1920) had created a new ferment in the Maharashtrian society. Apte, the novelist, was born out of the tension which the educated middle class experienced during this period. *Madhalī Sthitī* is the beginning of a great career. As a novel it is not satisfactory: the plot is neither well conceived nor well-knit, quite often the descriptions are too long—all these indicate the struggle of a new writer to discover his own technique. All the same, the language is simple, the dialogues are natural, and the story has an authenticity.[50] Apte emerged as a force to reckon with, a force to dominate the Marathi literary scene for the next two decades. With him, as with Bankim Chandra, the novel became an instrument of social change. In an article before the publication of *Madhalī Sthitī*, he wrote that "a novel should not only amuse, but also edify and uplift society."[51]

Early Novels of Rabindranath

Before we conclude this section, a reference must be made to Rabindranath who made his appearance as a novelist during this period. His first novel *Karuṇā*, a sentimental story, serialised in *Bhāratī* (1877–78) was never

published in book form. His second novel, *Bouṭhākurānīr Hāṭ* (1883), a historical melodrama, was also an immature work. But as Krishna Kripalani observes, "its historical importance is considerable" because many of the situations and characters that Tagore later developed in his plays "are to be found here in their incipient form."[52] This early work is also a feeble criticism of the worship of Pratapaditya as a national hero. This work does not have much to claim as a novel, but in it appeared for the first time a vision, however nebulous, of humanism transcending narrow patriotism.

1885–1910

CHAPTER 11

The Literary Panorama

I THE BACKDROP

The two major issues that preoccupied the writers between 1885 and 1910 were the emerging nationalism and the increasing impact of the West. It was a period of intense literary activity responding to the political turmoils and tensions and reflecting the changing moods of society.

The second split in the Brahmo Samaj causing the establishment of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj in 1878 had a significant impact on the middle class. The ideology of the new organization brought the Brahmos and a section of the educated Hindus closer to the political aspirations of the middle class and encouraged the growth of organizations for the uplift of the Backward classes. The Arya Samaj well established in Punjab and in certain cities of Uttar Pradesh had a split in 1892 into the College or 'Cultured' party and the Vegetarian or the "Mahatma" party. In 1893, Swami Vivekananda made a historic speech at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago, vindicating the superiority of Hinduism. The patriotic monk became the idol of millions of Hindus, and almost all the young writers in different parts of the country responded to his ideas enthusiastically. His speeches made a strong impact on the young mind—they were translated into several languages—and the image of 'the patriotic ascetic' which first appeared in *Ānanda Maṭh* now became more recurrent in Indian literature. To this was added a new political factor: the birth of the Indian National Congress.

The Indian National Congress

The Congress, however, had no impact on the literary life of the country till the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, what the founding fathers of the Congress did not do and never thought of doing in the initial years of its existence was to work out a policy of mass contact. The early leaders were English-educated Indians, many of whom were educated in England and were deferential to their British connection; their main demands were centred on the need for more Indians in the civil service and for more Indian representation on the Legislative Council. About the first session of the Congress in 1885, Spear writes that the seventy-member group met and they were "more concerned with insisting on their loyalty and the blessings of British rule than calling for progess and reform."[1] The literature of that time in all Indian languages had already become a

forum of expression of anger and discontent against the British rule. The loyalist phase of the Congress could hardly evoke any response from Indian writers. None of the writers of any standing associated himself with the Congress of this phase.

It is however not true, as suggested by R. Palme Dutt, that the organization was created by Lord Dufferin, "under the guidance of direct British governmental policy, on a plan secretly pre-arranged with the Viceroy, as an intended weapon for safeguarding British rule against the rising forces of popular unrest and anti-British feeling."[2] On the contrary, it was a natural outcome of the growing dissidence among the educated Indians. Sitaramayya is right in saying:

> Whatever the origin, and whoever the originator of the idea, we come to this conclusion, that the idea was in the air, that the need of such an organization was being felt, that Mr. Allan Octavian Hume took the initiative, and that it was in March 1885, when the first notice was issued convening the first Indian national union to meet at Poona in the following December, that what has been a vague idea of floating generally in the air and influencing simultaneously the thought of thoughtful Indians in the north and the south, the east and the west, assumed definite shape and became a practical programme of action.[3]

The first twenty years in the history of the Congress known as the moderate phase was a period of begging concessions from the government through petitions and speeches. It was later criticised as "mendicancy" and "annual winter conferences"—Ashvini Kumar Datta denounced the Amraoti Congress of 1897 as a 'three day tamasha'. Bankim Chandra, who hoped that the Congress would become an instrument of national unity, found it totally alienated from the masses. The Indian literature, by the time the Congress was founded, had voiced the common man's resentment against the British rule in clear terms. Vishnu Krishna Chiplunker wrote in the first essay of *Nibandhamālā* that the foreign domination "resulted in all round deterioration, politically, economically and socially.... The thesis that we are incapable of enjoying freedom and that there is no other alternative but the British rule, if we are to achieve progress, is false."[4]

Gopal Hari Deshmukh Lokhitvadi, although like many of his contemporaries regarded the British rule in India as divinely ordained, was conscious none the less of the economic exploitation of India by the British. Lokhitvadi translated Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty in India* into Marathi and advised his countrymen in one of his letters in *Śatapatre* to practice *Swadeshi* and to avoid foreign goods. And there is little doubt that there was an anticipation of the theory of economic drain in the patriotic songs written in various languages. Bankim Chandra and Bharatendu, both ambivalent in their attitude to the British rule, had created a powerful body of patriotic literature before the year 1885. Bankim declared

patriotism as the highest form of *dharma* in his work *Dharmatattva*, and Swami Vivekananda made patriotism part of his religious ideas. The political message loaded in the writings of Bankim and Vivekananda was not missed by the younger generation, who disillusioned with the Congress, later took to violence.

Between 1885 and 1910 the Indian writers functioned within an atmosphere surcharged with political ideologies and their concomitant effects. An anti-British feeling was emerging steadily but at the same time a feeling of distrust and suspicion was also seething among the Muslims in respect of the activities of the Congress in particular and the Hindu intellectuals in general. The Muslims who responded to the Congress ideology in the beginning were restrained by the policy of Sir Syed who threw his whole weight against the Congress, when it demanded elected councils and service recruitment through examinations. Sir Syed felt that elected councils would perpetuate the control of the majority, i.e. the Hindus, over-riding the interests of the minority. He feared that "the minority would ultimately take the matter into their own hands and see if they could gain by force what they were unable to obtain by constitutional means.'[5]

It was, of course, not the considered opinion of the Muslims as a whole. In 1889 Hamid Ali Khan, a Lucknow Barrister, remarked at the Bombay session of the Congress that

> We are all endeavouring to create a United India, and form ourselves into one nation, so far, at least, as our political rights and wants are concerned.[6]

The fear of the Muslims, particularly of the Aligarh faction that preferred to remain aloof from the Congress, was further deepened after a fierce riot in June-July 1893 in Ballia. The percentage of Muslim delegates at the Congress meet "which had averaged 13.5 of the total between 1885 and 1892, fell to only 7.1 between 1893 and 1905."[7]

A serious challenge to the moderate politics of the Congress came from two persons in the nineties: Aurobindo Ghose and Bal Gangadhar Tilak.[8] Aurobindo, after a brilliant academic career at Cambridge and having failed to qualify in the Indian Civil Service Examinations since he could not pass the riding test, came to India to join a teaching position at Baroda in 1893. Here he came under the influence of Thakur Saheb of Pune who instilled in him the idea of a secret revolutionary organization. Tilak had parted company with Gokhale in 1890 and realised the importance of the mobilization of the masses to strengthen the Congress. He organized the Ganesh festival from 1894 and created a new symbol of militant hero-worship by organising the Shivaji festival from 1896 and experimented with the no-revenue campaign in 1896–97. Without going into further details, suffice it to say that political issues assumed such serious

proportions that all important writers, almost without exception, felt obliged to respond to them.

The other important factor that brought all literatures written in different languages together was the Western impact. Certain literatures which had already grafted various European forms now became more conscious, partly because of political movements, of the widening gap between the older traditions and the new literary experiments. Literatures which had so far remained free from the influence of the West now came under it. Patriotism never became a constraint in accepting Western literary models. Indian writers did not fail to see how Western literature acted as a force for modernization.

II LITERARY INTERACTIONS

Persian-Sanskrit-English

One noticeable feature in the linguistic situation of India is the final decline of Persian. There were writers still writing in Persian, the language was still studied at the traditional centres of Islamic learning as well as at colleges and universities, but its area of operation had been reduced, its readers had fallen in number and it had become more or less confined to the Muslim community only.

In Sindh, however, the situation was slightly different. Jotwani's observations in this respect are pertinent:

> As for the Sindhi poetry, it now (around 1885) showed an appreciation for Persian, its images and allusions, poetic forms and metres. It is a curious fact of Sindhi literary history that uptill the conquest of Sindh by the British in 1843 Sindhi had resisted the Persian influence though Persian had been in use for six centuries there. The Sindhi poets, both Hindus and Muslims, barring a few exceptions, had used Sindhi as a vehicle of expression. . . . But with alien people ruling over Sindh, they . . . came to own Persian and its paraphernalia as a part of the common cultural heritage.[9]

The last major Indian poet to write in Persian was Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938). He started his poetic career in Urdu around 1898–99; his first publication was also in Urdu, a treatise on economics but soon after his return from England he became so much involved with works in Persian that his first collection of Urdu verse, *Bāng-i-Dira*, was published as late as in 1924.

The main reason for Iqbal's choice of Persian was not because he felt that Urdu was inadequate as a medium of poetic writing but because, as Sadiq thinks, he wanted "to secure a wider public than the one warranted by the Urdu speaking Muslims. He felt that he had a message for the Muslim world, and this, he believed could only be delivered in a language which had long enjoyed the position of the *lingua franca* in the Islamic

countries of Asia."[10] Iqbal undoubtedly had a large number of readers outside India who read Persian, but his Persian poetry could be read by few in India. The situation is comparable to some extent to the modern writings in Sanskrit. Many scholars and poets used Sanskrit as a medium of creative literature but none earned any admiration outside the Sanskrit-knowing scholarly group. While both Sanskrit and Persian acted as sources of inspiration for various literatures of India, as mediums of creative writings both have serious limitations. Persian has one advantage, and that is the reason why Iqbal wrote in it—it is a language spoken by a large number of people outside India, in the Moslem world and through it one can reach a wider audience. Indians saw that advantage in the use of English and by the end of the nineteenth century English became what Persian was at one time.

Indian writings in English have now become less imitative. Toru Dutt's *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882) published five years after her death, paved the way for Ramesh Chandra Datta who admirably condensed the two great epics of India into English. It was during this period that three noted poets emerged—Manmohan Ghose (1869–1924), Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950) and Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949). Manmohan's first collection of poems *Primavera* (1890) was produced jointly with three British poets. His another work *Love Songs and Elegies* (1898) attracted the notice of perceptive readers but his works neither derived their inspiration from Indian life or literature, nor did they have any impact on the Indian readership. Aurobindo, younger brother of Manmohan, started publishing his poems from 1890. Although he wrote a few competent poems between 1893 the year he returned from Cambridge and 1910 the year he left politics and made Pondicherry his permanent home, he was known primarily as a political activist, an able columnist and a scholarly writer. 'Urvasie', 'Love and Death' and 'Baji Prabhou', to mention three long poems written during this period, are an evidence of Aurobindo's mastery over metre, his grand diction and classical scholarship. However, he was yet to emerge as a major force in Indian literature. The first volume of poetry by Sarojini Naidu, *The Golden Threshold*, was published in 1905. In these poems, though severely criticised these days by many for 'fragile romanticism', not only has she followed the romantic trends of the contemporary British poetry but captured "Persian and Urdu poetic modes", as observed by Naik, and achieved a distinct Indian character.

The Indian-English poetry, still in its formative stage and barring a few poems of Toru Dutt, had hardly anything to claim respectability. The Indian English prose writing, on the other hand, acquired dignity and achieved some distinction. English became the language of intellectual discourse. Even those languages which had great ferment in their literary

histories suffered because of this new linguistic hierarchy. The 'literature of power' flourished in many Indian languages in this century, but the 'literature of knowledge' remained weak. Scholars and thinkers found English an useful instrument for quick communication and for reaching out to a wide public, including their political masters. The maturity and erudition, the vigour and precision that one finds in Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty of India* (1873) or *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (1901) or Ranade's *Essays in Indian Economics* (1878) or Tilak's *The Orion* (1893) matched the finest achievement in the prose of thought produced by men like Chiplunkar or Bankim Chandra. In general, the body of Indian English prose presents a very wide panorama of thought and experience. The scholarly works were confined to a small group but the speeches and writings on social, religious and political themes by men like Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, S. Subramania Iyer and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri made a tremendous impact on the English educated population. From now onwards the English language played two roles in Indian literary history: a link language between the educated population and the media of interaction between Indian languages themselves. Instead of translating a text directly from one Indian language into another, the habit of dependence upon an English translation became common. English acted both as a force of unification and as one of impediment.

Translations

Apparently there was no significant change in the state of translations except that Bengali novels had become very popular. Translations from Sanskrit still outnumbered translated works from other languages and translations from Persian were decreasing steadily, indicating the decline of its influence in Indian literary life. Perhaps Sindhi is the only language, apart from Urdu, to have a few significant translations of important Persian works in this period. These works include Nizami's *Sikandar Nāmā* (1889), *Rubāiyat-i-Umar Khayyam* (1904) and *Yūsuf-Zulaikhā* (1910).

The Sanskrit Epics and the Gītā

Among the works translated from Sanskrit, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, were the most popular. The only interesting point to note is that in this period both these epics were translated more frequently into the Dravidian languages than into the Indo-Aryan languages. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, for example, was translated several times into Kannada (1887, 1896) and into Tamil (1900, 1902, 1904, 1910) and at least once into Malayalam (1909). Translations of the full text of the epic also appeared in Gujarati (1893) and Punjabi (1895). Translations of the *Mahābhārata* followed the similar pattern. It was translated several times into Kannada (1887, 1893, and 1902) and into Tamil (1903, 1904). A Malayalam transla-

tion appeared in 1904. Among the Indo-Aryan languages it was translated into Hindi (1908), Oriya (1891) and also Urdu (1891). The *Bhāgavata* and the *Gītā* were also translated into several languages mostly to meet the demand of the Hindu readers. These texts, although inspired by the religious movements in the country, had little relation with the general literary trends of the time. The only exception can be made about the Nepali version (1892) by Chiranjivi Sharma, which is considered an important literary work as well. Several translations of the *Gītā*, such as *Śrī Pākavat Kītai* (Tamil, 1889) by Srinivasa Tatachariyar, *Bhāgavad Gītāno Samaślokī Anuvād* (Gujarati, 1910) by Kavi Nanalal, *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā* (Bengali, 1905) by Satyendranath Thakur, and *Gītā* (Rajasthani, 1900) by Ramkarana Asopa enjoyed popularity and critical attention to some extent.

Popularity of Kalidasa

Of all Sanskrit writers Kalidasa enjoyed the greatest popularity[11] among translators. *Śakuntalā* was the most frequently translated work from Sanskrit. Pratapnarayan Mishra translated it into Hindi (1886), T. B. Dikshita into Kannada (1894), Venkataraya Shastri into Telugu (1896), Mirza Qalich Beg into Sindhi (1896), Harihar Rath into Oriya (1898), Charan Singh into Punjabi (1900), Balavantaray K. Thakor into Gujarati (1906) and Maraimalai Adigal into Tamil (1907). Translations of *Kumāra Sambhava* and *Meghadūtam* were also quite frequent. Among the translations of *Meghadūtam*, Balacharya Gopalacharaya Sakkari's versions into Kannada (1892), A. R. Rajaraja Varma's version into Malayalam (1895), Kumaraswamy Pillai's Tamil rendering (1897), the Gujarati version (1898) by Shivalal Dhaneshvara, Jagmohan Singh Thakur's Hindi version (1887) and Satyendranath Thakur's Bengali version (1891) are noteworthy. It is interesting that Satyendranath's elder brother Dvijendranath also translated this work in 1860. Among the translators of *Kumārasambhava* were the famous Malayalam poet A. R. Rajaraja Varma who translated the epic in 1898 and Mahadeva Ramachandra Kulkarni who translated it into Kannada in 1900. The epic *Raghuvaṃśam* did not attract many talented translators. It was partly translated by Keshavsut in 1885, although Ganesh Sastri Lele had published a complete translation of the poem in Marathi only two years earlier. The work, however, was available in translation in most of the languages.

Other Classical Authors

Among the translators of Bhavabhuti, another popular author in the nineteenth century, are Dhondo Narasimha (Kannada, 1892), Chattukkutti Mannadiyar (Malayalam, 1892), Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi (Gujarati, 1892), Madhusudan Rao (Oriya, 1907), and Malladi Suryanarayan Shastri (Telugu, 1908). All of them translated *Uttararāma Carita*. *Mālatī Mādhava*

was translated by Korada Ramachandra Shastri (Telugu, 1896), himself a poet in Sanskrit and a follower of Chinnaya Suri; Kottarattil Sankunni (Malayalam 1898) of *Aitihya Mālā*[12] fame, and Shrikantha Sharma (Kannada, 1906). Jyotirindranath Thakur translated *Mālatī Mādhava, Śakuntalā* and *Mahāvīracarita* into Bengali around 1900. *Mṛcchakaṭikam* and *Mudrārākṣasa* were also very popular plays. The former was translated into Telugu (1891) by V. Vasudeva Shastri, the first man to translate an English play into Telugu (which happens to be *Julius Caesar* in 1876); into Tamil (1897) by Natesha Shastri, into Marathi (1889) by Govind Ballal Deval, a fine actor and a dramatist,[13] and into Bengali (1901) by Jyotirindranath. The latter was translated by Keshav Harshad Dhruv, a meticulous scholar and translator of many Sanskrit poems and plays, into Gujarati (1889); by Natuvattu Mohan Nampuri and Parameshvara Menon into Malayalam (1893); by Jyotirindranath into Bengali (1900); by the famous Tirupati Venkateshvara Kavulu into Telugu (1908), and by Mrityunjay Rath into Oriya (1910).

Popularity of Kādambari

Bana's *Kādambarī* was translated several times during this period. Among the important translations are *Kātamparī* (Tamil, 1887) by Satagopacharulu; *Kādambarī Kathā* (Kannada, 1899) by G. Y. Krishnacharya; *Kādambarī Kathāsāra* (Hindi, 1900) by Nandalal Sharma; *Kannaḍa Vacana Kādambarī* (Kannada, 1901) by S. G. Narasimhachar; and *Abhinava Kādambarī* (Kannada 1903), a verse translation by Siddhanti Shivashankara Shastri. Mention must be made of *Śāpa sambram*, a dramatic rendering of *Kādambarī*, into Marathi by Govind Ballal Deval. "Of all Deval's dramas," writes Bhate, "this is the most ennobling drama with its high-flown ornamental and slightly Sanskritized language befitting the super-human hero and heroine of the drama."[14]

Some Learned Works

Among various other translations three works, though none of them a literary text, deserve special mention. They are *Manu Saṃhitā* translated into Oriya in 1892 under the patronage of the Raja of Talcher; *Ṛg Veda* translated into Bengali in 1893 by Ramesh Chandra Datta and Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* translated into Hindi in 1907 under the title *Kauṭalya Kuṭhāra* by Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi.

Motivations of Translations

All these translations mentioned above and also the numerous others listed in the chronology were done for different motivations, but they all clearly indicate the Indian writers' attraction for and their anxiety to maintain a close relation with Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular.

These translations brought the world of Sanskrit literature closer to the reading public, and it is worth-noting that despite the change in taste due to its exposure to English literature, Sanskrit authors, particularly Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti and Shudraka, maintained their positions of respectability. The easy availability of Sanskrit texts in translations, though most of them were forgotten within a decade, made the reading public aware of the existence of an ancient literature, which had acted as a source of literary inspiration and critical standards for many centuries. Mainly, if not entirely, because of these translations the critics were obliged to interpret and evaluate Sanskrit texts for contemporary readers. The translators themselves wrote prefaces to their works, most of them informative in nature, but some penetrating too. These works, therefore, played an important role in the growth of literary criticism in various languages. But the more important role played by translations and adaptations from Sanskrit was that of sustaining the literary taste rather than creating a new one.

Translation of Shakespeare

As we noticed in the previous section, Shakespeare is the most widely translated author in Indian languages. *The Merchant of Venice*, the most popular of Shakespearean plays in India, was translated into Malayalam, (*Porsyā Svayamvaram*, 1888), (*Venisile Vyāpāri*, 1902), Kannada (*Pāñcālī Pariṇayam*, 1890), Hindi (*Venis Kā Vyapārī*, 1896), Sindhi (*Husna dildar*, 1897), Urdu (*Venis Kā Saudāgar*, 1898), Tamil (*Veṉis Varttakaṉ*, 1904) and Telugu (*Vaṇikpura Vartakodantam*, 1906). *The Comedy of Errors*, which was almost as popular as *The Merchant of Venice*, was translated into Assamese and Urdu under the title *Bhrama Raṅga* (1888) and *Bhul Bhuliyān* (1896) respectively. *Othello* was translated and recreated in different languages. Govind Ballal Deval's Marathi rendering under the title *Zunzār rāv* (1890) was one of the most popular and successful translations. Munshi Jvala Prasad translated it into Urdu in 1893, and Basappa Shastri into Kannada two years later. That very year Munshi Ahmad Husain Khan adapted it in Urdu under the title *Ja'far*. In 1902 A. Madhavaiya, author of several works in English and Tamil, translated the play into Tamil prose. It was translated into Telugu first by Chillarige Shrinivasa Rao in 1909 and then by Kondiparti Virabhadra Charyulu in 1910.

The Bengali playwright Girish Chandra Ghosh translated *Macbeth* in 1893; C. S. R. Krishna Rao and M. L. Shrikanthasesa Gauda translated it separately in 1895 under the titles *Mākbēṭu* and *Pratāpa Rudradeva* respectively. Shivaram Mahadev Paranjpe, a professor of Sanskrit in the Maharastra College (Bhave's College), and editor of the periodical *Kāḷ*, translated the play under the title *Manajirāv* (1898); and V. Vishvanath Pillai rendered it into Tamil in 1906. Mirza Qalich Beg translated several

plays of Shakespeare into Sindhi and Indianized them according to the demand of the stage. *Shah Elia* (*King Lear*, 1900), *Shamshad Marjana* (*Cymbeline*, 1908), *Aziz Ain Sharif* (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1909) and *Gulzar ain Gulnar* (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1909) are some of his translations (or transcreations) that became popular at one time. What Mirza Qalich Beg did for Sindhi, Khanderav Bhikaji Belsare did for Marathi in his *Tufān* (*Tempest*, 1904) and *Premācā Kaḷas* (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1908). Vishnu Moreshvar Mahajani (1851–1923), a contemporary of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar and a reputed educationist, adapted at least three plays of Shakespeare, *Vallabhānunaya* (*All's Well That Ends Well*, 1887), *Mohavilasit* (*The Winter's Tale*) and *Tārā* (*Cymbeline*, 1888), the most well known of all. Among the Hindi translators Gopinath Purohit did *Manbhāvan* (*As You Like It*, 1896) and *Prem Līlā* (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1897). *As You Like It* was translated into Assamese by Durgeshvar Sharma under the title *Candrāvalī* (1910). Adaptations of Shakespeare were also popular on the Bengali stage but most of them are now forgotten. These examples are enough to show the steady popularity of Shakespeare in different language areas. It is curious to find that *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream* was translated into Sanskrit by Kerura Vasudevacharya in 1905 under the title *Vasanta Yāminī Svapna Camatkāra Nāṭakavu*.

Other European Authors

Barring Shakespeare very little of English literature was available in Indian languages. Sadhu Hiranand translated Walter Scott's *Talisman* into Sindhi in 1891, which was followed by an Urdu translation in 1905 and a Tamil translation in 1910. K. Venkata Shastri translated *Ivanhoe* into Telugu that year. There were some translations of English poems into Urdu by Nazm Tabatabai, Nadir Kakorvi and Sarur Jahanabadi. Nazm's translation of Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (1897) is considered a classic in Urdu.[15] Keshavsut was one of the important translators of this period. He translated mostly English lyrics, including three sonnets of Shakespeare, Thomas Hood's 'The Death-bed', Poe's 'Dream within a Dream', Emerson's 'The Apology'. He also adapted Longfellow's 'The Old Clock on the Stairs' and Poe's 'Raven'. These translations of uneven quality reveal, as Machwe observes, "the catholicity of his mind", and what is more important perhaps is that they initiated certain new trends in Marathi literature. "What he did out of love or as a hobby." writes Machwe, "was later imitated and became a fashion and even a rage."[16] It is rather difficult to find any pattern in these translations. They were done either at the instance of some enthusiastic publishers looking for something new or exciting or in some cases by the authors selecting works haphazardly. For example, there was a translation of the *Iliad* in Gujarati in 1888 but it was not followed by any translation of the *Odyssey* in that language. The *Odyssey*, however, was available in Kannada in 1897. Kandukuri Viresa-

lingam introduced Sheridan to the Telugu readers in 1886 through *Rāgamañjari*, an adaptation of *Duenna*, which was followed by *Kalyāṇa Kalpavalli* (1894), a translation of *The Rivals*. And most probably this encouraged Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar, the able follower of Tilak, to translate the play into Marathi under the title *Navardevācī* (1898). But such continuation and connections are rather rare. The translations of European literature did not follow any plan. One finds Ratan Nath Sarshar translating *Don Quixote* into Urdu (*Khudai Faujdār*, 1894), or M. R. Annaji Raya rendering Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* into Kannada (*Śaraṇāgata*, 1905) or Shivaram Mahadev Paranjape translating Adison's *Cato* (*Rāmadevarāv*, 1906) into Marathi, or Jyotirindranath translating French authors like Piere Loti, Andre Shefrion or Victor Cuzain and Rabindranath rendering Heine's poems into Bengali.

These activities, interesting and laudable though they were, did not initiate any viable trend either in their own literature or in the neighbouring literatures. The English-educated reader everywhere in India read English literature avidly in the original and did not care for the translations. The clientele of translations limited to the group with little knowledge of English, took interest only in exciting stories, and did not respond to the foreignness of the characters and situations. Adaptations were, therefore, better received than translations. but most of them were so thoroughly Indianized that they hardly retained any flavour of the original. Jyotirindranath Thakur's *Pharāsī Prasūn* (1904), a collection of short-stories and poems translated from French into Bengali was a departure from the established norms but it was never as popular as his adaptations of Molière. Translations from English and other European languages, with a few exceptions of dramatic works, satisfied the growing demand of readers for fresh themes but hardly made a direct impact on any Indian literature.

From One Modern Indian Language to Another

In this context translations from one Indian language into another appear more significant. We have noticed before that such translations were rare and often done more for pedagogical expediency than for any literary reason. Soon after the emergence of the novel in Bengali and with the spread of the Brahmo Samaj movement in different parts of the country which made many Bengali intellectuals known outside their linguistic area, Bengali literature was often seen as a source of inspiration by many writers in India. This encouraged many writers to translate Bengali novels in particular into their languages.

Popularity of Bankim Chandra

Bankim Chandra's *Biṣabṛkṣa* was translated into English in 1884 by Mariam S. Knight with a preface by Edwin Arnold. His *Durgeśnandinī*, we have mentioned, was translated into Hindi in 1883 and Kannada in 1885.[17]

Between 1885 and 1910 Bankim Chandra was translated extensively into many languages, but none surpassed the Kannada translation. B. Venkatacharya[18] translated almost all the novels of Bankim during this period. So popular was Venkatacharya because of his translations of Bankim that many readers thought them to be his original works. Kerur Vasudevacharya wrote in the preface to his novel *Indirā* (1908) that he was inspired by the works of Venkatacharya, though Venkatacharya did not write any novel. A. R. Krishna Shastri dedicated his famous Kannada work *Bankim Candra* (1960) to Venkatacharya with the words *Kannada madale kādambarikār* (the first Kannada novelist). This is the reason why Balu Rao calls Bankim 'the first Kannada novelist.'[19] Narayan Hemchandra translated *Durgeśnandinī* in 1895 and *Kṛṣṇakānter Uil* next year; translations into Telugu, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Malayalam and Marathi were also quite frequent. It is interesting to note that no translation of Bankim is available either in Oriya or in Assamese during this period. The reason is that the bulk of the reading public in both these language-areas was bilingual; the majority had a reading knowledge of Bengali. Similarly, in the Punjabi and Sindhi speaking areas Bankim reached out mainly through the Urdu and the Hindi translations. Most of these translators were quite well known in their language areas and some of them were writers of repute. The Marathi translators of Bankim, for example, include Jagannath Dhondo Bhangale, who translated both *Kṛṣṇakānter Uil* and *Ānandamath*; Kashinath Hari Modak, a close friend of Hari Narayan Apte, who translated several novels of Bankim and also *Meghanādbadh Kābya* of Michael Madhusudan Datta; and the dramatist Narayan Ram Chandra Gokhale. Among the Gujarati translators, apart from Narayan Hemchandra, Thakker Narayan Visanji (1884–1938), author of a large number of novels, was one of the first to introduce Bengali literature to Gujarati readers. The first writer to translate Bankim into Malayalam was C. S. Subramanian Potti.[20] When V. Krishnan Tampi translated *Kapālkuṇḍalā*, its foreward was written by A. R. Rajaraja Varma. Although K. M. George observes that the Western influence on Malayalam was direct and did not infiltrate through Bengali as it did in the case of several other languages,[21] it appears quite clearly that Bankim did make an impact on Malayalam. It is not a question of Bankim Chandra's influence on different Indian literatures or his role as a channel of Western influence—though both the questions are worth investigating—the point is that Bankim Chandra gave the Indian writer a sense of pride. In his works both the Indian writer and the reader found a world of abiding beauty.[22]

The Integrating Role of Translations

The multilingual climate of Sindh encouraged the Sindhi writers to translate from Persian, Urdu and Hindi. During this period at least four important texts—*Cār Darveś* (1890), *Gul Bakāvalī* (1890), *Khubsuratbalā* (1907),

Bilva Maṅgal (1908) were translated into Sindhi from Urdu. These texts filled the gap in Sindhi narrative literature which was still in its formative stage compared to Urdu. Similarly, *Viveka Vijay* was translated into Kannada from Telugu, not necessarily from any sense of inadequacy of Kannada literature, but to introduce a narrative work of a great contemporary, Viresalingam. Several novels of Viresalingam, such as *Dayāmati* and *Candramati*, and his play *Kalaha Priyā Prahasanam* were translated into Kannada for this very reason. The translations from one Indian language into another, therefore, played a more crucial role in the development of Indian literatures than those from English and Sanskrit, as they brought different linguistic regions closer to one another and helped the writers in one language know about literary experiments in other languages of the country. Vatsyayan's claim that "Hindi assimilated the influences of the renaissance in Bengal directly and through translations,"[23] may by disputed but what is empirically valid is the role of Hindi as a via media for the propagation of Bengali literature to start with, and eventually for other Indian literatures. Most of the translations in this period from one Indian language into the other were done mainly from the original, but in few cases from English translations. Later, Hindi became a gateway, as it were, for texts to travel from one region to another. The greatest singular contribution of translators in Indian languages was the creation of an awareness of the variety and richness of Indian literature itself. *Fatih-e-Bangalāh* (1890), the Urdu translation of Ramesh Chandra Datta's Bengali novel *Baṅga Bijetā*; *Budhe Muhan Muhanse Log Dekhen Tamase* (1894), the Hindi version of Michael Madhusudan's Bengali farce; *Jñānbhaṅga Taraṅginī* (1903), the Nepali rendering of Michael's farce, *Sarojinī* (1901), the Marathi translation of Jyotirindranath Thakur's play with the same title; *Hī Rāmācī Ayodhyā* (1908), also a Marathi translation of Chandi Charan Sen's historical work *Ayodhyār Begam* from Bengali; *Candrāvali* (1895), the Gujarati translation of Bharatendu's Hindi play; *Karṇāṭaka Subhadrā Vijayanāṭakam* (1906), the Kannada adaptation of Annasaheb Kirloskar's famous Marathi play; *Nabaratnamālā* (1907), the Bengali translations of Tukaram's *Abhaṅgas*—Rabindranath was one of the translators included in the volume—*Samālocanā* (1897) and *Nibandha Mālā* (1898), the Hindi translations of Chipulankar's essays in Marathi; *Kalāvatī* (1909), the Telugu translation of a Malayalam novel, are a few notable examples of works contributing towards the growth of this new awareness. Translations from Sanskrit, Persian, English and other European languages and also from different modern Indian languages represent three trends of contemporary life: an affirmation of the continuity of literary traditions, response to the West, and a pride and interest in the creative experiments in our own language. Most of these translations, therefore, are intimately related to the spirit of the main stream of literary activity.

Changes in Manipuri

A few languages remained outside the pale of Western influence till the last decade of the century. Manipuri was one of them. With the change in the political fortune of Manipur, however, its language and literature also began to feel the pressure of a foreign power. Manipuri provides a fine example of the meta-phanic situation, where one notices as it were the re-enactment of the stages through which many Indian literatures had already passed.

With the change in political situation, with the introduction of the printing press and the spread of English education emerged a new readership and there was a break with the earlier literary traditions. The conquest of Manipur by the British in April 1891 was a turning point in the cultural history of North East India. It was the culmination of a series of incidents beginning with the palace revolution one year ago, followed by the strong resistance against the British army from Tikendrajit, who was defeated and hanged in August. One year before the British occupation of Manipur, *lallup* was abolished. It was a kind of tax paid only in services, not in cash or kind or in any other form. "Under this peculiar system of *lallup*, even the poets and writers had to work in the court of the kings to contribute their literary works as the general property of the state . . . almost all the books prior to the 18th century were undated and anonymous."[24] The abolition of *lallup*, therefore, was a significant event in the literary life of Manipur; the writers entered a new era of freedom. A greater impact of modernization was felt between 1890 and 1910 when the printing press was introduced in Manipur.

A group of new writers appeared in the language, the most distinguished of whom was Haodijam Chaitanya (1870–1930). A fine scholar of Bengali, Hindi and English, Chaitanya took great pains with collecting old Manipuri manuscripts written in Meitei script, wrote several historical works on Manipur, including *Manipur Itihās* (1890) a history of Manipur, *Khahi ngamba* (1900), an account of the expedition of Maharaja Garibniwas to assist the British Government in the Khasia revolt of 1829, *Takhelngamba* (1902), conquest of the Tripuris, and a prose narrative *Khamba Thoibigi Warini* (1899) based on the lovely legend of Khamba and Thoibi.[25]

Most of the Manipuri writers had a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Bengali. With the introduction of English education, a small but influential reading public with a new literary taste grew in the urban centres and certain signs of deviation from the age old traditions became noticeable. The first stage of the growth of a new literature as distinct from traditional literature is conspicuous by translations rather than by original writings.[26] Early translations into Manipuri were almost invariably from Bengali,

which by now had become a channel of Western influence for some of the Indian languages.

The Continued Struggle of Konkani

While the transition of Manipuri from traditional to modern literature was quick and smooth, Konkani in Western India had to struggle hard to retain its linguistic and literary identity. "The glimmerings of the dawn of a new age of creative literature," writes SarDessai, "are visible with the publication of *Udentechem Sallok* (The Blossoming Lotus) in 1899 by Eduards Jose Bruno de Souza (1836–1905)."[27] In an editorial of this first Konkani journal, Bruno de Souza declared: "as on a lake limpid like a mirror blooms a beautiful lotus and spreads its fragrance around, so does this Blossoming Lotus rise amidst our people."[28]

Bruno de Souza wrote an epic peom *Eva ani Mori* (Eve and Mary, 1899), retelling the story of Man's fall from heaven and his salvation through Mary's son. The following words from the preface to this work testify to his great zeal for the uplift of the status of Konkani: "The reader will come to know, even in the deplorable state she (i.e. the Konkani language) is in, our language is capable of singing the sublime mysteries of our holy religion in the metre of great Camoens."[29]

The state of the Konkani language, however, remained unaltered despite the dedication of scholars like Bruno de Souza. Not only did it suffer because of the linguistic policy of the Portuguese government but also because of its status as a language in relation to Marathi. Konkani used to be written in Kannada script by a large number of Konkani speaker settled in and around Mangalore. Bruno de Souza, however, advocated the use of the Roman script for Konkani as was the practice with the Portuguese missionaries. Like the script, the literature also flowed in two distinct streams, one nurtured by the Christian community and the other by the Hindu writers among whom the best known were Sahajananda (1850–1911) and Narayan Tirtha (1820–1900), the author of *Mana Indriyalem Caritra* (A Treatise on Mind and Senses), a prose allegory. Bruno de Souza was the first to write a novel[30] in Konkani in 1911, but till then Konkani had not produced many literary works. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Konkani stage emerged with a popular form of play, known as *tiatr*, which later acquired a distinct dramatic form. It was, however, founded not in Goa but in Bombay by Lucas Rebero, helped by Caetano Fernandes and Joao Agostinho Fernandes. With the establishment of democracy in Portugal in 1910 Goa felt some changes in her social life, particularly in respect of the official attitude towards Indian religion and languages promising a better hope for Konkani.

Eclipse of Dogri

While Konkani was struggling to find a place of honour, Dogri which had already made a place for itself suddenly suffered a set-back because of the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1885. The infra-structure for the production of Dogri literature crumbled with the replacement of Dogri by Urdu in schools and government offices at the hands of his successor. There was also a dominance of Punjabi in certain areas. Interestingly, there were more literary activities in Punjabi than in Dogri in the Dogri-speaking areas. Mohammad Bakhs and Das Mal wrote several *kissās*, and Gosain Chand translated the *Gītā* into Punjabi. Several poets wrote in more than one language: Mehta Mathura Das (1858–1926), for example, a government official, wrote in Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and Dogri fluently. His Dogri poems, Shivnath writes, "are didactic in tone, speak of the achievements of Dogra rule and martial exploits of Dogra soldiers, show concern for society and preach a philosophic attitude towards life. . . ."[31] Ramprapanna Shastri (1859–1937) and Sant Ram Shastri (1860–1945) wrote in both Sanskrit and Dogri, while Lal Ram Dhan (1853–1912), a goldsmith and a kite-maker, wrote in Braj, Punjabi and Dogri. The multilingual situation of Duggar is amply reflected in the multilingual literature of the people.

Fluctuations in the Fortune of Kashmiri

Like Dogri, Kashmiri too, had a set-back with the change of the court language from Kashmiri to Urdu. This affected the status of Kashmiri, and it took a long time to repair the damage caused by the readjustment in the linguistic life of Kashmir. T. N. Kaul describes the situation in the following words:

> The middle class began to acquire a working knowledge of Urdu and the newly introduced English language (The first college in Kashmir was established in 1905). Kashmiri language, which had until then received inspiration from Persian, was again thrown into the backyard. This trend lasted right up to the thirties of the present century when Mahjur, Zinda Kaul and Azad ushered in a new era in the history of the state and pulled Kashmiri out of the stupor into which it had relapsed. In those days it was thought below one's dignity to speak Kashmiri even at home.[32]

The contact with Urdu resulted in some translations. Kafi Shah (d. 1921) translated the Urdu masnavi *Bahram Gaur*, and Abdul Ahad Fariq (b. 1870) Hali's musaddas into Kashmiri. It should not be assumed, however, that the dearth of original works in Kashmiri in this period was entirely because of Urdu hegemony. There was a lull in creativity. Parmananda died in 1879 and Prakash Ram in 1885. Krishna Razdan was the only poet ploughing a lonely furrow in devotional poetry. The same was the case with ghazal after the mellifluous voice of Rasul Mir had

faded. Among the mentionable works produced during this period were the *Razmia masnavis* (the masnavis of combat) such as *Jangī Khāwar*[33] by Amir Shah Kreri (b. 1838), *Jangī Khaiber* by Mahdi Trali (b. 1911) and *Jangnāmi Amīr Hamzā* and *Akbar Nāmā* by Ghulam Mohammad Hanfi. But there was hardly any sign of any significant change in Kashmiri poetry.

The Kashmiri prose emerged during this period. The Rev. T. Russel Wade, a member of the Church Missionary Society translated the New Testament under the title *No'v Ahadnāmā* in 1884 which was published in the Persian script from the Punjab Bible Society.[34] But it had little impact on the literary life of Kashmir. It took a couple of decades for the Kashmiri prose to emerge fully as an effective medium of literary expression.

The Maithili Situation

Maithili presents a slightly different picture mainly because of the impact of journalism. Suman has described this period as "the gate-way of a new age" in the history of Maithili as it saw the culmination of the traditional trends on the one hand and the beginnings of the new on the other. This has been often described as the age of Chanda Jha whose *Mithilā Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa* (1898) is the most celebrated work of this period and the finest achievement of the indigenous literary tradition. The signs of change began to appear first in the periodicals. *Maithila Hita Sādhana* (1905), the first monthly journal in Maithili which continued for three years only, made a deep impact on the reading public. The second journal *Mithilā Moda* (1906), edited by Muralidhar Jha from Banaras, had a wider impact and gave a much needed incentive to the development of prose literature in Mithila. Two years later under the patronage of the scholarly king of Darbhanga, appeared *Mithilā Mihira*, the most influential journal in the language. The first Maithili journal, though short-lived, created an awareness among Maithili speakers, scattered outside Mithila, about the literary aspirations and achievements of the people. Banaras acted as one of the nerve centres for the propagation of Maithili. Maithili printing had its beginnings at Banaras. The growth of modern Maithili was partly restrained by the bilingualism of the people of Mithila who, despite their love and pride for Maithili, were obliged to pay greater attention to the newly standardized Hindi which by the end of the nineteenth century emerged as the most powerful speech of northern India. The educated section of Mithila learnt standard Hindi and many of them wrote in it.

The Story of Rajasthani

The Rajasthani situation was to a great extent similar to that of Maithili. Udayraj Ujal's (1885–1967) verse on the relationship between Hindi and Rajasthani reflects the Rajasthani attitude—one of adjustment and inter-

dependence—to this linguistic situation. "Let Hindi and Maru Bhāṣā (i.e. Rajasthani) both grow in glory,one as the language of the country (i.e. India) and the other as the language of my own state."[35] Such an attitude—it was probably shared by the Maithili speaker as well—towards Hindi created a congenial atmosphere free from linguistic tensions. But it also reflects the acceptance of the dominance of one language on the other. That 'one language', however, was Hindi, the potential 'national language'.

The Rajasthani literature did not show any remarkable change in this period, though it did not remain stagnant. Barhat Shivabakhs (1844–1899), a court-poet of Maharaja Mangol Singh of Alwar, wrote *Ṣaṭṛtu Jhamāla*, a competent poem displaying his rhetorical skill. Kesari Singh Barhat (1871–1941), although belonging to the same tradition of poetry, responded sharply to political changes. His *Cetāvaṇī rā cuṇgatyā*, a poem of thirteen couplets written in a traditional metre, was addressed to Maharaja Fate Singh of Mewar requesting him not to attend the Delhi Durbar in 1903. This is a poem that links the Rajasthani bardic tradition, eulogising the glory of the region, with patriotic literature emerging in most of the languages about that time. The poems of Barhat, or of Umardan Laldas (1851–1903) and Modji Asia (b. 1861), show an unmistakable influence of the Sanskrit tradition, which was still quite strong in areas not affected by English education. The change in Rajasthani came more through its contact with other Indian literatures, Gujarati and Marathi in particular.

Shivachandra Bharatiya (1853–1918), author of *Kanak Sundarī* (1903), the first novel in Rajasthani, was a writer in many languages, Hindi, Marathi, Sanskrit and Rajasthani.[36] He calls his novel, 'naval kathā', which is the Gujarati term for the novel. He also wrote the first short story in Rajasthani, *Viśrānt Pravāsī* (1904) published in *Vaiśyopakārak*, a Calcutta-based journal, and a play *Kesar vilās* (1900). In all probability his knowledge of some other Indian literatures acted as an impetus to his creative work. Some of his plays, such *Baḍā Bāzār* (1905) and *Buḍhāpā Kī Sāgai* (1906), are thematically very close to the farces exposing social evils that started appearing since the seventh decade in some languages. He introduced new themes as well as new forms in Rajasthani literature which, compared to literatures in the neighbouring areas, was under the strong grip of the Sanskritic and folk traditions.

Activities in Nepali

Another literature which was passing through a phase similar to both Maithili and Rajasthani was Nepali. The difference in their situations was however obvious, as the majority of the Nepali-speaking people were outside India. Nevertheless, it was not Kathmandu but Banaras which was the main centre of Nepali literary activity for a long time. Not only

was it here that printing in Nepali was introduced but some of the greatest poets and scholars lived and worked in this holy city. Motiram Bhatt, a close associate of the great poet Bhanubhakta and the great Hindi writer Bharatendu Harischandra, collected the manuscript of Bhanubhakta's *Rāmāyaṇa* and printed it in Banaras in 1887 for the first time and only later did he print the subsequent editions from his own Pashupati Press in Kathmandu.

The first signs of change in the predictable patterns of Nepali literary activities appeared mainly through the intervention of printing and later through magazines and journals which introduced new themes and genres. Sadashiva Sharma brought out a monthly magazine *Upanyās Taraṅgiṇī* from Banaras in 1902 with the sole purpose of publishing novels. *Gorkhā patra* (1901), a weekly from Nepal, also encouraged the publications of short stories and novels; and both these magazines made a great impact on the Nepali reading public. Sadashiva, who knew Devakinandan Khatri, the popular Hindi writer of detective and the mystery novels, translated at least two novels of Khatri into Nepali during 1899 and 1901.[37] He as well as Girisballabh Joshi (1867–1923), another popular Nepali writer of the period, were greatly influenced by Khatri. Sadashiva's novel *Mahendra prabhā* began to be serialised in *Upanyās Taraṅgiṇī* from 1902, but Girisballabh Joshi's *Vīrcaritra*, we are informed, was completed in 1896, though its first part was printed in 1903.[38]

It is interesting to note that there was a gentle rivalry between the Nepali scholars based at Banaras and those at Darjeeling, which was slowly emerging as another important centre of Nepali literary activity. Ganga Prasad Pradhan (1853–1932), an Indian Christian who translated the Bible into Nepali in 1876 and several stories for children, established his own press at Darjeeling and started a monthly journal *Gorkhe Khabar Kāgat* (1901–1932), the first ever Nepali periodical, older by a few months than even *Gorkha patra*, published from Kathmandu. The scholars at Banaras found the language of Ganga Prasad substandard. Ganga Prasad in his turn criticised the Banaras-Nepali, 'Kāśī-bāṣe boli', as infested with Sanskrit. This rivalry between the two groups in respect of the standardization of style continued for a long time.

If the credit of writing the first novel in Nepali goes to the Banaras group, the credit for staging the first tragedy in prose—*Aṭal Bahādur* (1907) by Pahalmansingh Swar (1878–1934)—belongs to Darjeeling. Dambar Samsher, one of the Rana generals, founded the Royal Imperial Opera House at Kathmandu in 1893, inspired by the theatres he had witnessed in Calcutta, but he did not stage any Nepali play there. The only plays that were staged there were either in Urdu or in Hindi. One Manikman who had received training at the Parsi theatre staged *Indrasabhā*, perhaps at the Royal Imperial Opera House in 1901.[39]

The first Nepali play to be printed was *Jñānabhaṅga Taraṅgiṇī* (1903), which was a translation of the Bengali play *Ekei Ki Bale Sabhyatā?* by Michael Madhusudan Datta. Not much is known about the reception of this play, although its contents were not without relevance to the contemporary society. The real break-through in Nepali play was made by Pahalmansingh Swar, a "self-exile in India for many years." His *Aṭal Bahādur*, though it resembles *Hamlet*, is more directly related to the political intrigues of the Ranas in Nepal. The play was printed at Banaras but was banned in Nepal. However, it was staged at Darjeeling in 1909. "That was the beginning," writes Pradhan "of Nepali drama at Darjeeling."[40]

The Gorkha National Theatrical Party was founded in 1909 which gave an impetus to the dramatists to write original plays and also to translate plays from other languages. Hastalal Giri's *Kanjusko Dhan*, an adaptation from Amritlal Basu's *Kṛpaṇer Dhan* (Bengali adaptation of Molièr's *L'Avare*) was staged in 1910. This is the beginning of a fruitful encounter between Nepali and other Indian languages. There was a sudden spurt of translations from Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit and, of course, English.

Scholars and Translators

For a few languages, Tamil and Kannada in particular, the last few decades of the nineteenth century belonged more to scholars and translators than to creative writers. Surya Narayan Shastri (1870–1903), a Tamil scholar, for example, wrote *Naṭa Kaviyal*, a work on dramaturgy; *Tamilppulavar*, a history of Tamil poets; and translated a few works from Sanskrit. Similarly, Pinnattur Narayanswami Iyer (1862–1914), a fine scholar of that period wrote erudite commentaries on Sangam classics, and R. Raghava Iyenger (1870–1948) wrote several learned treatises. In Kannada, too, it was a period of translations and adaptations, learned editions and preparation of anthologies. Basavappa Shastri emerged as an eminent translator from Sanskrit and English both.

In Telugu, too, it was a phase of scholarly work and translation. But Telugu was lucky to have the services of two stalwarts, Kandukuri Viresalingam and Gurazada Vankata Appa Rao. Viresalingam, who introduced the novel in Telugu with his *Rājaśekhara Caritra* (1878), wrote two novelettes; *Satyarāja Pūrvadeśa Yātrālu* (1891) and *Satyavatī Caritra* (1883); the former a translation of parts of *Gulliver's Travels* and the latter a story for women, "to instruct them in the ideals of domestic and social life."[41] Among other important writers were Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham Pantulu (1867–1946), the most prolific and the most popular novelist in the Telugu speaking area; Vedam Venkataraya Shastri, the author of the historical romance *Pratāparudriyam* (1896); and Gurazada, the author of the play *Kanyā śulkam* (1897) and the pioneer of modern Telugu poetry. We shall speak more about these authors later. Two

translators, Venkatacharya and V. T. K. Galaganath, the former translating from Bengali and the latter from Marathi, did yeomen's service to Kannada.

Ferment in Malabar

O. Chandu Menon (1847–1899), a talented government officer, established the novel form in Malayalam almost single handed. "With the publication in 1889 of O. Chandu Menon's *Indulekha*", claims a historian, "the Malayalam literature had its first novel which not only conforms to all canons of modern fiction but deserves to be ranked, by its intrinsic worth, with the best in Malayalam."[42] He wrote another novel *Śārada* (1892), but his reputation rests firmly on his first work.

Chandu Menon's younger contemporary, C. V. Raman Pillai (1858–1922), introduced the historical novel. His famous work *Mārtaṇḍa Varmā*, published in 1891, initiated a new movement in the history of Malayalam fiction. But even a more significant break-through came in Malayalam literature through the efforts of A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1863–1918) and the triumvirate consisting of Kumaran Asan (1873–1924), Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer (1877–1949) and Vallathol Narayana Menon (1878–1958) about whom we shall speak later.

Hindi After Bharatendu

Bharatendu's death in 1885 created a void in Hindi literature. He left behind a group of talented writers who kept the movement intiated by him alive. Most of the writers belonging to the Bharatendu circle were actively engaged in journalism. Of all things their contribution to Hindi prose was most salutary. The essay in all its varieties developed at their hands. Some of them, for example, Pratap Narayan Mishra, Tota Ram, Radha Krishna Das,. wrote plays also. There were other writers at that time, who did not belong to the Bharatendu circle, but played an important role in the literary life of the country. Devakinandan Khatri, and his successor Gopal Ram Gahamari, to mention two important writers, established the novel, which was introduced by Lala Shrinivas Das with his *Parīkṣā Guru*. Devakinandan, however, did not follow the realistic strand of Lala Shrinivas, but created *tilsami* novel (narratives of miracle and enchantment) and Gahamari popularised *Jasusi* (detective) novels. The kind of conflict that the Indian stage had witnessed, a conflict between the plays dealing with contemporary life and plays thriving on spectacle and mythology, was also evident in the history of the Indian novel. Devakinandan and Gahamari had their counterparts in all languages.

A new phase in Hindi literature came towards the beginning of the twentieth century when the journal *Sarasvatī* (1903) appeared under the editorship of Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi, an erudite scholar and a nationalist.

The Bharatendu era, which initiated a Hindi movement, acquired a new momentum under the stewardship of Mahavir Prasad, himself a fine essayist and a patron of talented young writers, including Maithilisharan Gupta, who dominated the literary scene later.

The Sindhi Situation

Sindhi entered a new phase of its history mainly through the efforts of four talented writers—Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani (1844–1914), Mirza Qalich Beg (1853–1929), Dayaram Gidumal (1857–1927) and Parmanand Mewaram (1865–1938). Among these Mirza Qalich Beg is the most important figure. Ajwani describes him as "the most careful, most learned, most prolific of all Sindhi writers and [his] stamp is so clear and visible on all departments of Sindhi literature that the entire literary period in British era may be called the epoch of Qalich." Mirza Qalich Beg was a versatile writer and contributed immensely to the making of the Sindhi novel and play. Also significant was his role in the growth of Sindhi poetry and prose. In the field of essay Khilanani, Gidumal and Mewaram are remembered for their breadth of vision and extensive reading and lucidity of expression. This was the period of expansion of journalism in Sindhi. Paramanand Mewaram's monthly magazine *Jote* was particularly important in the history of the Sindhi essay. The two brothers Sadhu Hiranand and Sadhu Navalrai started *Sarasvatī* and *Sudhār Patrikā* respectively, both in 1890, the former a literary magazine of general interest and the latter a magazine printed in the Gurumukhi, devoted to the cause of women.

The meta-phanic situation of the Indian literary history can be clearly seen in the growth of the novel and the play in Sindhi during this period. Equally interesting are the changes in the world of poetry despite the continuation of the Sufistic tradition and the traditional poetic forms, both Persian and indigenous.

The Orissa Trio

Oriya literature felt a new impulse with the emergence of three writers at the same time. They are Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843–1918), Radhanath Ray (1848–1908) and Madhusudan Rao (1853–1912). Fakir Mohan, orphaned at the age of two, came of an impoverished landlord family, fought against dire poverty throughout his young age, had little formal education but through sheer brilliance and hard work educated himself and learnt several languages including English, and eventually rose to be the minister of several native states of Orissa. Although born and brought up in a traditional environment, he was modern enough to respond to the forces of social changes. He started a printing press and a journal as a private enterprise on a joint stock basis, and showed remarkable ability as an administrator.[43]

Fakir Mohan dominated the Oriya literary scene till his death in 1918. He wrote several text-books, and translated the Sanskrit epics and the Upaniṣads. Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Rao, heralded the new age of Oriya literature which culminated in the writings of Fakir Mohan. Radhanath came from a Bengali family settled in Orissa, started his career as a teacher and retired as an Inspector of Schools. He started his literary career in Bengali but soon switched to his adopted language. Around 1866 when Radhanath was working as a Deputy Inspector of Schools at Balasore where Fakir Mohan lived and worked, his former pupil Madhusudan Rao, later known as *Bhakta Kavi* (saint-poet), came as a teacher. Madhusudan was born of a traditional Hindu family of Puri, but became a member of the Brahmo Samaj. He, in the words of Mayadhar Mansingh, "was not only the finest representative of that non-conformist faith in Orissa, but was associated with all the social and religious reforms in the land."[44] The confluence of the three great minds had a tremendous impact on the life and literature of Orissa.

Radhanath created a new world in his narrative poems, which were a continuation of the tradition of *kāvyas* that reached the height of excellence in the works of Upendra Bhanja. He made innovations too in respect of both theme and spirit. What Fakir Mohan did for the Oriya novel, he did for Oriya poetry. The opulent and grandiose world of Upendra Bhanja that had cast its magic spell on the Oriya readers for nearly two centuries faced its first challenge from Radhanath.

Saintly by disposition and educationist by profession, Madhusudan Rao wrote mainly for the edification of people with the zeal of a social reformer. Like Vidyasagar of Bengal he too wrote an Oriya primer, *Varṇabodh*, a household book all over Orissa, and several other works mainly for the instruction of the young. Like Fakir Mohan and Radhanath, he, too, translated from Sanskrit, but his forte was religious lyrics. The three writers present wide panorama of experience. Radhanath's world is one of magic and enchantment, of youth and love, of passion and frustration; Madhusudan's poetry is dignified and sobre, profound and penetrating, a world of the mystic; and Fakir Mohan's world is made of the vigorous and the vital, the rude and the naked, the familiar and the real.

Assamese: The Beginning of a New Era

Lakshminath Bezbarua (1868–1938), one of the most versatile writers who inaugurated the new age in Assamese, appeared on the literary scene with the journal *Jonākī* in 1889.[45] He belonged to that band of English educated young men who were determined to introduce elements of the Western humanistic culture into the Assamese literary tradition. Calcutta was the centre of these new intellectuals and it was in that city that Bezbarua along with some of his eminent friends, C. K. Agarwalla (1867–1938)

and Hem Goswami (1872–1928), started the journal that revolutionized the literary taste of his people. In fact, one year before the publication of *Jonāki*, Bezbarua founded *Asamīyā Bhāṣā Unnati Sādhinī Sabhā*, a society for the uplift of the Assamese language which was still nursing the wounds inflicted upon it by the language policy of the government. Bezbarua came in intimate contact with several Bengali intellectuals of that time, and he married a Bengali girl, a grand daughter of Debendranath Thakur. His closeness to the Bengali literary circle gave him certain new ideas and insights, but it also made him more determined to create a new Assamese literature with a distinct identity. A group of talented Assamese students studying in Calcutta, all of them exposed to the literary achievements of Bengali but proud of their own literary heritage, joined hands for reshaping Assamese literature under the inspiring leadership of Bezbarua. In 1888 Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* was translated into Assamese under the title *Bhrama Raṅga* jointly by some of those students. This work has been regarded by the Assamese literary historians as the beginning of a trend distinct from the traditional Assamese drama.[46]

Bezbarua wrote poems and plays, essays and novels, and enriched all branches of literature. Most of his important writings were published after 1910, but before that he had established himself as a powerful satirist, a fine poet, a promising novelist, a significant playwright and certainly as the inaugurator of the short story in Assamese. In 1903 Bezbarua started another literary journal, *Banhi* (Fire), which continued for more than four decades, establishing him as the father-figure of the modern literary movement in Assam. This movement was sustained by Kamala Kanta Bhattacharya (1858–1936), a patriot poet; Bholanath Das (1858–1892), the first Assamese poet to introduce Blank Verse in the language; and Padmanath Gohain Barua and Rajani Kanta Bardoloi, the two major novelists of Assam.

The Punjabi Sikh Identity

The man who played the most dominant role in Punjabi during this period was Bhai Vir Singh (1872–1957).[47] The Assamese and Oriya writers who galvanized their literatures during this period worked in an atmosphere surcharged by a certain wounded sensibility born out of a linguistic situation where the language of the people had to struggle to gain its rightful place. The linguistic situation in Punjabi was also similarly poised. Punjabi was relegated to a lower position in preference to Urdu. But unlike the Oriyas and the Assamese, the Punjabis did not rise as one man to oppose the linguistic imposition. The Hindus and the Muslims have been using Punjabi as a language of domestic life and social intercourse for many centuries. But now they gradually opted for Hindi and Urdu respectively. It is also true that many Sikh writers opted for Hindi or Urdu or English

at a later period for reasons, both literary and non-literary. As a result Punjabi as a medium of literature slowly became more or less identified with the Sikh community in the main. Bhai Vir Singh emerged at a time when the Sikh identity was trying to exert itself and Punjabi literature became its natural medium of expression. The Singh Sabha which had come into existence in the seventies of the century was able to create a new consciousness among the Sikhs, still haunted by the spectre of the lost empire on the one hand and facing challenges from the Christian missionaries and the militant Arya Samaj movement on the other. Like Fakir Mohan, Bhai Vir Singh started his own press in Amritsar in 1892 and began publishing a series of religious tracts from next year.

Bhai Vir Singh's early life was devoted mainly to journalism and pamphleteering but at the age of twenty-six he published his first novel, *Sundrī*, which is also the first novel in Punjabi. By 1910 he wrote two more novels, one epic poem *Rānā Sūrat Singh* (1905), a play *Rājā Lakhdātā Singh* (1910) and a series of short poems most of them published in his own journal *Khālsā Samācār* and collected later in *Lehrān de Hār* (A Garland of Waves). His genius continued to blossom and he wrote several biographies and large number of poems in the mellowed years of his life. By 1910 he emerged as the ablest spokesman of the Sikh community and also the most powerful artist of the Punjabi sensibility. He shares some of the characteristics of the Hindu and Brahmo reformist writers as well as of the Muslim poet-scholars inspired by the Aligarh movement. Like the poets and novelists who preceded him in other languages he also wrote historical novels and poems to project the glory of his community and to establish the cherished ideals of the Sikhs. He enriched Punjabi literature with a new vision and a new content.

New Voices in Urdu

Like Fakir Mohan, Radhanath and Madhusudan Rao in Oriya literature, Urdu, too, had its triad—Hali, Azad and Shibli Numani, though they were ideologically always not as close as their Oriya counterparts. But like the Oriya authors they dominated the Urdu literary world throughout this period. Urdu literature had the good fortune of having the service of several talented poets and scholars, including Sir Syed who died at a ripe age in 1898. Sir Syed, who worked assiduously for the regeneration of the Indian Muslims, contributed to the modernization of Urdu by creating a group of writers. "Without being a great writer himself," writes Sadiq "he was the cause of great writing in others. The impulse he gave to literature was great, he inaugurated a new era in literature in northern India."[48] Hali, for example, bloomed into a powerful poet only after coming under the influence of Sir Syed. His most famous and most popular work,

Musaddas-e-Hālī, was written in 1879, but his *Munājāt-e-Bewa* (A Widow's Prayer, 1886). *Shakwa-e-Hind* (The Complaint to India, 1887), and *Cup Kī Dād* (In Praise of Silence, 1905) which were written during this period glow with broad humanism and profound sympathy. He remained the most respectable poet and the foremost product of the Aligarh School; he enriched Urdu literature with a biography of Sadi in 1886, a reminiscence of Ghalib in 1897, and concluded his noble career with *Hayāt-e-Jāved* (The Life of Sir Syed) published in 1901, three years after the death of his mentor.

The new faces that emerged and established themselves as powerful writers after 1885 were the novelists Abdul Halim Sharar (1860–1926) and Mirza Muhammad Hadi Rusva (1856–1931), and the poet Akbar Allahabadi (1846–1921). Sharar wrote nearly twenty-five novels, and his essays published in the journal *Dil Gudaz* started by him in 1887 consist of eight volumes. The historical novels of Sharar are intimately related with the spirit of the poems of Hali and the biographical writings of Shibli Numani, all being attempts to reconstruct the glories of Islam. Thematically, they have affinities with the novels in other languages glorifying the Hindu achievement. Rusva, however, in his choice of theme and narrative technique, comes closer to the writers concerned with the realistic portrayal of contemporary life. *Umrao Jān Ada* (1899), the justly famous novel of Rusva, is the life of a courtesan of Oudh before its annexion by the British.

The poets who dominated the Urdu literary life were Munshi Durga Sahai Sarur, a pathetic victim of alcholism, but noted for his patriotic poems; Nadir Ali Khan (d. 1912), also a patriotic poet who died rather young and of course, Muhammad Husain Azad, most of whose poems were lost during the mutiny. According to Saksena, "scant justice has been done to him [Azad] by prejudiced and carping critics," but "he is the founder of the new form of poetry which took the succeeding age by storm."[49] But undisputedly the most outstanding poet of the period was Syed Akbar Husain, better known as Akbar Allahabadi. Born in Allahabad of poor parents and denied of systematic formal education though self-taught and widely read, Akbar started composing poems from the early years of his life. He worked in various capacities—a clerk first at an Engineer's office and then at a railway goods yard, later as a copyist in the court and eventually as a small causes court judge in 1903.[50] As a young man, tells Sadiq, he was "given over to riotous living and dubious company."[51] Genial and gegargious by disposition, Akbar was known for his joviality and wit; he was receptive to new ideas, was free from bigotry though critical of the Indian tendency to ape Western manners. He started writing ghazals from 1866, but emerged as a master of the form only between 1885 and 1908. By that time his poetry had discarded the "shell of liber-

tinism" observes Saksena,[52] and acquired a new texture because of his humour and satire and finally reached a spiritual stage. As an artist he continued to develop, his vision widened with every changing phase of our political and social history. Before his death he wrote *Gāndhī Nāmā*, his response to the new leader of India and his non-cooperation movement.

The Pandit Yuga in Gujarati

The Pandit Yuga which spans from 1885 to 1915 in the history of Gujarati literature witnessed the advent of the great novelist Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi (1855–1907) who wrote in English and Sanskrit also in addition to Gujarati. His fame rests on the novel *Sarasvatī Candra*, published in four volumes between 1887 and 1901. A lawyer by profession, Govardhanram had a thorough training in Sanskrit and English which he studied at the University of Bombay. For some time he worked as the private secretary to the Dewan of Bhavnagar, and this experience went into the making of his masterpiece. He wrote poems and essays, and a memoir of his daughter who died young; studied *Yogaśāstra* and was deeply concerned with philosophical problems. His *Scrap book*,[53] a record of his stray but intimate thoughts, is an evidence of his inner tensions regarding the existential problems. He enunciated a doctrine of 'practical asceticism' anticipating Swami Vivekananda's Practical Vedanta.[54] Two things that dominated his artistic creations and thought are a Hindu view of life and patriotism that stems from catholicity of mind. His novel *Sarasvatī Candra* is comparable to Bankim Chandra's triad—*Ānanda Maṭh, Debī Caudhurānī* and *Sītārām*—in respect of its attempt at the exposition of a doctrine. But his own work was not imprisoned within a doctrinaire framework: it is a truly inspired work throbbing with life and blood. The canvas of the novel is vast, characters numerous, issues wide-ranging, and the vision all-encompassing. In view of its magnitude and encyclopaedic range, it has been aptly called a *purāṇa* by an eminent Gujarati critic.

Govardhanram influenced not only his contemporaries but also many who came after him. He certainly was the most spectacular personality in the history of modern Gujarati. But there were other eminent writers in this period who experimented with new forms and ideas. Among them were Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi (1858–1898), a poet and a play wright; Balashankar Ullasram Kantharia (1858–1898), the poet of *Klānta Kavi* fame; Kant, Manishankar Ratanji Bhatt (1867–1923), the author of several *Khaṇḍa Kāvyas*: Annada Shankar Dhruva (1869–1942), a scholar and essayist; Kalapi (1874–1900), the prince of Lathi (a native state in Saurastra) and a popular poet; and Behramji Meharwanji Malabari (1853–1912) the famous scholarly writer. The writer who emerged as the most distinguished of them all was Nanalal (1877–1946), son of Dalpatram.[55] His literary career goes beyond 1910, though even before that year he had published several col-

lections of lyrics which assured him of a permanent place in Gujarati literature. The important works of Nanalal published in this period were *Kētalāṅk Kāvya* (I, 1903; II, 1908),[56] *Rajasūtrōnī Kāvyatriputi* (I, 1903; II, 1905),[57] *Vasantotsva* (1905) and *Nhānā Nhānā rās* (I, 1910).[58] Soon after the publication of his *Vasantotsava* (The Spring Festival), Kant, himself a distinguished poet of the time, welcomed him at a public meeting by quoting a line from Nanalal's poem "Ugyō praphulla amivarṣaṇa candrarāj" (The nectar-showering radiant king Moon has risen). It is a coincidence that the poem *Vasantotsava* was published in 1898, the year Dalpatram died. As Manier puts it, the torch now passed on from the father to the son.[59]

The Marathi Situation: Apte and Keshavsut

So far as the Marathi literary scene is concerned the period belongs to Harinarayan Apte whose *Madhlī Sthitī* began to be serialised in 1885 and to Keshavasut who too appeared that very year with a translation of *Raghuvamśa* into Marathi. Besides these two writers, one must mention three popular dramatists—Govind Ballal Deval (1855–1916), Shripad Krishna Kolhatkar (1872–1934) and Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar (1872–1948). Kolhatkar, of course, was a novelist and essayist too, though later critics considered him primarily as a humorist.

Harinarayan, or Hari Bhau as he is affectionately called in Maharashtra, came from a middle-class family. He was educated first in Bombay and later at Pune where he came under the influence of three great men, Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. His formal education did not go beyond the matriculation examination and he faced great difficulty in earning a decent livelihood all his life. He differed from his uncle who became a champion of the orthodox Hinduism after a long flirtation with the reformistic ideology. Hari Bhau, a reformer at heart, had to work in an institution established by his uncle. For a considerable period of time he was estranged from his wife and other members of the family because of his dilemmas: his reformistic zeal and his dependence on his uncle. He was one of our major writers who was practically homeless, and haunted by a sense of insecurity during his best creative period.

Apte's contemporary Keshavsut, son of a poor school teacher, was educated at Pune where he too met both Tilak and Agarkar. He worked as a school master at different places in Maharashtra. In Pune he came in contact with Harinarayan Apte who became his most dependable friend. Many of his poems were first published in Harinarayan's journal *Karmaṇūk*. Not a single book of Keshavsut was published in his life time, and it was his friend Harinarayan who first collected his scattered poems and published them after his death in 1905.

Despite scanty formal education, Keshavsut acquired enough English to be able to read and enjoy English literature and also to translate Shakespeare and Dryden, Scott and Elizabeth Browning, Longfellow and Poe and Emerson. His own output is a meagre hundred and thirty-two poems, most of them short, but fresh and bright like morning flowers. To this sensitive young man goes the credit of changing the course of Marathi poetry. Despande and Rajadhyaksha sum up his achievement thus:

> Keshavsut achieved for Marathi poetry what Harinarayan Apte did for the Marathi novel: he endowed it with a truly creative power. Keshavsut's was a voice in a world of echoes—echoes of distant voices; indigenous and foreign. His apprentice work was considerably inhibited by poetic conventions. But when he found his true mode, it created a new age in Marathi poetry.[60]

The Emergence of Rabindranath

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay remained the most influential writer in the field of Bengali fiction till the end of the nineteenth century and his influence continued to persist in the twentieth century too though he died in 1894. In the field of Bengali drama Girish Chandra Ghosh was the most important figure, both as an actor and as a playwright. He was followed by Kshirodprasad Vidyavinod (1863–1927) and Dvijendralal Ray, (1863–1913) who made great impact on Hindi drama as well. Among the poets the tender and intimate Debendranath Sen (1858–1920), the stern and serious Aksay Kumar Baral (1860–1919), the robust and sensuous Gobinda Chandra Das (1855–1918) the hilarious and satirical Dvijendralal Ray (1863–1913) presented a world of great variety. The most remarkable figure of this period, however, was Rabindranath Tagore. His genius, unlike that of his predecessor Michael Madhusudan and Bankim Chandra, unfolded slowly, but in each work he wrote he broke new grounds, bringing a slow and silent revolution in metre and diction, in structure and thought pattern. He wrote poems and plays fluently, introduced the short story and experimented with the novel making significant departure from the model popularized by Bankim; produced an enormous quantity of prose on widely differing subjects and took a serious interest in the socio-political problems of the country, which brought him to the forefront of politics in 1905. His poetic world, resplendent with verbal music and beauty, distinguished by a passionate love for nature and equally intense attraction for the earthly existence, was slowly transformed into the transcendental world of mystic beauty by the beginning of the twentieth century. His mysticism derived its power from various sources: the Upaniṣads, the Indian medieval mystic poetry and the folk songs, but it was shaped by his strong denouncement of asceticism and religious formalism.

Subramania Bharati

There was no towering personality like Fakir Mohan Senapati, Harinarayan Apte or Govardhanram either in Tamil or in Kannada literature during this period. Writers such as Natesh Sastri (1859–1906), a very popular novelist, or Rajam Iyer (1872–1898), the author of the one of the early realistic novels in Tamil, *Kamalāmpāḷ Carittiram*, were the most influential, but none of them could bring about any radical change in the literary trends. The stream of poetry flowed quietly without much vigour. It was mainly traditional poetry, and *Kirtanai* in particular, of Gopal Krishna Bharati, a poet of some distinction. An era of glory, however, was ushered in during the first decade of the twentieth century with the advent of Subramania Bharati (1882–1921), the great patriot-poet who revolutionized the poetic tradition in Tamil.

The first collection of Bharati's songs, *Cuvatēca Kītaṅkal*, was published in 1908. Before that like other poets of Tamilnadu at that time, he followed the beaten tracks, wrote poems in *ula, maṭal* and other forms belonging to the medieval poetic tradition. Some of his early poems were either imitations of the erotic Tamil poems of the earlier period, or of Shelley, his favourite English poet. His poetry received a stimulus when he joined the political movement in 1905. Out of the intensity of a new experience and commitment emerged a new poetry and a new poet.

IV THE WRITER AND THE READER

Literary activities spread over as vast a geographical area as India is, and that in so many languages, would naturally present a spectacle of variety. The variety of literary forms and themes was sustained by traditions in different regions and also by 'differentness' in the socio-political conditions. If one finds the dominance of Sanskritic traditions or folk traditions in a particular region and consequently in the literature of that region, it is mainly, if not entirely, due to the continuance of the old class of readers and also because of the slow impact of Western education which was primarily responsible for the growth of a new readership. It is not fair, however, to classify the literary texts produced in the different languages at this period only in terms of presence or absence of Western influence. In certain areas, because of complexities in linguistic or socio-political situation, certain languages remained outside the pale of Western impact, some by deliberate choice and some for lack of opportunity. But differentness in literary activities was caused by the attitudes and creative power of the participants as well. The following comments of a Kashmiri scholar about the nature of Kashmiri literature of this period are very pertinent in this respect:

> . . . Very few poets after Maqbul and Wahab pursued the line adopted by them. Even the religio-social reform movements sponsored by the 'Anjuman-e-Nussat-ul-Islam' and the 'Arya Samaj' in Kashmir did not evoke any appreciable response in Kashmiri verse except for a poem or two addressed to patron saints pleading for redress. The 'Anjuman' and the 'Samaj' had respectively patronised Urdu and Hindi rather than the mother-tongue of the people in whose name they professed to speak. Similar was the attitude of the Theosophical Society (in Kashmir) which despite its eagerness to introduce Kashmiri as the medium of instruction at the primary stage, helplessly carried on its deliberations in English. Finding no access to any forum of modernity, the Kashmiri language, thus, continued to be the preserve of the traditionalist.[61]

One may differ with the conclusion of the scholar, but there is little doubt that the nature of each literature was determined entirely by the attitude and education of the writers and the readers for whom that literature was meant. In the case of Kashmiri its growth was retarded because of the dominance of Urdu and English. In the case of Konkani its growth was denied by a foreign government. For Rajasthani and Maithili constraints were also linguistic with the emergence of Khari boli.

Women Writers

The growth and development of different literatures, however, depended upon several other factors such as the growth of literacy, the spread of education in rural areas among the different sections of population. The presence or absence of these factors explains the reasons for the paucity of women writers in India. Further, they were confined only to a few languages. Almost all of them belonged to the enlightened English educated families which were the early champions of female emancipation. Svarnakumari Debi came of a wealthy Brahmo family, so did Kamini Ray (1864–1933), a poetess who wrote about her personal love and its eventual frustration. The Bengali poetesses Prasannamayi Debi (1857–1939), Girindramohini Datta (1858–1924) and Mankumari Basu (1863–1943) came from the upper stratum of society and each one of them received encouragement in literary persuits from her family. The three eminent Oriya poetesses were Suchitra Debi (1881–?), Annapurna Debi (1883–1961) and Reba Ray (1876–1957). Reba was the niece of the poet Madhusudan Rao, a Brahmo leader; and Suchitra and Annapurna both belonged to the Karan family and both had guidance from their enlightened husbands.[62]

A few women writers appeared in Assamese too around this time. Among them the notable ones are Padmavati Devi Phuknani (1853–1927), the author of the novel *Sudharmār Upākhyān* (1884) and Svarnalata Barua (1871–1931) and Trailokyeshvari Devi Baruani (1875–1954)[63]—all fortunate to be born in educated high caste families. In Western India, too, one

finds Kashibai Kanitkar, a novelist and short story writer and a co-editor of *Manorañjan* and *Nibandha Candrikā*; Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922), Lakshmibai Tilak (1873–1936) and Kashibai Herlekar (1874–1936). In the South, there was Deva Kunjari Ammal, who wrote a radical novel *Vijayalakṣmī* (1906) in Tamil. All these writers are conspicuous when viewed against the general literary scene of India. But their presence also indicates the changes in society affecting the growth of literature. Women's participation in literature was encouraged in a few families in a few cities or towns, and one can see the affinities in these families in respect of their attitude towards the status of women in society. 'Bañgamahilā' or Rajendrabala Ghosh (1882–1949), for example, belonged to a traditional family domiciled in the small town of Mirzapur and had no formal education, but she learnt to write in both Hindi and Bengali and made friendship with the young writers of her time. She was, of course, not allowed to meet the male writers but she conversed with them sitting behind a curtain.[64] In fact, friendship between men and women was not permitted by society; the relationship between Biharilal and Kadambari Debi, or between Harinarayan Apte and Kashibai Kanitkar must be treated as exceptions. By the second decade of the twentieth century women writers were no longer conspicuous in most of the Indian languages although literary activities were still dominated by men writers.

Religion and Language

Although no language is an exclusive preserve of a particular group, certain languages have been slowly identified with particular religious groups. The majority of the writers in Urdu, Kashmiri and Sindhi were Muslims though those languages were not exclusively confined to that religious community. One should only remember writers like Master Ramchandra (a Christian), Munshi Durga Sahai Sarur, Lala Sri Ram, author of the famous *Khum Khāna-i-Jāweed* (I, 1906; II, 1910; III, 1915 and IV, 1926), a history of Urdu poetry; Jwala Prasad Barq (1863–1911), translator of Bankim Chandra and Shakespeare into Urdu, Ratannath Dar, Sarshar, the author of *Fasāna-i-Āzād* or Prem Chand to realise the baselessness of such perceptions. However, it would be wrong not to accept the fact that Urdu was slowly becoming a symbol of the Muslim identity mainly because of the communalization of politics and of language problems. There is no doubt that many Muslims in Sind and Kashmir wrote in their mother-tongues in preference to Urdu, but it is also true that in many areas there was a positive discouragement to the use of the mother-tongue by the Muslims. That might be one of the reasons why Muslim writers are so few outside the Urdu-Sindhi-Kashmiri belt during this period.

Among other languages, Tamil presents a very interesting picture. One finds several Muslim writers in Tamil and all of them deal with Islamic

themes. Sheikh Abdul Kadir wrote on the holy city of Mecca in the tradition of *tala purāṇa*; Ibrahim (1863–1908) wrote about the glories and achievement of Islam in the traditional poetic form, *panaikkulam*; Abdul Majid wrote the life of the prophet (*Nāyaka Veṇpa*) in a popular metre, and Cirajpak Kavirayar wrote biography of Mahammad (*Neñcil Niṟainta Napimaṇi*) which according to a critic, is "the most important Islamic work" in Tamil.[65] The Tamil scholars have always praised the literary quality of these works and have assigned an important place to them in the history of Tamil literature. But what makes these works an exclusive category is their theme, which is Islamic. But the adoption of Islamic themes does not necessarily make this body of poetry sectarian. They are as much religious as Bhakti poetry is, and in fact some of the texts which use the Islamic history and legends are also great human documents.

The most important Muslim writer in Bengali during this period was Mir Musarraf Husain, who wrote the powerful play *Jamidār Darpaṇ*, highlighting the torture of a landlord and the suffering of the peasants. Mir Musarraf Husain is more remembered today for his prose-narrative *Biṣād Sindhu* (The Sea of Sorrow) in three parts (1885–93), a poignant account of the Karabala tragedy. Another Bengali poet of this period is Kayokabad (1854–1951), the author of an epic *Mahāśmaśān* (The Great Crematorium, 1904), drawing its theme from the third battle of Panipat.

Yet the output of the Muslim writers in languages other than Urdu-Sindhi-Kashmiri was slender. This can be partly explained by the literacy rate and the economic status of the Muslims in different language areas. The illiterate peasantry which included a large number of Muslims in many areas had their own literature, which was transmitted orally. They hardly cared for a new literature that came up in the urban centres. The other factor, at least in certain parts of the country, is the educated Muslim's search for identity which created an ambivalence in him towards his mother-tongue, when it was not Urdu. Many educated Muslims thought Urdu was the most natural language for them. Nawab Abdul Latif, the founder of the Mohammedan Literary Society (1863), said before the Hunter Commission (1882) in respect of the medium of instruction for the Bengali Muslims:

> My opinion as regards Bengali is that Primary Instruction for the lower classes of the people, who are for the most part ethnically allied to the Hindoos should be in the Bengali language, purified, however, from the super-structure of Sanskritism of learned Hindoos and supplemented by the numerous words of Arabic and Persian origin. . . .
>
> For the middle and the upper classes of Mohammedans Urdoo should be recognized as the vernacular—the middle and upper classes of Mohammedans have descended from the original conquerors of Bengal, or the pious and the learned and the brave men who were attracted from Arabia, Persia, and Central Asia to the service of the Mohammedan rulers of Bengal.[66]

This is one of the reasons why Bankim Chandra considered Mir Musarraf Husain's writing in Bengali important. "The unity of the Hindus and the Muslims is essential for the real progress of Bengal," he wrote, and he thought, almost anticipating Nawab Abdul Latif, that unity could not be achieved if the "upper class Muslims" considered themselves "foreigners" and did not regard Bengali as their language.

Writers From the Lower Social Group

The communalization of literature, prompted by political expediency or by identity crisis as evidenced in the polarization of different groups, however, need not be taken as a major feature of Indian literary history. Some of the writers from different social and religious groups that emerged in this period focused on the problems crucial to their communities. But their number was small. The women writers, we have pointed out, were also few and far between, and all of them were not exactly concerned exclusively with women's problems.

There were very few writers—almost negligible—from the lower castes. Jyotiba Phule, who came from a gardener's family, did not write anything of importance in this period. He died in 1890. Only two major writers of this period who came from the under-privileged community were the Malayalam poet Kumaran Asan, who belonged to the Ezhava community and the talented Oriya poet Gangadhar Mehar (1862–1924) who was born in a weaver's family.

The Juvenile Reader

There has not been any qualitative change in readership during this phase, but certainly there was a change in its size. The growth of literacy exerted a considerable influence on the writers. In fact, the growth of 'popular' literature was intimately connected with the growth of readership. The great demand for fiction, both the novel and the short story, came from this increasing readership, a considerable number of which consisted of women. This phase of Indian literary history witnessed the growth of yet another section of readership and consequently the growth of another genre of literature.

We have noticed that many writers since the midnineteenth century wrote specially for women and their problems, and helped the growth of women readership and women's literature. During this period one notices the emergence of a new literary genre, which can be called children's literature. The rise of this literature can be traced back to the early decades of the nineteenth century. Children's literature appeared in text books and magazines such as *Digdarśan* (1818) or *Arunodai* (1840). But they were didactic and informative. One of the earliest books for children, *Asamīya Lorār Mitra* (1841) by Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, for example, was

prepared with the help of an English encyclopaedia with a view to imparting information on various subjects. Many scholars in Bengal, including Vidyasagar and Madanmohan Tarkalamkar (1811–58) wrote children's primer, and institutions such as the Vernacular Translation Society, brought out stories in translation. But very few thought of the separate existence of a children-readership for whom a separate branch of literature could flourish.

Dalpatram's poems such as 'Bhindo Bhadarvāna' and 'Andherī Nagarī', and Navalram's humorous and satirical accounts of the marriage of a kid, "Bakarī Baino Betado," marked the beginning of children literature in Gujarati. The Urdu poet Ismail Merathi (1844–1917) was, perhaps one of the very few writers who concentrated on the juvenile reader and created a standard for children literature. In 1878 a Bengali magazine *Bālak Bandhu* appeared mainly for the consumption of the young readers. Three years later Vinayak Kondadev Oka (1840–1914) brought out *Bālabodha* which marked the beginning of children's literature in Marathi. And two years later another Bengali magazine *Sakhā* (Friend) (1883) was published under the editorship of Pramada Charan Sen, a member of the Brahmo Samaj. Within one year the magazine enrolled more than a thousand subscribers. "In our wretched country few worry or have the time to think about the boys and girls" wrote Pramada Charan in the editorial of the first issue. Upendra Kishore Ray Chaudhuri (1863–1915), who later distinguished himself as one of the finest writers for children, started his apprenticeship in this pioneering magazine. It was the concern and love of the educated community for children that motivated a group of imaginative writers to address themselves exclusively to the children. The period between 1885 and 1910 saw the emergence of these writers and a new readership.

In 1885 the Tagores published a journal, *Bālak* (Boys), for which some of the talented members of the Tagore family wrote. In 1893 appeared another Bengali magazine *Sāthī* (Companion). Both Jogindranath Sarkar (1866–1937) and Upendra Kishor, the two stalwarts of children literature, wrote for this magazine. It was around this time that the Sindhi writer Kauromal Chandanmal (1845–1916) wrote *Bārāṇā Gīt* (Children's Verses) and *Bārāṇiyūn Ākhāniyūn* (Children's stories). Mirza Qalich Beg wrote a few poems for children (*Bārāṇā Sair*) in 1870 but it is quite evident that despite their artistic excellence those poems could not inspire many writers who followed him. In Oriya, too, Govinda Rath's *Kavitā Kalāp* (1886) remained an isolated attempt for a long period.

The period between 1895 and 1910, however, witnessed the flowering of children literature. Apart from Upendra Kishor, Abanindranath Thakur (1871–1951) appeared with his magic world of *Śakuntalā* (1895) and *Rāj Kāhinī* (first appeared in *Bhāratī*, 1904–08). V. G. Apte (1871–1930) started a monthly *Ānand* (1906), a land-mark in Marathi literature. In 1907 G. V.

Sitapati published his Telugu poem 'Chila Kumma Pelli' (The Parrot's Wedding) and 'Railu Baṇḍi' (The Railway Train), and Iqbal wrote several songs for children in the beginning of the century. By the first decade of the twentieth century the children literaure became a distinct stream of literature and the climate was ready for writers to aim at a new readership consting of children.

CHAPTER 12

The Varieties of Prose

I MODELS OF PROSE

Choice of Style

The steady increase in the number of periodicals in different Indian languages is a strong evidence of the establishment of prose as the most effective vehicle of communication. Every language had to pass through the same stages of development—class-room prose, journalistic prose, propagandist writings, translations from Sanskrit, Persian and English, and finally literary prose as well as discursive and analytical writings. The delay in start—as it happened in the case of a few languages—did not hinder the process of growth. But the rate of growth was quickened in these languages as they gained from the experience of other languages which provided alternative models.

The major problem that kept the writers busy even in those languages where the prose got an early start was a dilemma of style. The newspapers followed a middle course, as they had to reach out to a large number of readers, but scholars belonging to different ideological groups fought their battles zealously on the issues of style and literary models, Westernization and nativization.

To understand the intensity and gravity of the situation we take the example of Telugu from the *History of Telugu Literatue* by G. V. Sitapati who himself was connected with what he calls 'the modern Telugu movement'. In 1906 J. A. Yates, an Inspector of Schools, noted a wide difference between the language used in books and the speech of the common man. When he approached the Telugu scholars he was told that the spoken language could not be accepted for use in school or even in ordinary composition because of opposition from orthodox scholars. Among the people he consulted were G. V. Appa Rao, the famous author of *Kanyāśulkam*, and C. V. Ramamurti, one of the greatest scholars of Comparative Philosophy at that time. Ramamurti delivered a talk at the instance of J. A. Yates at the conference of teachers and *pandits* in 1909 on the origin and growth of Telugu, which "was received by the audience with a kind of fear and suspicion regarding the motives behind the speech."[1] It coincided with a significant change in the scheme of education which gave encouragement to the study of the living language.

A book called *The Greek Myths* written by Chetti Lakshmi Narasimhan

was prescribed as a text-book for schools in 1911, the language of which was considered *grāmya* (rustic). This language was used by Viresalingam in his *prahasans* and Appa Rao in his *Kanyāśulkam*. The opponents of the living Telugu movement ridiculed it as a movement sponsored by an Englishman, a Tamilian (P. T. Srinivasa Iyenger, a Tamilian, was one of the champions of the living Telugu) and two Telugu speakers (i.e. Appa Rao and Viresalingam) who could not write 'chaste' Telugu. They were the 'duṣṭacatuṣṭayam' (the gang of four). Sitapati thought that *The Greek Myths* was as offensive to the pandits, who considered it *grāmya*, as the slogan 'Vandemataram' was to the British. The orthodox school found a leader in Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu to defend the supremacy of classical Telugu. A petition was submitted to the government with thousands of signatures protesting against the book *The Greek Myth* and in 1914 the University of Madras bowed down to the classicists. The modern Telugu movement got a set back.

The situation in other languages was not so grim but the controversy between the classical style and the style closer to speech continued throughout the nineteenth century and could not be resolved easily even in the twentieth. The Sanskritization of the language was defended on grounds of stylistic dignity and grace, but often it was a blind adherence to the Sanskrit model. Many Sanskrit scholars failed to appreciate the beauty and music of the speech-rhythm and the naturalness of the native vocabulary. They were opposed by those who wanted the speech to be the right model of the written prose. In the late nineties Swami Vivekananda spoke eloquently in favour of the simple colloquial speech and against the domination of Sanskritic style. He wrote:

> In our country, owing to all learning being in Sanskrit from the ancient times, there has arisen an immeasurable gulf between the learned and the common folk. All the great personages, from Buddha down to Chaitanya and Ramakrishna, who came for the well-being of the world, taught the common people in the language of the people themselves. Of couse, scholarship is an excellent thing; but cannot scholarship be displayed through any other medium than a language that is stiff and unintelligible, that is unnatural and merely artificial? Is there no room for art in the spoken language?

The monk argued that a living language was the most suitable medium for society. Citing the example of Sanskrit he wrote that at one time Sanskrit was close to the language of the people, but slowly it became alienated from the life of the people and thus became lifeless.

> You will at once understand that so long as a man is alive, he talks a living language, but when he is dead, he speaks a dead language. The nearer death approaches, the more does the power of original thinking wanes, the more is there the attempt to bury one or two rotten ideas under a heap of flowers and scents.[2]

Prose and Ideology

The debate on style, we pointed out earlier, had some intimate relation with the ideologies prevailing in society. The period between 1887 and 1920 in Gujarati literature, popularly known as the 'Pandit Era', for example, was a time of Sanskritic revival. D. D. Jadeja points out that "during the Pandit Era literature had, in its quest of aesthetic excellence, drifted away from the people."[3] The drifting away from the people can be understood by the attempts of Sanskritization in Gujarati. A great number of Hindi writers of this period were under the strong influence of the Arya Samaj and were in favour of a Sanskritic revival. One of the motivations for Sanskritization, however, was to affirm a separate identity of Hindi, different from Hindustani or Urdu. The Bengali literature of this time grew under the influence of several religious movements: the declining Brahmo Samaj, the growing Hindu revival movement including that of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Sanskritization had been a constant process in Bengali since the beginning of the century though there was also the existence of a counter movement. In Kerala, there was a newly organized movement against the authority of the Brahmin power under the leadership of Sri Narayana Guru (1854–1928). Kumaran Asan, who was inspired by the ideals of Vivekananda during his stay in Calcutta, joined the movement of Sri Narayana Guru and started the journal *Vivekodayam* in 1904 to voice the agony of the deprived classes, particularly the untouchable Ezhava community. Similarly the Singh Sabha movement by the end of the century had assumed great strength and maturity with Bhai Vir Singh as its most eloquent spokesman. All these movements were intimately connected with the literary production of the time and the ideological issues were most clearly pronounced in prose literature.

One of the important prose works of this period is Bankim Chandra's *Kṛṣṇa Caritra* (1886). A work of great erudition, marked by an incisive analytical power and rational temper, *Kṛṣṇa Caritra* is not only a search for the historical Krishna but also a quest for an ideal Hindu hero. This work, however, had little relation with the Hindu revival movements. It had no influence on the contemporary Krishna movement: no Hindu was ready to accept a Krishna stripped of all myths and miracles. But it presented a new approach to religious history; it is a work that combines Western methodology of historical research with an irrepressible Hindu pride. The work had its extension in Bankim's treatise *Dharma Tattva* (1888) as well his three novels (*Ānanda Maṭh, Debī Chaudhurānī* and *Sītā-rām*), all illustrating the doctrine of *anuśīlan*. *Dharma Tattva* is not a treatise on religion but a theory of human behaviour, domestic, social, religious and political, based on his understanding of the *Gītā* on the one hand, and the works of Darwin, Spencer, Comte and Mill on the other. That he

considered Spencer or Comte as Hindus, or claimed patriotism as the highest form of religion, is enough to show that Bankim's Hinduism was entirely his own construction and had hardly any relation with the traditional perception of the Hindu tradition.

The Telugu work *Brahma Dharmamu* (1886) by B. Pantulu Mannava and the Kannada work *Vedānta Tattvasāra* (1886) by M. Kibbacchale, both able defences of the Brahmo faith and the Vedantic doctrines respectively, belong to a more familiar, but separate, trend of religious writings. Shibli's *Al Kalām* (1902), a small but seminal work on Islamic theology, is perhaps comparable with Bankim's as it presents Islam in all its facets, social, legal and political. A very wide range of religious thought and experiences is to be found in work such as Nilmani Vidyarthi's Oriya book *Godhan Rakṣā* (The Protection of Cattles, 1892) or Shashadhar Tarkachudamani's Bengali work *Dharma Vyākhyā* (Interpretation of [Hindu] religon, 1885), or Vivekananda's *Karma Yoga* and *Raja Yoga* both written during the last decade of the nineteenth century or Rabindranath's sermons contained in *Śaṅtiniketan* (1909). Most of these religious works have limited literary value though all of them had influence in varying degrees upon different groups of readers.

The essays of sociological nature or essays dealing with the contemporary socio-political problems demand greater notice. Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay's Bengali work *Sāmājik Prabandha* (Social Essays, 1892) which came as a sequel to his *Pāribārik Prabandha* (Essays on Domestic Issues, 1881) and followed by *Acār Prabandha* (Essays on Social Customs, 1894) are fine documents of a liberal Hindu educationist's response to Western impact on Indian life and his strong defence of the traditional values. The Telugu work *Mata Saṃghaviṣay-Kōpanyāsamulu* (1906), dealing with Brahmo religion and widow remarriage; *Pativratā Satīō* (1906), a Gujarati work on women by Manilal Chabaram Bhatta; and *Strī Nīti* (1908), essays on the duties of women in Kannada, reflect the various strands of opinion about women and their position in family and society.

II PROSE AND JOURNALS

The growth of prose, scholarly or journalistic, formal or intimate, analytical or creative, was connected with literary magazines. It was not easy for the essayists to get their books published. They had to depend mainly on the patronage of the journals. What is encouraging is that despite the existence of a small readership of nonfictional prose, books of essays of various kinds were published fairly regularly in some of the languages. The number of books of essays published during this period, however, does not reflect adequately the quantity of prose written in different languages and published in literary magazines and journals.

Most of the writers, if not all, were associated with one or more than one journals; and some of them were editors or proprietors themselves. Very few journals were financially solvent; the honorarium paid to the contributors was trifling and that too could not be afforded by many journals. Even then journals were the only organs available to writers for expressing their views and concerns. We must mention a few journals here: all of them were not of equal importance but all played distinctive roles in the growth of prose literature.

The Gujarati monthly *Jñānasudhā* (1886) published by the Prarthana Samaj; the Nepali periodical *Gorkhā Bhārat Jīvan* (1886) published from Banaras; the Malayalam journal *Nasrāṇi Dīpikā* (1887); the Anglo-Marathi *Sudhārak* (1888) started by Gokhale and Agarkar; the epoch making Assamese periodical *Jonākī* (1889) edited by Lakshminath Bezbarua; the famous Oriya weekly *Sambalpur Hitaiṣinī* (1889) which created a new readership; the Marathi periodical *Karmaṇūk* in which most of the novels of Harinarayan Apte were serialised; the famous *Malayāḷa Manoramā* (1890); the Bengali monthly *Sāhitya* (1890) of Suresh Samajpati; the first Sindhi literary monthly *Sarasvatī* (1890); the Telugu monthly *Sarasvatī* (1891) edited by Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham; the Bengali monthly *Sādhanā* (1891) edited by Sudhindranath Thakur and later by Rabindranath; the Telugu monthly *Cintāmaṇi* (1892) started by Viresalingam; the Tamil monthly *Viveka Cintāmaṇi* (1892); the Punjabi journal *Nirguniara* (1893) published by Bhai Vir Singh; and the famous Hindi magazine *Sarasvatī* (1900) edited by Mahavirprasad Dvivedi, were the leading magazines of the time. Some of them were so influential that scholars have named literary periods after them. In Assamese for example, the period from 1889 to 1909 is known as the 'Jonaki age'. Rabindranath wrote most of his essays for *Bhāratī* and *Sādhanā*, and later for *Baṅgadarśan* (1902) which he revived for the second time. Most of the essays of Manilal Dvivedi were written for and published in *Sudarśan* and *Priyamvadā*. Both Bal Mukunda Gupta and Mahavirprasad Dvivedi, the two stalwarts of Hindi prose, were journalists, the former associated with *Hindostan* and *Hindī Baṅgavāsī* and the latter with *Sarasvatī*.

Most of the essayists were scholars and preferred to deal with serious subjects in a serious manner. That may be one of the reasons for the slow growth of the literary essay or belle-lettres. However, it grew out of the humorous and the satirical writings on the one hand, and out of intimate records of personal experiences revealed in travelogues and memoirs on the other. The seeds of the personal essay were there even in serious writings and they sprouted fully later. In Oriya, for example, the personal essay appeared in its embryonic form in the writings of Radhanath Ray, Madhusudan Rao and Bishvanath Kar, and matured in the works like *Bhāgabata Ṭungīre Sandhyā* (1900–01) and *Miran Sahebaṅkar Rojnāmcā*

(1904) by Gopal Chandra Praharaj. It appeared in works like *Mrgaya-smaraṇakāl* by Kerala Varma, or in the essays of Kunhiraman Nayanar, both writers of Malayalam. In Assamese it appeared in the satirical writings of Hemchandra Barua, but attained distinction at the hands of Lakshiminath in his essays, entitled *Kṛpābar Baruār Kākator Topola* (1908) and *Kṛpābar Baruār Obhatani* (1909). The personal essay which was created by Bankim in Bengali culminated in the lyrical essays of *Bicitra Prabandha* (1907) by Rabindranath. *Sudarśaṇa Gadyāvali* (1909), essays in Gujarati, by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, or *Upanyāsa Payonidhi* (1910), essays in Telugu, by Brahmayya Sastri Kasibhatta are illustrations of the personal essay in their respective languages.

A survey of prose literature from Bankim Chandra's various essays collected in *Bibidha Prabandha* (1887) to Mahatma Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* (1910) shows that prose has been employed successfully in all branches of writings, expressing the most abstruse thought with as much lucidity as rigour. Gaurishankar Hirchand Ojha's Hindi work on Indian script *Bhāratīya Prācīn Lipimālā* (1898), Chandra Shekhar Singh Samanta's Oriya work on astronomy *Siddhānta Darpaṇ* (1899), Ramendra Sundar Trivedi's Bengali essays on science and philosophy in *Prakṛti* (1896) and *Jijñāsā* (1904), Tilak's scholarly work on the time of the composition of the Vedas, *Veda Kāl Nirṇay* (1893); Appaji Vishnu Kulkarni's criticism of the Marathi theatre, *Marāṭhī Raṅgabhūmī* (1903), Narayan's Hindi work on dramaturgy *Nāṭya Darpaṇ* (1887), Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar's (a Maharastrian who wrote in Bengali) essays on economic problems collected in *Deśer Kathā* (1904); the literary and sociological essays of Bal Mukunda Gupta published in *Gupta Nivandhāvali* (1905), Abraham Panditar's Tamil work on music, *Karunā Mitra Cākarat Tiraṭṭu* (1907), Chandra Shekhar Nanda's Oriya work *Citra* (1907), a book on art and architecture, display a very wide range of thought and experience.

III BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Hagiography

Biographies of religious figures, most of them eulogies of their characters and uncritical acceptance of all myths and miracles associated with their lives, were as popular as ever. Among these works the most notable are *Amiya Nimāi Carit* (1872–1911), the six-volume Bengali work on Chaitanya by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, editor of *Amrit Bazar Patrika*; Kartik Prasad Khatri's *Mīrābāikā Jīvan Carit* (1893), the life of Mirabai, the Rajasthani saint, in Hindi; Shri Krishnadas' Life of Namadeva (1894) in Rajasthani; Kandukuri Viresalingam's *Jisās Caritram* (1894), the life of Christ in Telugu; V. V. S. Avadham's Telugu biography of the saint-scholar Vidyaratna (1900); O. Y. Dorasvamayya's Telugu work on the Buddha

(*Buddha Caritramu* 1902); Hakim Muhammad Umar's work on Bandahnawas Gisudaraz, a sufi saint (1902) in Urdu; Rampran Gupta's Bengali biography of the prophet Hazrat Muhammad (1904); the Gujarati work *Harilīlāmṛta* (1907); the life of Swami Narayan, by the poet Dalpatram; and Anavati Ramaraya's biography of Kabir in Kannada, *Kabīra Dāsa Caritra* (1908).

Biographies were becoming popular in all Indian languages, but if the number of works published is any indicator they were most popular in Telugu. Two important biographies of Swami Dayananda and Ramakrishna Paramahansa were published in Telugu in 1907. Most of these biographies, however, did not find a place of distinction in the history of prose, though all of them had a large number of readers. One of the books that enjoyed phenomenal popularity in Bengal and then in different parts of the country in translation is *Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta* by M. This is not a biography but a minute record of the conversations of Ramakrishna with his disciples and many distinguished visitors. Mahendranath Gupta who preferred anonymity under the initial *M*, recorded the conversations with the devotion and care of a Boswell. It was published in five parts; the first part came out in 1902 and the fifth in 1932. This is one of the most important works on Ramakrishna and a classic in Bengali hagiography.

Lives of Contemporaries

The interest in contemporary figures gave a new impetus to biographical writings. The new heroes were installed beside the old. Some of the figures like Rammohan Ray, Vidyasagar, Ramakrishna, Dayananda, Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai or Madan Mohan Malaviya attracted the notice of biographers in many languages. Some of the works, such as Sorabji Jehangir's *Representative Men of India* (1888) and Dayaram Gidumal's biography of Behramji Malabari (1892) being written in English, were widely read throughout India. The main motivation behind these works was to instil a sense of pride among the Indians by projecting ideals and examples of excellence. Manasukharam Suryaram Tripathi's Gujarati work *Sujña Gokulaji Jhālā* (1888), the biography of a well-known statesman of Saurastra; Kashibai Kanitkar's *Do. Ānandībāī Joshi* (1891), a Marathi work on a woman of exemplary character (the book was translated into Gujarati next year); the Telugu biography of Madan Mohan Malaviya (1894) by P. Srinivasa Chargulu, etc. are representative biographies written during this period.

The lives of social reformers and politicians too attracted the biographers. Vidyasagar's biography in Bengali (1895) by Biharilal Sarkar; the life of Vishnushastri Chiplunker (1894) by his younger brother Laksman Krishna in Marathi; *Hayāt-e-Jāved* (1901) by Hali Altaf Husain and *Hayāt-e-Sir Sayyid* (1904), both biographies of Sir Syed Ahmad in

Urdu; and T. Venkata Subba Rao's *Vireśalinga Kavi Caritramu* (1910), the life of the great reformer and writer in Telugu, were noted works. The national movement in 1905 gave a new impetus to the biographers, many of whom presented inspiring accounts of the lives of some of the great contemporaries. *Gokhale Caritra* (1905) by M. Bhujanga Rao; *Rājā Rāmmohan Rāy Caritra* (1908) by K. Chandradhara Rao; *Śrī Bāla Gaṇgādhara Ṭilakkugaru Caritram* (1908) by S. V. Ramagacharyulu; K. Virabhadrachari's *Vivekānandi Jīvitamu* (1908); C. Venkatanarasimha's *Īśvarcandra Vidyāsāgara Caritramu* (1908); O. Y. Dorasamayya's *Dādābhāyi Nauroji Caritra* (1907) and *Deśabandhu Lājapati Rāyī Caritra* (1907)—all in Telugu—represent a trend that was most powerful in the Andhra land. Other areas too shared the enthusiasm of the Telugu writers in exploring this fascinating genre of literature. A large number of biographies were written in other languages, notably in Bengali and Marathi, though a very few had withstood the taste of time. One such work that has been acclaimed by the posterity was Kerala Varma's Malayalam work *Mahā Carita Sangraham* (1897), short biographies of one hundred and seven eminent people—including the ancient Greeks like Archimedes and Aristotle. Another interesting work—a Telugu one—is *Abalā Saccaritra Ratnamālā* (1901) which contains biographies of several Hindu heroines.

Shibli Numani: A Great Biographer

The most outstanding biographer of this period was the famous scholar Shibli Numani (1857–1914).[4] An able poet and critic, educationist and historian, a fine scholar of Arabic and Persian, Shibli came under the influence of Sir Syed Ahmad and decided to project the glories and achievement of Islam as a part of the programme launched by Sir Syed for the rejunevation of the Indian Muslims. Around 1886 he thought of commencing a series entitled 'Heroes of Islam' on the model of Carlyle's *Hero and Hero Worship*. Not only did he write biographies of great figures in Islamic history but also wrote several essays on Islamic civilization. In the words of S. M. Abdullah, "the mission of Sir Syed had a two-fold aspect: first to bring home to the nation a realisation of the present plight of the decadent Muslim society and its causes; and secondly, to impress upon the minds of his co-religionists that their past was exceptionally brilliant."[5] It was Hali, the poet, who fulfilled the first aspect. The duty of recreating the past fell on the scholar, Shibli Numani.

Both *Sirat-un-Nu'mān* (1892/3), the life of the great jurist, written to arouse the memories of the glory of the Hanafite School of Law, and *Al-Fārūq* (1899), the life of Umar, the second Caliph of Islam—which Numani considered to be his best work—are the finest examples of Numani's experiments with biographical literature and his conception of history. Another work *Sirat'un-Nabī*, the life of the Prophet, which he could not

complete, is an important work in respect of the vastness of the plan and its encyclopaedic nature.

Despite his profound scholarship and critical spirit Numani has been condemned by some scholars for his "fanatical zeal for the Hanafite creed." The influence of Sir Syed on him was profound, his acquaintance with Western historical criticism was fairly intensive, and his involvement with the themes he chose was not merely intellectual but also emotional. In the first decade of the twentieth century Shibli Numani wrote *Al-Ghazālī* (1902) and *Sawānih-i-Mawalānā Rum* (1902) at a time when he, we are told, "was developing a phase of a new scholastic theory and had resolved to write a history of Islamic religious philosophy in the form of the lives of his greatest exponents."[6] In both the biographies, his heroes Ghazali and Rumi are presented in minute detail and in both he demonstrates the importance of philosophy in Muslim thought. He stands in splendid isolation from all other biographers of his time not simply by his erudition and zeal but by his attempt to build up a rational tradition of historical writings. In the foreword to *Al-Fārūq*, he wrote:

> The ancients were very particular about preserving the traditions, but they seldom authenticated them. Today we have not only to ascertain that the reporters were above suspicion: we have also to subject the matter reported to a searching criticism to satisfy ourselves that it is in accord with general experience, the human nature, the spirit of the age, and the civilization of the period.[7]

This critical spirit, Sadiq points out, is analogous to that of Sir Syed as a social reformer. There is little doubt that Shibli Numani introduced a new spirit in the historical studies of the time, though occasionally he was swayed by his bias and predilections. His efforts can be compared as well as contrasted with those of several writers in other languages in this period, particularly with those of Rajaram Ramkrishna Bhagavat (1851–1908), a great Sanskrit scholar and social reformer of Maharashtra. He wrote *Śiva Chatrapatice Caritra* (1889), a short life of Shivaji, *Ekanāthace Caritra* (1890), the life of Eknath, the Maharashtrian saint, *Sambhājīce Caritra* (1892), the life of Sambhaji, etc. and presented the glorious phases of the cultural and political history of Maharashtra through the exciting biographical accounts of several great Maharashtrians. Shibli was also close to the spirit of *Kṛṣṇa Caritra* of Bankim Chandra in his critical temper, erudition and zeal for projecting an ideal hero.

Biographies of Poets

One of the conspicuous features of biographical writings in this period was the growth in the number of the biographies of poets, both modern and ancient. Hali's *Yādgār-e-Ghālib* (1897) in Urdu; Navalram Lakshmiram Pandya's *Kavijīvan* (1888), a biography of Narmad; Govardhanram's *Navalrām Lakṣmīrāmni Jīvan Kathā* (1891), the life of the Gujarati poet and

social reformer; Tribhuvandas Seth's *Kaviratna Dayārāmni Sampūrṇa Jīvan kathā*; the Bengali biography of the poet Madhusudan Datta by Yogindranath Basu published in 1893; Syed Muhammad Mirza Mauj's *Hayāt-e-Ghālib* (1899); Abdul Ghafur Shahbaz's *Zindagānī-e-Benazīr* (1900); Ahsan's Marahrawi's *Jalwa-e-Dāgh* (1902) and *Yādgār-e-Dāgh* (1907)—all in Urdu—dealing with Ghalib, Nazir Akbarabadi and Dagh respectively are the typical biographies of poets. To this list one must add Shankar Bapuji and Majumdar's life of Kirloskar in Marathi, *Aṇṇā Sāheb Kirloskar Yāñce Caritra* (1904), and Kantilal Pandya's *Shrīyut Govardhanrām* (1910), which is considered to be a milestone in the history of Gujarati biography. All these works dealt with contemporary personalities.

But there was another stream of biographies that dealt with the poets of older periods. To this stream belonged Hali's *Hayāt-e-Sadī* (1886); Chi. Venkataranga Kavi's Telugu work *Pūrva Kavula Caritramu* (1888), an account of the ancient poets of Telugu literature; Banarasi Das Chaturvedi's life of the poet Satyanarayan in Hindi (1892), Viresalingam's *Andhra Kavula Caritramu* (1899), the lives of poets beginning from the eleventh century poet Nannaya to the nineteenth century poet Gopinath, written on the model of Johnson's *Live of Poets*; Dandapani Swamigal's *Pulavar Purāṇam* (1901), containing accounts of old Tamil poets written in verse in the style of *Periya Purāṇam*; T. C. Mudaliyar's Tamil work on the great Tamil poet Kamban (1902); the Gujarati works, *Nākara Caritra* (1908) by Ambalal Bulekhiram Jane and *Bhakta Kavi Narasimha Mehtā* (1908) by J. P. Joshipura (the former is the life of the sixteenth-century Gujarati poet and the latter of the greatest of Gujarati poets in the pre-British period), and Shyam Sundar Das's Hindi *Kovid Ratnamālā* (1909), a compendium of biographies of old poets who wrote in Braj and Awadhi.

It is interesting that Kandukuri Viresalingam wrote a life of Shelley, *Selli Jīvitamu* (1900) in Telugu, probably the first biography of the English poet in an Indian language, though it did not encourage any one either in Telugu or in any other Indian language to write a biography of Shelley or of any other European poet.

Lives of Great Europeans

Biographies of the leading men and women of the Western world, however, were regularly published in different journals and in the form of short books mainly for children. Socrates and Marcus Aurelius, Archemedes and Alexander, Julius Caesar and Cicero, Napoleon and Nelson, Joan d'Arc and Florence Nightingale, Garibaldi and Mazzini were some of the favourite subjects of the biographers. Jogendranath Vidyabhushan wrote a biography of Garibaldi (1890) and of Wallace (1886) in Bengali, N. C. Kelkar's *Guisppe Garibaldi* (1901) and V. D. Savarkar's *Joseph Mazzine* (1907), both in Marathi, are part of the patriotic literature

produced by the nineteenth-century Indians. The Life of Abraham Lincon (1907) in Telugu by G. Sarvottam and of Florence Nightingale (1907) in Gujarati by Sharada Ben Seemant Maheta were quite popular at that time and written with the purpose of creating new ideals before the Indian youth.

It must be mentioned here that a number of books were written on Queen Victoria and Edward VII. These works were part of a huge literature, devoid of literary merit, but are an evidence of the Indian loyalty to the British government. Works both in prose and in verse, eulogizing the Queen and the Crown-prince, were written in abundance almost in all the languages but more so in Sanskrit.

Heroes From Indian History

Some of the lives of historical characters exhibit scholarly interest but most of them betray a romantic attitude towards the colourful personalities of the past. The Bengali work *Aśok Carit* (1892) by Krishna Bihari Sen, the Urdu work *Darbār-e-Akbarī* (1898), an account of the chief officers and nobles at the court of Akbar by Muhammad Husain Azad, or the Telugu work *Pisvā Nārāyaṇa Rāvu* (1908) on the life of Peshwa by Vemavarapu Ramadasu represent the first strand. The second strand is represented by *Sawāneh-Umrī-Zabunnisā Begum* (Urdu, 1898), *Babar* (Gujarati, 1899), and *Nūrjahānu Caritra* (Telugu, 1901), dealing with Zabunnisa, Babar and Nurjahan respectively. It is not that these works were fictional and not based on facts, but their focus was more on the charismatic personalities rather than on their place in history.

The biographies of Shivaji, Rana Pratap, Tipu Sultan, the heroes of the 1857 rebellion, and the heroes of Sikh history had an immediate political relevance. Vishnu Shastri Khare's *Nānāphaḍnaviace Caritra* (Marathi, 1892) and Da. Ba. Parasnis' *Zaśīcyā Rānī Lakṣmībāī Yānce Caritra* (Marathi, 1894) on Nana Phadnavis and the Rani of Jhansi respectively are evidences of the new interest in the study of the 1857 revolt in particular and the growing militant patriotism in general. The biographies of Sivaji in Bengali (1895) by Satya Charan Shastri and in Telugu (1899) by K. V. Venkataramayya and again in 1900 by K. V. Lakshmana Rao are directly related to the growth of the Shivaji cult; these biographies were but one aspect of the trend that manifested itself even more strongly in poetry and the drama and the novel.

Tinkari Bandyopadhya's life of *Guru Gobinda* (1896) written in Bengali had a deeper link with the poems written on the Guru by Rabindranath, and the biography of Maharaja Nanda Kumar (1899) with the plays written on the hero. Kartar Singh Kalaswalia's *Bābā Bandā Bahādur dā Sampuran Birtānt* (1907), the life of Banda Bahadur in Punjabi, undoubtedly was an exercise in historical research but like the works on Shivaji or the 1857

heroes, it contributed more to the immediate socio-religious-political movements in the country.

History

Leaving aside the pedagogical works, the historical writings present some interesting features, in respect of both form and attitude. The Tamil work *Palitavāru Purāṇam* (1896), as the title suggests, is written in the form of a *purāṇa*. It deals with the history and legends of the Babejas who migrated to Tamilnadu from the present Andhra Pradesh. Maulavi Muhammed Zakaullah's *Tarikh-e-Hindustan* (1897), the first comprehensive history of India in Urdu, follows the model of Elliot's *History of India*. But the history of Kashmir, *Camanistan-e-Kashmīr* (1899) in two volumes—the first volume written in Persian and the second in Urdu—follows the pattern of traditional chronicles. The Marathi work *Bhāratīya Sāmrājya* (1893) by Narayan Bhavanrav Pavagi and *Pārata Kaṇta Purātanan* (1893) by Robert Caldwell, both dealing with the socio-political life in India, introduced new methods of historical writing.

There was a growth of interest in regional history: this is manifested in the contemporary historical novels, plays and ballads, but also evidenced in works like *Udayapūrcā Itihās* (Marathi, 1892), based on Tod's *Annals*, by no less a person than Lokahitavadi; *Hadiqa-e-Rajasthan* (Urdu, 1901), a history of Tonk, by Asghar Ali Abra; *Tarikh-e-Ajodhya* (Urdu, 1902), a history of Oudh by Kumwar Durga Prasad; and *Najmus-Saqib* (Urdu, 1904), an account of the native state of Tonk by Syed Ali Asghar.

The Bengali work *Madinār Gaurab* (1906), the glories of Medina, by Mir Musarraf Husain, is thematically related to the works of Shibli in Urdu and formally more to the Tamil *Talapurāṇas* or Oriya-Bengali *māhātmyas*. Shivanath Shastri's *Rāmtaṇu Lāhiṛī O Tatkālīn Baṅga Samāj* (1904) is one of the fascinating accounts of the nineteenth-century Bengal, highlighting the changes that the English education brought in its social and religious life. The reassessment and reinterpretation of the heroes and events of the past as well went on simultaneously both in historical writings and in novels, both influencing one another. The rest of the volumes of *Sipāhī Yuddher Itihās* by Rajani Kanta Gupta appeared in this period. In the preface to the fifth volume of his history, Gupta wrote, "just as English writers have written the history of the Sepoy war from their nationalistic viewpoint, I have written this book from our point of view while utilising the materials collected by them." Another important historical work of this period was V. D. Savarkar's *Indian War of Independence* (1907), one of the most influential works which was regarded by the Indian freedom fighters as a seminal document of the patriotic interpretation of the 1857 rebellion.

Literary History

Histories of literatures began to appear in many languages partly as an expression of an intellectual interest in Indian languages and partly as an expression of patriotic sentiment. The glorification of the region and the languages spoken there which became a feature of patriotic songs in many languages is intimately related to the exercise of writing a literary history.

The periodicals played a great part in arousing interest in the antiquities, biographies of poets and thinkers, places of worship and historical monuments. The number of books on these subjects does not reflect the true scale of the extensiveness of this exercise. The articles published in the journals in different languages, including English, *Calcutta Review*, for example, contained a large number of scholarly articles on different aspects of Indian literary history, many of which are still valued by scholars since they made the reading public aware of their rich literary heritage. G. A. Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Northern Hindustan* (1889) is one of the significant works of this period which opened a new avenue of literary scholarship for the Indian intelligentsia. Dinesh Chandra Sen's *Baṅga Bhāṣā O Sāhitya* (1896), a remarkable work on Bengali literature of the pre-British period, which took Taine's *History of English Literature* as its model, is an epoch-making event in the history of Indian literary scholarship. It was the first history of Bengali literature with a clearly defined theoretical framework, supported by a wealth of data collected through field-works—a method not known to Nyayaratna or Ramesh Chandra Datta—and written with passion and love that glow in its every page.

That very year P. Gopala Rao Naidu wrote *Andhra Bhāṣā Caritra Samgrahamu*, a literary history of Telugu, which was followed by *Tirāviṭap Pirākacikai* (1899) in Tamil, a work based in Simon Casie Chitty's *Tamil Plutarch*. Both are useful documents: but they are only chronologically arranged accounts without any critical framework. Govardhanram Tripathi's lecture *Gujarātanā Prācīn Sāhityanā Itihāsanū Digdarśaṇa* (1905), delivered at the Gujarati Sahitya Parisad, is another memorable attempt at writing the literary history of Gujarat.

But the work that made a profound impact on literary critics was Muhammad Husain Azad's fine history of the Persian language and literature, entitled *Sukhāndan-e-Fārs* (1907). Years before, he had written *Āb-e-Hayāt* (1884), one of the landmarks in Urdu literature. The most outstanding feature of Azad's mind, Sadiq points out, is his "romantic love of the past." This is quite expected from the writer of *Qisas-e-Hind*, who like Abanindranath Thakur, the author of *Rāj Kāhinī*, painted the charm and beauty of medieval India with verve and vividness. He, like

Dinesh Chandra Sen, had a special love for ancient literature, and both Sen and Azad were writers of fine prose.

IV AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Some of the interesting autobiographies published during this period were written by women. One of the remarkable works is *Shahid-e-Rana* (1897), the autobiography of a prostitute, written in Urdu. A more remarkable work came from Ramabai Sarasvati—*Ramabai: The High Caste Hindu Woman* (1890). The great historical value of this English work is derived mainly from the extraordinary life of this Maharashtrian woman, popularly known as Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922), a scholar of Sanskrit. She lost her husband only two years after her marriage but refused slavish acceptance of inhuman rules imposed upon widows by the Hindu society. She went to England and embraced Christianity. After her return to India she established the famous *Sharada Sadan*, an association for the rehabilitation of Hindu widows. In 1890 a Parsi woman, known as Shirin Madam also published her autobiography in Gujarati—the first autobiography of a woman in the language.

Maharshi Debendranath Thakur's autobiography was published in 1898. Distinguished by a pleasant style, often bordering on a mystic and poetic expression, this Bengali work is the story of the spiritual crisis of a sensitive man and an intimate history of the Brahmo Samaj of which he was the leader. Vidyasagar's incomplete autobiography published in 1891 is a delightful work of unfulfilled possibilities. Narayan Hemchandra's autobiography *Hūm Pote* (Gujarati, 1900), Ambika Datta Vyas' *Nij Vṛttānt* (Hindi, 1901), and Ganapataram Rajaram Bhatt's *Māro Vṛttānt* (Gujarati, 1907) are notable works of this period. Narayan Hemchandra was a polyglot and a widely travelled man; Ambika Datta Vyas, a well-known writer of the Bharatendu period, and Ganapataram, a popular Gujarati playwright. Their autobiographies present faithful accounts of the ambitions, social concerns and literary perceptions of the English educated middle class. The five volume autobiography *Āmār Jīban* (1908–13) by the Bengali poet Nabin Chandra Sen is one of the most readable narratives describing the growth of an ambitious poet who rose to the height of success. Sudhakar Dvivedi, an eminent Hindi scholar, wrote his memoirs in 1908 which was followed by the autobiography of the veteran Brahmo leader Rajnarayan Basu, the maternal grandfather of Sri Aurobindo. Among others mention must be made of Mir Musarraf Husain's *Āmār Jībanī* (Bengali, 1908–10), the only autobiography of a Bengali Muslim writer of this period, containing a vivid account of the soical life of a wealthy Muslim family. Two other autobiographies were published in 1910. One is Viresalingam's *Svīya Caritramu*, a memorable

work of the great reformer, and the other *Āmacyā Ayusyātīl Kāhī Āṭhavāṇī* by Ramabai Ranade, wife of Justice Madhav Govind Ranade a record of the memories of her married life.[8]

V TRAVELOGUE

Like several other prose forms the travelogue also received stimulus from journalistic demands. The Oriya periodical *Sambāda Bāhikā*, for example, published a few despatches from a correspondent in 1886 with which the travel literature in Oriya began. Radhanath Ray also contributed similar feature articles in the Oriya periodical *Naba Sambāda* next year, and Bholanath Samantarai wrote for *Utkal Sāhitya* in 1900. In 1892 Fakir Mohan Senapati published *Utkal Bhraman* in verse.[9] The first proper travelogue in the language, however, is *Dākṣinātya Bhramaṇa* (Travels in South India, 1896) by Shashibhushan Rai. Its counterpart is to be found in Tamil: Narashimmalu Naidu's *Ārya Tivviya Teca Yāttirai Caritram* (1889), an account of travels in the North. Most of the travel accounts of this period were about travels in different places within India. Kavittalam Duraiswami's *Kaṅkā Yātrā Prapavam* (Tamil, 1887), an account of travel along Ganga in Kashi; Satyendranath Thakur's *Bombāi Citra* (Bengali, 1889), account of his stay in Bombay; Jahangir Beharamji's Marjhaben *Mumbaī thī Kāśmīr* (Gujarati, 1890), travels from Bombay to Kashmir; Venkata Ramana Shastri's *Dakṣiṇa Bhārat Yātre* (Kannada, 1890), travels in South India; Kalapi's *Kāśmīrono Pravās athavā Svarganu Svapnum* (Gujarati, 1892) implies, as the title suggests, 'Stay in Kashmir or a Heavenly Dream', are the major works of this period. They are either records of experiences at pilgrimage centres or at other places of scenic beauty. Travelogues on the Himalayas which became commercially so successful in the twentieth century started around 1900. Jaladhar Sen's *Himālay* (Bengali, 1900) is a tender and intimate record of the author's experiences, while *Śrī Kailās Mānas Sarovaradarśana* (Marathi, 1910) by Hans Swami is full of suspense and dramatic events.

Among the accounts of travel in foreign countries are Pandita Ramabai's *Amerikecā Pravās* (Marathi, 1886) and R.B. Pavagi's *Vīlāyatacā Pravās* (Marathi, 1889–92). An extremely interesting book is Shibli Numani's *Safar-nāmah-e-Rūm-wa-Misr-wa-Shām* (Urdu, 1894), an account of his travels in Turkey, Egypt and Syria. This work grew out of his tour in these countries in 1892. It is a 'valuable document,' says Sadiq, "embodying his [Numani's] observations on the general intellectual and practical decadence of the countries visited. These gloomy reflections are lit with flashes of pan-Islamic ardour which later matured into an ardent political creed and led eventually to his retirement from Aligarh (1898)."[10]

The travelogue as a new form of literature started in Malayalam with

G. P. Pillai's *Laṇḍanum Pārisum* (London and Paris) originally written in English (1897) and later translated into Malayalam (1899).[11] Pillai, a barrister who took keen interest in the Indian national movement, wrote this work in the form of letters, the manner introduced by Rabindranath in his *Yurop Prabāsīr Patra* (Letters from Europe, 1881) and followed by Swami Vivekananda in his *Paribrājak* (Bengali, written in 1893–94, published in 1906).

A very important travelogue published during this period was written by a Brahmin priest without any literary training. The work is *Māzā Uttar Hindusthānacā Pravās* (My Stay in North India) written in Marathi by Vishnubhat Godse (1827–1907) and published in 1907.[12] Godse came to north India with his uncle in search of fortune towards the beginning of the year 1857. The rebellion broke out while he was in Central India. Later in his life, back in Maharashtra at a ripe age he wrote the accounts of the incidents he witnessed. This is one of the rare eye-witness accounts of the 1857 rebellion.[13] A work of great documentary value, it has been acclaimed by the critics as a fine piece of work, a happy blending of the autobiography and the travelogue.

CHAPTER 13

Indian Drama in Transition

I TWO STREAMS OF INDIAN DRAMA

The Parsi-Hindustani Theatre

After the death of Seth Pestonji Framji, whom Saksena describes as "the father and hero of the Urdu stage," his theatrical company broke down, and Khurshidji Balliwala and Cowasji Khattan, two notable actors of his group started new companies. Balliwala's company which was started in 1877 hired Vinayak Prasad Talib (d. 1914) of Banaras as its *Kavi*, i.e. playwright. The company, however, became defunct soon after his death. Cowasji Khattan (d. 1914), known as the "Irving of India" for his fine acting, started a company known as Alfred theatrical Company. This Company employed Ahsan Lacknavi, the grandson of Hakim Nawab Mirza Shauq (author of *Zahr Ishq* and *Bahār Ishq*), as its playwright. Later Pandit Narayan Prasad Betab (1872–1945) of Delhi was chosen for this purpose. From Raunaq, who worked at Framji's theatre, to Betab there was no change at all either in theme or in the style of Urdu drama.

Mohammad Ali Nakkhuda started the New Alfred Company with which Agha Mohammad Shah Hashr (1880–1938), the most popular playwright of the Parsi theatre, was associated. Despite all these writers, some of them quite talented, the Parsi theatre did not produce any play of abiding artistic quality. The writers associated with it wrote without any social concern or artistic vision. But its influence was admittedly very pervasive and strong. The Parsis realised the commercial possibilities of the theatre and they exploited it fully and successfully. The playwrights associated with them were however, not gifted men and they had no freedom to experiment. What they produced was a strange mixture of everything, music and dance and pageantry. Serious theatre had to compete with this extravaganza sponsored by rich business men.

Yajnik makes a distinction between the Gujarati-Urdu companies (which may be called Parsi-Hindustani) and the Marathi-Bengali theatre. The former scrupulously guarded the manuscripts and seldom published them, and had little respect for their *kavis*, who were but hired employees of the business concerns whose main objective was to maximize profit. In the latter groups the writers were highly respected and their books were available in print. "... the entire attitude being different, the pro-

ducers treat the published play as of supreme authority and do not take any liberty with the original except by permission. No extra comical stuff or farcial songs are thurst in, in the manner of the Urdu companies. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at that the Marathi and Bengali plays present artistic wholes."[1]

By 1885 the cleavage between the commercial and the artistic theatres became very clear and sharp, and during the next twenty-five years the gap continued to widen.

The Spread of Drama

In some languages, dramatic literature began only during this period. The first performing Sindhi drama group—the Dayaram Jethmal Sindh College Amateur Dramatic Society—was founded in 1894 which produced *Nala Damayantī*, a mythological play written by Jethanand Khilandas. Although modern theatrical performances started in Jaipur under the patronage of the Maharaja of Jaipur in the eighties, drama came to age in Rajasthani only in the first decade of the twentieth century. Shiva Chandra Bharatiya wrote *Kesar-vilās* in 1900, which was followed by *Buḍhāpā rī Saṇāi* (Old-Age Betrothal, 1906) and *Phāṭkā Janjāl* (Dealing with Future Trade, 1907). Manipuri started its modern theatre with a Bengali play *Pravās Milan* staged before a royal audience in 1902 at a 'mandap' and not in a regular hall. The first theatrical hall was established in 1903 at Imphal under the name Bamacharan Mukhopadhyay Bandhab Natyashale, where a translation of a Bengali play (*Pāgalinī*) was staged in 1905.[2]

The Maithili drama took longer to change because of the strong influence of the *Kīrtanīyā* tradition on the one hand and the *Aṅkiyā nāṭ* on the other. The modern Maithili drama started with the writings of Jivan Jha (1848–1912) and Raghunandan Das (1860–1945). In Nepali, as we have mentioned before, the drama as a new form of literature began after the Gorkha National Theatre Party started producing plays from 1909. Kashmiri and Dogri were yet to develop dramatic literature. The Punjabi drama began only in the first decade of the twentieth century with Charan Singh's (1853–1908) translation of *Abhijñān Śakuntalā* (1898). Giani Dit Singh (1853–1901) wrote a couple of original plays, including *Rājā Prabodh Candra* (1906). Charan Singh's didactic play *Śarāb Kaur* (Lady Liquor), voicing social reform, Bawa Budh Singh's *Cander Hari* (1909) and Bhai Vir Singh's play *Rājā Lākh Dātā Singh* (1910) that invoked a sense of pride among the Sikh audience, are a few dramatic works produced in this period.[3]

For a large number of languages, however, dramatic literature was still in its infancy, or perhaps it is better to say that they did not have the kind of drama one finds in Western literature or even in classical Sanskrit.

The new drama in India emerged due to Western impact but the vibrant traditions of performing art which continued in many areas delayed the process of Westernization of the Indian stage and plays. In Tamilnadu, for example, the folk theatre enjoyed great popularity even when a viable group of English educated people had become influential. There were innovations within the tradition but no radical departure from it. There was a growth of a kind of plays known as *Vilāca nāṭakam* (plays of entertainment). But most of them, as Zvelebil says, "strictly speaking, . . . are no dramas."[4] Attempts were made, however, to introduce modern dramas within the traditional framework. T. R. Govinda Ram wrote *Cāvittiri Nāṭakam* (1886) on the Savitri myth, comparing the European womanhood with the Indian, to glorify the traditional ideals associated with the Indian woman. The plays *Vāṇācura Nāṭākam* (1889), *Pirakalāta Carittiram* (1890), *Kṛṣṇa nāṭakam* (1890), *Poyakaip Paḷḷu* (1891), *Rukamāṅkatu Vilācam* (1895), *Kīcaka Vilācam* (1897)—all of them popular in varying degrees—represent the indigenous performing traditions. The themes of these plays are taken from the *purāṇas* or from the Sanskrit epics and their style of presentation adhers to the existing techniques of folksongs or religious songs.

P. Sundaram Pillai (1855–1897), a well-known scholar, who wrote a Tamil work on stage technique entitled *Nāṭakaviyal* (1897), was one of the first to write a different kind of plays. His *Mānōnmaṇīyam* (1891), based on Lord Lytton's *The Secret Way*, V. G. Suryanarayan Shastri's (1870–1900) *Rūpavati* (1895) and Sambanda Mudaliyar's *Līlāvati Culocanā Allanta Iraṇṭu Cakōtarikaḷ* (1895) both modelled after English plays, enjoyed popularity. Sambanda Mudaliyar (1873–1964), regarded as the father of modern Tamil drama, founded the *Suguna Vilasa Sabha* for staging 'respectable plays' in 1893.[5] In his writings Tamil drama acquired a more stable form, i.e. greater importance was paid to natural dialogues than to songs considered hitherto the most important constituent of the existing dramas. Mudaliyar's experiments definitely created a new awareness among the playwrights and the audience, but the majority of the plays performed during this period belonged to the folk tradition and the modern drama was still to appear.

The Dominance of Sanskrit

In Malayalam, too, the stage and the drama, as distinct from *Kṛṣṇanāṭṭam* and the *Kathākali*, are a later development. According to Parameswaran Nair the "story of the Malayalam drama begins in 1882" when Kerala Varma's translation of *Śakuntalā* appeared. Since that time two trends emerged in Malayalam: one took the Sanskrit plays as its model and the other the translations of Shakespeare and other European dramatists. *Kalyāṇī Nāṭakam*, the first original play in Malayalam, was written by

Kochunni Tampuran (1855–1926) in 1889. It was an attempt at a realistic play about contemporary society, partly inspired by English plays but it did not enthuse the people. The reason may be partly lack of talent on the part of the author and partly the taste of the audience which favoured mythological plays constructed on Sanskritic models. Most of the plays written about this time, such as *Kanakalatā Svayamvaram* (1888) by S. Padmanabha Pillai, *Lakṣamaṇa Saṅgam* (1891) and *Nala Caritam* (1891) by Kunhikkuttan Tampuran, or *Subhadrārjunam* ((1891) by T. Ikkavamma, are old mythologies narrated in a dramatic form. This trend of imitation of the Sanskrit plays became the target of attack of the satire entitled *Cakki Caṅkaran* (1894) by Rama Kurup (1848–98). This play with its hero Cankaran, a servant, and Cakki, a maid-servant, is a pungent criticism of contemporary dramatists. K. C. Narayana Nambiar also wrote a play with the same title for the same purpose. In this play Khumbhanda, an attendant of Siva, chastises the playwrights gathered at the wedding of a magistrate's son with petitions to be allowed to stage their plays. Although the Malayalam drama did not show much literary merit during this period, these playwrights generated great enthusiasm for dramatic activity which encouraged translations from English as well as Sanskrit.

About this time Tamil musical plays became very popular in Kerala; dramatic troupes from Tamilnadu used to come Kerala quite frequently, and because of their mass appeal some of the talented writers took interest in producing similar musicals in their own language. Plays such as *Saṅgīta naiṣadham* (1892) by T. C. Achyuta Menon, *Hariścandra Caritram* (1898) by Eruvayil Chakrapani Varrier, and the extremely popular *Sadārāma* (1903) by K. C. Kesava Pillai are the noted productions of this Tamil impact.

The real breakthrough in Malayalam drama and theatre, however, came in 1909 when C. V. Raman Pillai (1858–1922). who had already earned fame as a novelist, produced his second play, *Kuṛuppillā Kaḷari* (A School without a Master). In fact, in his first play *Candramukhi Vilāsam* produced in 1885 at the Maharaja College, Trivandrum, a centre for the English educated intellectuals of the time, Pillai chose contemporary social problems as his theme, even though the structure of the play followed the Sanskrit model. Pillai's admiration for the dramatists of the Restoration period in general and Sheridan in particular was responsible for his final choice of the dramatic model: he avoided both the Sanskritic and the Shakespearean models. He concentrated on social comedy, and with his plays began the modern drama in Malayalam. About his *Kuṛuppillā Kaḷari*, a play satirizing the Westernized society, P. K. Parameswaran Nair writes, "it registers a complete break with the Sanskrit tradition in that prose is the exclusive medium, and with all its affinity towards Sheridan and Goldsmith, it was still true to contemporary society."[6]

A Challenge to the Sanskritic Model

Both Telugu and Kannada were also under the strong influence of the Sanskrit drama, and both developed a new drama, a drama of social concern, by defying the Sanskritic conventions. Translations from Sanskrit, as we have noticed before, were in abundance in these two languages. The Telugu writers, particularly Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri, translator of *Uttararāma Carita* (1881) and *Mṛcchakaṭika* (1891); Vaddadi Subbaraja Kavi (1854–1939), translator of *Veṇīsaṃhāra*; Chilakamarthi Lakshminarasimham (1867–1946), the well-known poet and novelist; Venkataraya Shastri (1853–1921), a famous Sanskritist—all of them translated several Sanskrit plays and some of them were quite popular on the stage. Translations from the English plays were also made by some of these writers including Kandukuri Viresalingam. The patronage for the performance of Sanskrit plays in the original as well as in translation came from the native kings, in Karnataka, Kerala and Vizianagaram, and Mithila. In fact, most of the Sanskrit plays[7] in this period were written by the scholars of these areas patronised by their landlords. The breakthrough came in Telugu and Kannada, as it did in other languages, through experimentations with translations of English plays and eventually by rejecting the conventions of Sanskrit. Most of the playwrights in these languages translated from Sanskrit as well as from English, experimented with different kinds of themes, both mythological and contemporary, and occasionally, historical, and what finally emerged was a new dramatic form out of interactions between the Sanskrit and Western traditions. Mythological plays were written by major playwrights—Viresalingam, Dharmavaram Krishnamacharya, Chilakamarthi Lakshminarasimham—and they were generally popular. Viresalingam's *Prahlād*, *Satya Hariś-candra*, *Uttar Gograhaṇa*, written between 1885 and 1886, Krishnacharya's *Citranalīyamu* (1894) on the theme of Nala-Damayanti and *Ajāmiḷa* (1895), and above all Lakshminarasimha's *Gayōpākhyānam* (1909) were the most popular plays.

The incentive for the dramatic literature came from organised dramatic associations, many of which came into existence during this period. Dharmavaram Krishnamacharya (1853–1913) was associated with the *Sarasa Vinodini Sabha* of Bellary, like the *Saguna Vilasa Sabha* of Madras established towards the end of the century. Krishnamacharya was one of the products of English education and applied the techniques of Western dramaturgy to Telugu drama. His *Viṣāda Saraṅgadhara* (1889), the first tragic play in Telugu, is an innovation in the language. His rival Kolachalam Srinivasa Rao, who also started another dramatic association at Bellary, made significant contribution to the growth of the historical play. Vedam Venkataraya Shastri and P. Srinivascharyulu wrote historical plays,

Pratāp Rudraiyāmu and *Śivāji* respectively, both published in 1897. But Srinivasa Rao, as Sitapati writes, "came to be regarded as the first great writer of historical plays." He is still remembered for his *Vijayanagara Sāmrājya Patanam*, a play on the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Apart from mythological and historical plays, the other stream of drama in Telugu dealt with contemporary social problems. It started with V. Vasudeva Shastri's *Nandaka Rājyamu* (1880) and gained momentum with the publications of plays such as *Brāhma Vivāha, Vyavahāra Bodhinī* and *Vivek dīpikā* by Viresalingam, and culminated in *Kanyā Śulkam* (1897) by Gurazada Apparao (1861–1915).[8] In the preface to the first edition—there was a revised and enlarged edition in 1909[9]—Gurazada stated

> Under the orders of his Highness the Maharaja of Vijayanagaram a list was prepared ten years ago of Brahmin *sulka* marriages celebrated in the ordinary tracts of the Visakhpatnam distinct during three years. The list is by no means exhaustive as the parties concerned were naturally adverse to admitting acceptance of bride-money; but (such as it is) it forms a document of great value and interest. The number of marriages accorded reached one thousand and thirty-four giving an average of three hundred and forty-four for the year. Ninety-nine girls were married at the age of five years, forty-four at four, thirty-six at three, six at two, and three at the age of one—the babies in the last instance carrying a price of from three hundred fifty to four hundred rupees a head. Strange as it may sound, bargains are some times struck for children in the womb. Such a scandalous state of things is a disgrace to society, and literature cannot have a higher function than to show up such practices and give currency to a high standard of moral ideas. Until reading habits prevail among the masses, one must look only to the stage to exert such healthy influence. These considerations prompted one to compose *Kanya Sulkams*.[10]

This play is thematically related to many plays written in other languages concerned with contemporary human problems. It reflects the author's deep involvement with the suffering of women. At a time when the stage was used for cheap entertainment or with the display of pomp and splendour, Gurazada wanted to uplift it to a pulpit of moral edification. The intention of the play was to attack the ignoble practice of accepting a 'price for bride', which is indicated by the title. Apart from the nobility of its intention, the play brought out the contemporary middle-class ethos in its fullness, depicting a large number of characters, belonging to different stations of life. *Kanyā Śulkam* has remained a master-piece in Telugu literature even though the problem of the play is a thing of the past. Most of the characters in the play, Girisam, the pretentious reformer; Madhuravani, the veteran prostitute; Venkatesam, the innocent brother; the clever and ingenious Karataka Sastri, in the words of G. V. Sitapati, invest the play with "the halo of permanence."[11]

Gurazada, a fine poet and short-story writer—his *Diddubatū* (1910) was the first short story in Telugu—revolutionized Telugu drama by introducing the spoken Telugu in *Kanyā Śulkam*. The tussle between the high style and the low style was going on in different languages of India at that time in some form or the other under different banners. In the history of Telugu literature this battle was long drawn and the camps were sharply divided. That Gurazada decided to opt for the spoken language speaks not only of his sense of realism but also of his understanding of closeness between literature and the people.

A polyglot and an extremely well-read man, modern in his outlook, Gurazada wrote the play with a purpose. He found the raw material of his play in the life around him. Yet in its execution and in its arrangement he was closer to Western plays rather than to the Sanskritic ones. V. R. Narla suggests on the evidence of Gurazada's diary that Gurazada was familiar with the plays of Thomas William Robertson (1829–1871). There is a possibility that Robertson's play *Caste* (1867) had some role in the making of *Kanyā Śulkam*. There is a reference in Gurazada's diary that he had attended a performance of *Caste* given at Vizianagaram in 1897. Narla thinks that "he should have read the play" long before that date.[12] The originality of conception and thought in *Kanyā Śulkam*, however, is not impaired by its structural affinity with *Caste*. Gurazada's play gave a new purpose to the Telugu theatre and opened a new world of experience to the Indian dramatist.

Theatre in Karnataka

No significant change occurred in Kannada, though it passed through a similar phase of translations from the Sanskrit and the English plays and the production of mythological as well as social plays. Basavappa Sastri (1843–1889/91), Kerru Vasudevacharya (1866–1921), M. L. Srikantesa Ganda (1852–1926), Sosale Ayya Shastri (1854–1931) were the main translators. The influence of the Parsi theatre, however, was too strong in the Kannada-speaking area, particularly in the north, to allow a sensitive and serious theatre to emerge. The mythological themes, many of them used by Sakkari Balacharya (1856–1920)—one of the most important figures in the theatrical movement of Karnataka—were as popular in Karnataka as plays based on these very themes were in other languages. *Sītāranya Praveśa Nāṭak* (1886) by Sakkari Balacharya, *Śaśirekhā Pariṇaya Nāṭakavu* (1887) by N. Shivappa Shastri, *Naladamayantī* (1887) by Bilagikara Krishnaji Bishto, and *Pramilā Svayamvara Nāṭaka* (1888) by M. G. Raghavendra Rao indicate not only the general trend of drama in Karnataka but all over India at least in their thematic configurations.

Thematic Clusters

In fact, mythological plays form a cluster in respect of theme, ideology, characters and situation connecting almost all the languages of India. The story of Harish Chandra, or the exile of Sita, the romantic episodes of Arjuna, the story of Nala and Damayanti and so on were told and retold by dramatists in all the languages, and the audience responded to them with enthusiasm and fervour. This is mainly because of the magic of the Indian epics and the mythology to which the Indian audience has been drawn in every century, and partly because of the new interpretation of mythology by the authors of every generation according to the changing taste. A similar cluster of themes is to be found in respect of historical and social plays too and this can be extended to other forms such as the novel or poetry. The cluster of themes was not restricted to mythological subjects only. Identical themes and motifs were present throughout the country. At least two plays were written in Kannada in the year when *Kanyā Śulkam* was published. They are *Kanyā Vikraya* by Dhareshwara Shivarao Narnappa and *Iggappa Hegaḍeya Vivāha Prahasana* by Karki Venkataramana Shastri. All the three plays deal with similar themes though none is indebted to the other.

II THE IMPACT OF THE PUBLIC THEATRE

The Gujarati Situation

The dramatic literature in Gujarati which had gained intensity in the earlier period with a play such as *Lalitā Dukkha Darśaka Nāṭak*, was at a low ebb during this period. The major playwrights were Ramanabhai Nilkanth (1868–1928), whose play *Rāī nō Parvat* (Rai becomes Parvat, 1914) is one of the finest works in the language; Kant (1868–1923), author of *Jālim Ṭuliā*, and Navalram Pandya (1836–1888) who wrote *Bhātnum Bhopalam* (1887) based on Fielding's *The Mock Doctor*. We have mentioned before how the Parsi theatre had acted both as an incentive and a hindrance to the growth of Gujarati drama. Shiv Kumar Joshi observes[13] with reference to this period that entertainment being the main motive the dramatist "adopted, usurped, twisted, vulgarized and over worked" themes from Shakespeare, Indian mythology and Middle-East legends. Some of the talented men including Ranchodbhai Udayram and Dahyabai Dhol Shasi were associated with the popular theatre, but instead of regulating the popular taste they themselves were regulated by it.

Dahyabhai Dholshaji (1867–1902)[14], known as 'Navin', author of at least twenty plays, deserves attention in any history of Indian theatrical activity as he represents the typical 'dramatist' working under the constraints of the public theatre. Not very highly educated but a man of some

literary power, worked as a clerk in a salt-contractor's firm, taught Sanskrit at a school, joined a theatrical company (1888) of which he became the sole proprietor, suffered heavy loss because of fire destroying the stage and theatrical equipments, disinherited by father who did not approve of his theatrical career, he rose to a great height as a stage manager and producer and earned enough to build theatres at Ahmedabad and in Bombay. Many actor-directors of his time in other parts of the country had to pass through similar experience, though only a few equalled his financial success.

Predicaments of the Playwrights

Among the writers of the nineteenth century the dramatists had to depend most on public support. All of them, however, were not dependent on the stage for their livelihood, but those who were closely associated with the theatre groups and had no other means of earning could hardly ignore the immediate demands of the audience. The Indian literary critics have often overlooked this situation and judged the dramatists rather unkindly. A close study of the lives of many dramatists of this period—most of the Urdu playwrights, many Gujarati and Marathi dramatists, some Bengali playwrights including the famous Girish Chandra Ghosh (1844–1911)—reveals the predicaments peculiar to the dramatists entirely dependent on the stage. This is not to suggest that experimental plays or plays of literary excellence were written only by those who had the leisure and opportunity to work quietly according to the dictates of their own cultivated taste. The committed theatre-man had a challenging time; he had to reconcile to the popular demand, though he also tried to make innovations and create new standards of taste.

We have seen how Kirloskar created a new theatre; how he made the mythological plays relevant to the contemporary time. His *Saubhadra* (1883) exposed the hypocrisy of god-men and advocated new codes of marriage. His unfinished *Rāmrājya Viyog* presented problems of the untouchables and criticised Brahmanic domination. He preserved the independence of the Marathi stage from the invasion of the Parsi theatre by adopting a new mode of performance which became the norm of the Marathi stage.

Three Marathi Playwrights

Playwrights like G. B. Deval (1855–1916), S. K. Kolhatkar (1871–1934), and R. G. Godkari (1885–1919)[15] followed Kirloskar's foot-steps. Deval, a member of the Aryodharak Dramatic Company and a fine actor, joined government service only to give it up, and devoted his whole life to the stage. He adapted several English plays, including *Othello* (*Zuñzārrāv*, 1890), and wrote several musicals, including *Mṛcchakaṭik* (1887) and

Vikramorvaśīya (1889) to meet the increasing demand of the theatre. His *Saṅgīt Śārada* (1899), written two years after the Telugu play *Kanyā Śulkam*, was about the evils of child-marriage. Before Deval adapted Shakespeare in Marathi, most of the translations including G. G. Agarkar's *Vikāravilasit* (1883), a literal translation of *Hamlet*, were wooden and unsuitable for the stage. Deval made Shakespeare a part of the Marathi dramatic tradition.

Shripad Krishna Kolhatkar wrote *Vīratanay* (1894, staged 1896), followed by his masterpiece *Mūkanāyaka* next year. His plays dealt with contemporary social problems, the evils of drinking, widow remarriage, etc. and they were staged by the foremost dramatic company, i.e. the Kirloskar Dramatic Company. Kolhatkar, however, was not associated with the stage. He was a lawyer by profession and wrote plays according to his artistic compulsions. Between 1907 and 1914 he did not write any play—it would have been difficult for any theatre-bound playwright to observe such a long silence—but wrote several plays later on.

The Oriya Theatre

In 1885 Daitari Raghunath, a priest (*mohanta*) of Kotpada, established a stage which continued for the next four decades, and several Oriya plays were performed on it though details about them are not available to us. Two years later Jagmohan Lala wrote his second play *Satī*, the theme of which was the rampant exploitation of the poor and moral depravity in a native state. Like his first play, *Bābājī*, this work also had an exciting plot. However, in the absence of a regular stage at different cultural centres, the dramatic literature in Oriya had a halting growth. It is true that the stage at Kotpada was quite active and popular at that time, but that was hardly sufficient to cater to the needs of the newly developing theatre-lovers. Ram Shankar Ray (1857–1931) wrote *Kāñcī Kāverī* (1880) based upon a beautiful legend of medieval Orissa, and it was staged in Cuttack next year. But there were no public stage or professional theatre groups to sustain the interest generated by this production. The rulers of some states, for example, Vir Vikram (1874–1911), prince of Khariar, took great interest in theatrical performances. Vir Vikram himself was a dramatist and wrote several mythological plays. The rulers of Parla and Chikiti also wrote a few plays. All these were performed in royal palaces. In fact, till the second decade of the twentieth century Orissa did not have a permanent stage. One can easily imagine the constraints under which a dramatist like Ramashankar Ray had to work. He was a dramatist of real merit, constantly experimenting with new themes and new forms, constantly in search of new areas of human experience, noble in intention, catholic in mind and rooted to his own heritage. He was the first dramatist in Oriya to adapt a Shakespearean play. His second play *Banabālā* (1881)

was based on *The Tempest*. His next few plays, *Kalikāla* (1883) and *Budhā bara* (1892), deal with the evils of alcoholism and old-age marriage respectively. His later plays reflect his reformist zeal and idealistic vision.

The Assamese Theatre

The slow development of the Assamese drama can be partly explained by the absence of a permanent stage and professional theatre groups. Lakshminath Bezbarua, the most important Assamese writer of this period, wrote *Litikai* (Servant, 1890), a humorous play based on situational incongruities. This is the beginning of a great literary career which flowered in the second decade of the present century. The other noted plays written in this period are Padmanath Gohain Barua's (1871–1946) *Gāon Buṛā* (The Village Chief, 1897), a play about the miserable existence of a village chief under the British administration; Durga Prasad Majindar Barua's (1872–1928), *Maharī* (The Clerk, 1893), dealing with the pitiable condition of a clerk in a tea garden; and Benudhar Rajkhowa's (1872–1955) *Seuti Kiran* (1894), a romantic play with a strong resemblance to *Othello*. It is rather important to mention that from its initial stage the Assamese drama[16] displayed a greater interest in contemporary social problems and emphasized the economic and social degradation of the people at the lower levels. The growth of mythological plays was comparatively late in Assamese. The first play of that kind, *Sītāharaṇ* (The Abduction of Sita) by Râmakanta Chaudhuri (1846–1881), was written in the late nineteenth century but is not extant now.[17] In 1893 Purnakanta Deva Sharma wrote *Hariścandra* and *Haradhaṇu Bhaṅga* which were followed by *Vaidehī Vicched* by Devanath Bardoloi, *Guru Dakṣiṇā* by Durga Prasad and *Duryodhanar Ūrubhaṅga* by Benudhar Rajkhowa, all published in 1901. In 1904 Chandradhar Barua (1874–1961) wrote *Meghnādvadh*, which was inspired by the Bengali epic of Michael Madhusudan Datta.

III MYTHOLOGY AND HISTORY

Mythological Plays

Most of the mythological plays in our languages were straight-forward dramatization of stories taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* or a *Purāṇa*. Occasionally, as in the case of Bharatendu's play *Hariścandra*, there were attempts to idealize a protagonist and emphasize the noble qualities of the hero and the heroine with a definite social purpose. Also on occasions, the mythological plays went beyond their immediate boundaries of plot situated in distant time and indefinite place, and tended to become political allegories. The Kannada play *Kīcak Vadh* (1891) by Sakkari Balacharya or the Tamil play *Kīcaka Vilācam* (1897) by Kannaya Naidu,

for example, are straight-forward dramatizations of the episode from the *Mahābhārata*, exciting and enjoyable, but the same theme, when treated by Khadilkar in his *Kīcaka Vadh* (1907), became an allegory with a strong political motivation, equating Kichak with Curzon, and Draupadi with India. The political overtone was more pronounced in historical plays, although most of them were innocent experimentations in dramatization of exciting episodes and interesting characters. Looking at dramatic activities in all the Indian languages, three distinct groups, more or less common to all, can be identified. One, plays about contemporary life, which were mostly satirical and humorous in nature; two, plays with both mythological and historical themes with the sole purpose of re-creating a time and people distant from contemporary life; and three, plays dealing with both contemporary and remote time but with a specific political motive. In addition to these there were other streams, not so prominent but popular in particular areas because of specific local conditions.

Post-Bharatendu Hindi Play

After the untimely death of Bharatendu Harishchandra with whom began great changes in Hindi literature, his mantle fell on some of his talented followers. A number of mythological plays were written by Badrinarayan Chaudhury (1865–1922), Radha Charan Goswami (1858–1925), Sital Prasad Tewari, Jwala Prasad Mishra and several others. Shriniyas Das (1851–1887), author of *Parīkṣā Guru*, Jagannath Sharma and Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandya, all wrote plays on the mythological hero Prahlad with political overtones. The growing trends of satire and social commentary were strengthened by the hilarious *Tanā nanā dhanā Gosainjī ke apnā* and *Buḍhe muha Muhanse* by Radhacharan Goswami, *Dukhinī Bālā* (1898) by Radha Krishna Das, the tender *Bāl Vivāha* by Devi Prasad, and the didactic *Vṛddhāvasthā Vivāha* by Shyamsundar Das.

Girish Chandra Ghosh

It was around this time that the famous Bengali actor-playwright Girish Chandra Ghosh wrote several biographical plays of devotional nature—*Caitanya Līlā* (1884), *Prabhās Yajña* (1885), *Buddhadeva Carita* (1887). This is partly because of the spiritual influence of Ramakrishna Paramhansa on Girish Chandra and partly in consonance with the search of heroes by the nineteenth-century intellectuals to vindicate Indian pride. These biographical plays of Girish Chandra along with similar plays in other languages on the life of Mirabai and other saints—the Telugu play *Mīrābāyī Nāṭakamu* (1900) or the Marathi play *Śrī Tukārām* (1901) for example—provide the links between the religious plays on the one hand and the historical plays on the other. Girish Chandra started writing domestic

tragedies from 1888 onwards; his *Praphulla* (1889) became a great stage success and a classic in the history of Bengali drama. *Janā* (1894), a mythological play, appears to be an odd resurgence in between his social and historical plays that began to appear from 1905. But *Praphulla* and *Janā* are linked by a sensitive portrayal of women—the character of a sacrificing, submissive and tolerant housewife, and that of the fierce, protesting and avenging heroine respectively. The contemporaries of Girish, Amritlal Basu (1853–1929), Bihari Lal Chattopadhyay (1840–1901), Amarendranath Datta (1876–1916), with their satires and comedies of manners kept the theatre movement vibrant and continued to provide varieties on the stage.

Historical Plays

Between 1885 and 1900, the Indian drama remained comparatively free from politics. The historical plays written in this period were more romantic in nature, though the glorification of the Hindus remained the most important motivation. From the beginning of the twentieth century, however, political ideas began to take priority and with the agitation against the partition of Bengal in 1905, the patriotic literature burst forth in full glory.

In 1886 two plays were published: *Pratāp Nāṭak* in Gujarati written by Ganapatram Rajaram Bhatt and *Saṃyogitā Svayamvara* by Shrinivas Das in Hindi. The former is a play about the valiant Rajput ruler Rana Pratap, and the latter also a historical play though its focus of attention is shifted to a romantic episode in the life of a king of Delhi. The two plays written in the two languages represent, as it were, the two faces of the historical drama of this period. The first play is essentially directed to stimulate nationalistic spirit through its projection of a Rajput hero fighting for the independence of his kingdom. The second play also deals with an Indian hero (who too has been presented by several dramatists later as a defender of freedom), but it narrates a romantic story which is more closely related to several *haraṇ* (abduction) plays, still popular in many languages including Sanskrit. The Gujarati play presents Rana Pratap, as did several novels and dramas in the earlier period, primarily as a Hindu hero defending his honour against the onslaught of the Muslim King. Although it did not intend to hurt Muslim sensibilities, such portrayals naturally caused a tension between the audience divided by religion.[18] *Rasputra Vijayamu* (1910) by Icchapurapu Yajnanarayana, a Telugu play eulogizing the Rajput heroes like Raj Simha and Durgas had great stage success. So was the success of Kopparapu Subba Rao's *Roshanara*. But they hurt the sensibilities of the Muslims and the performance of at least one of the plays had to be banned by the authorities.[19]

Like historical novels, the historical plays too followed two lines of

growth; one, more interested in evoking the magic of the past and the glories of the vanished empires, the other in creating national heroes and instilling ideas of a glorious past. *Komārarāmana Nāṭaka* (1892), the Kannada play by Rama Shastri; *Ratnābali* (1893), the Oriya play by Vir Vikram Singh Dev; *Nurjahān* (1896) and *Nadir Śāh* (1897), both by the Sindhi writer Mirza Qalich; the famous Telugu play *Pratāprudriyamu* (1897) by Vedam Venkataraya Shastri; the Tamil play *Mōkavānki Vilācam* (1899) by Subramaniyam Panitar or the Assamese play *Jaymatī* (1900) by Padmanath Gohain Barua represent the first trend in the main. Pratapnarayan Mishra's Hindi play *Hammir Haṭh* (1980), or Radhakrishna Das' *Mahārānī Padmāvati* (1893), Vasudeb Ranganath Sirvalkar's Marathi play *Pānipathcā Mukābālā* (1893) represent the second trend. Such a classification based on the motivation of the author does not necessarily reflect on the quality of the plays. Both the groups had good and bad plays. Bhikhari Charan Pattanayak's *Kaṭakabijay* (Oriya, 1906) based on the accounts of the British occupation of Cuttack; Muttuswamy Iyer's play *Vicuvanāṭam* (Tamil, 1906) depicting an episode from the Nayak period; Padmanath Gohain Barua's play *Gadādhar* (Assamese, 1907), dealing with the life of a seventeenth-century king of Assam, or Krishna Murti Shastri's *Bobbili Yuddhanāṭakamu* (Telugu, 1908), an exciting story of the past, are examples of the group of historical plays consisting of interesting plots without any political overtone. Several plays of D. L. Ray, however, *Nurjāhān* (1908) and *Śāhjāhān* (1909), and of Khadilkar, for example *Bhāubandakī* (1909), were not a simple and straightforward depiction of the things of the past, but are plays of complex characters and conflicts arising out of ambition for power. These plays show a distinct possibility of the growth of a third stream within the historical plays, but the number of such plays being very small and the dramatists being more interested in producing action-based plays than presenting subtle problems of human emotion that possibility was not realized.

The nature of the historical plays was determined partly by a strong presence of the influence of Shakespearean tragedies—interestingly, not of his historical plays—and partly by the patriotic vision of Indian history, particularly of the role of Hindu heroes. Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar (1872–1948), the celebrated Marathi playwright, provides a fine example. His first play, *Savāī Mādhavarāvā cā Mṛtyu* (1895), is based on a historical episode but the construction of its story and character-portrayal strongly resemble Shakespearean tragedies, both *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*. P. Shrinivasa Charyalu's Telugu play *Śivājī Caritra* (1897), on the other hand, is an illustration of the patriotic projection of the Maharashtrian hero. Both these trends reached their highest points in the beginning of the twentieth century. The heroes now are Pratapaditya (*Bańger Pratāpāditya*, 1903, by

Kshirod Prasad), Sirajudulla (*Sirājdaullā*, 1905, by Girish Chandra Ghosh), Rana Pratap and other Rajput heroes (*Pratāp Singh*, 1905, *Durgādās*, 1907, *Mevār Patan*, 1908, all by Dvijendralal Ray), Chand Sultana (*Cād Bibi*, 1907, by Kshirod Prasad and *Sultānā Candu Bibi* by K. Shrinivas Rao) and Maharaj Nanda Kumar (*Nanda Kumār*, 1908, by Kshirod Prasad).

The Signs of Change: Plays of Tagore

Rabindranath wrote about a dozen plays between 1881 and 1910. The first group of plays, consisting of *Vālmīki Pratibhā*, *Kālmṛgayā* (1882), *Māyār Khelā* (1888) are operatic, different from the Bengali *gītābhinay* or Marathi *Saṅgīt nāṭak* in conception, though having resemblance to them. *Prakṛtir Pratiśodh* (1884) is his first important drama in verse, free from the musical tradition.[20] This is important more because one notices in it an urge for finding a new drama different from the contemporary trends, either dominated by the Parsi theatre or by the musicals. Even in its choice of theme, it is neither mythological nor historical. The characters are nameless and anonymous, representing a wider segment of life; and the scenes mostly located in open spaces and streets indicate an uneasiness on the part of the playwright with the rigidities of a proscenium theatre. Rabindranath, however, wrote *Rājā o Rānī* (1884) and *Bisarjan* (1890) both in blank verse for the proscenium, and took Shakespeare as his model. In 1892 he wrote a romantic play, also in blank-verse, *Citrāṅgadā*. These plays, apart from their intrinsic merit, show how a writer responds to the social reality, to the political and social debates emerging at that time, which remained valid till our time. In *Rājā o Rānī*, for example, people shout outside the palace, and the queen is told,

> Nothing, your Majesty. Only hunger—the vulgar hunger of the poor who were content with half rations and now find total starvation a little too much; the coarse, clamorous crowd who howled unashamedly for food and disturb the sweet peace of the palace.[21]

The play *Bisarjan* is also a tragedy of conflict between royal power and priestly authority, between the ideas of love and violence. *Citrāṅgadā* (entitled *Chitra* in Tagore's own English rendering), based on the episode of love between Arjun and Chitrangada, ends with the heroine's impassioned plea for women's right:

> I am Chitra, the princess of Manipur, neither a goddess to be worshipped nor a mere female to be used or brushed aside as it pleases a man. If you care to have me as a comrade by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you let me share the great duties of your life, then only you will know my true self.[22]

Rabindranath wrote a couple of comedies which remind one of the polished wit of Oscar Wilde. Both *Goṛāy Galad* (1892) and *Baikuṇther Khātā* (1897) were written about the time when Wilde's plays *Lady*

Windermere's Fan and *The Importance of Being Earnest* were produced in London.[23] Rabindranath's only attempt to deal with a historical character in a play is *Prāyaścitta* (Atonement, 1909). This is particularly interesting, as it was written during the politically surcharged atmosphere of the Bengal partition, and Rabindranath, contrary to the common practice, denounced Pratapaditya, the national hero, and presented him as a tyrant, and created an ascetic leader in whom one finds an anticipation of Mahatma Gandhi. The scene where the leader refuses to pay tax to the king is obviously a dramatic construct of Tilak's agitation in Maharashtra.[24] From a formal point of view the plays *Śārodatsab* (The Autumn Festival, 1908) and *Rājā* (*The King of the Dark Chamber*, 1910) are important in the history of the transition of Indian drama. In them Rabindranath abandoned the Shakespearean model and developed a new structure which was peculiarly his own. But they emerged out of his experiments with the traditions of an open air theatre. Those plays did not have any immediate impact on the public stage or on dramatic literature, but the later generation found in them the germinating seed of Indian drama.[25]

CHAPTER 14

The World of Fiction

I PAST: PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

This period is crucial in the history of Indian fiction. It witnessed not only the beginnings of the novel in several languages, namely, Malayalam, Oriya, Sindhi, Konkani, Kannada and Punjabi, but also the end of the first phase of the novel and the emergence of a new one in some other languages. Looking at the Indian literary scene, therefore, one finds a strange co-existence of features—pre-phanic and meta-phanic—in the formation of the novel. There was a re-enactment, as it were, of the stages through which some languages had already passed. This period is also attractive because of the presence of several great novelists at the same time. Bankim Chandra, who dominated the earlier period, entered now the last phase of his career. And before he died both Mirza Qalich Beg and Hari Narayan Apte had already made their mark as novelists. By the end of the nineteenth century Chandu Menon, Fakir Mohan Senapati and Bhai Vir Singh appeared in full glory and Rabindranath initiated a new phase in the history of the Indian novel with *Cokher Bāli*.

Last Phase of Bankim

Bankim wrote two novels in this period, *Sītārām* (1887) and *Rājasimha* (1893). *Sītārām* is about a Bengali landlord who clashed with the Mughal authority at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The historical basis is very slender but the novelist constructed a fine story of a hero who dreamt of founding a Hindu empire but died tragically because of his lust and bigotry.[1] This work is a sequel, not thematic but ideological, of *Ānanda Maṭh* and *Debī Caudhurānī*, both illustrations of his *anuśīlan tattva* or 'theory of culture' as expounded in his learned treatise *Dharma Tattva* and *Kṛṣṇa Caritra*. Bankim's last novel *Rājasimha*[2] is also an exercise in search of an ideal hero. The protagonist is a Rajput chieftain and the main plot is about the armed conflict between Rajasimha and Aurangazeb, the Mughal emperor. There are interesting sub-plots and exciting incidents and powerful descriptions of battles and skirmishes. Bankim's main intention was to demonstrate the military prowess of the Hindus by idealizing the Rajput hero and to present the complex character of Aurangzeb, whose bigotry and intolerance, according to Bankim, led to

the downfall of a great empire. The work can be called a grand finale of the remarkable career of Bankim Chandra.

Historical Novel Flourishes

The historical novel attracted most of the talented writers of this period. Iccharam Suryaram Desai (1853–1912), a noted journalist and a fine scholar of medieval Gujarati literary history, wrote two historical novels. His greatest scholarly achievement, however, is the eight-volume anthology of medieval Gujarati poetry, *Bṛhat Kāvya Dohan*, (1886–1923), and he was also the author of *Hind ane Britania* (1886), one of the earliest Indian novels with political overtones. His *Suratni Śivāji-ni Lūṭ* (1888) is a novellette about the plunder of Surat by Shivaji; and *Tipu Sultān* (1889), which remained incomplete, is about the brave ruler of Karnatak who fought valiantly against the British power. Mahipatram Nilkanth, the Gujarati author well-known for his *Vanrāj Cavdo* (1881), wrote *Sadhara Jesaṅga* in 1890, another novel about a medieval ruler of Gujarat. That very year the noted Assamese writer Padmanath Gohain Barua (1871–1946) wrote *Bhānumatī*,[3] which was followed by *Lāharī* next year. Although a few prose narratives had been published in Assamese before, the Assamese novel received the real momentum with these two novels both set against the historical background of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century Assam. However, none of them is really a historical novel. Except for a reference to the Moumaria insurrection there is nothing in *Bhānumatī*, writes an Assamese critic, "that relates it to any historical event."[4] It is a romance with a tragic end, more akin to marvellous tales than to the novels dealing with historical characters and incidents.

Rajanikanta Bardoloi

Rajanikanta Bardoloi (1868–1939), a contemporary of Padmanath, established the historical novel firmly in Assamese with his first, and perhaps the best, work *Manomatī* (1900), set against the backdrop of the declining phase of the Ahom rule in the eighteenth century. Like most of the historical novels of that time, *Manomatī* is also a romance located in the past but not involved with the social and political forces operating in that period. Chandi Narayan Barua, one of its main characters, is partly historical and partly legendary. Some of the incidents describing the horrors of the Burmese invasion in all probability were heard by Rajanikanta in his young days from the old soldiers who had participated in the battle in 1819. It is a pathetic story of lovers belonging to two traditionally rival families who became victims of intense suffering caused by the Burmese invasion but were united eventually. Both Scott and Bankim Chandra were favourite authors of Rajanikanta and the novels of both acted as

models for his *Manomatī* as they did for many novels written in Assamese till the third decade of the twentieth century.

Mārtaṇḍa Varma

The first historical novel in Malayalam, *Mārtaṇḍa Varma*, by C. V. Raman Pillai was published in 1891, two years after the publication of Chandu Menon's *Indulekha*, the first novel in Malayalam. Raman Pillai (1856–1922) found an absorbing theme in the history of Kerala, and his novel played the same role in the history of Malayalam that *Durgeśnandinī* had done in Bengali. The hero of this novel, Anantapadmanabhan, is an able lieutenant to prince Mārtaṇḍa Varma who gets involved in a feud with his cousins, the Tampis, who aspired for the throne. Anantapadmanabhan follows the prince in the guise of a mad man to save him from the designs of his enemies and finally defeats them and establishes the royal authority. This outline of the story cannot give an idea about the complexity and beauty of the novel which kept the Malayalam reader spell-bound for several decades. The elements of history in the story have their own charm, but the novel excels, as a critic points out, "in the manipulation of plot, in the delineation of characters and in a more comprehensive view of life" despite "the ornateness of its language."[5]

The first historical novel in Kannada was written by Lakshmana Rao Gadagkar whose *Sūrya Kānta*, a novel about a poor family in the eighteenth century Karnataka, was published in 1892. Experiments in the novel passed through different stages in Kannada, translations, adaptations and finally original prose narratives. In 1897 M. Venkatakrishnaiah wrote *Cōragrahaṇa Tantra*, a detective novel, first of its kind in Kannada. None of these novels was written with any express purpose except to entertain and amuse. In fact, one had to wait till the publication of *Indirā Bāi* (1899) to realise the great potentialities of the novel in Kannada. Not even *Mārtaṇḍa Varma* was written with a social purpose although it made its reader aware of the past glory of Kerala, a necessary condition for the growth of patriotic literature.

Sundrī

Although *Jyotirudae* is considered the first original Punjabi novel published in 1882, the real pioneer in this field was Bhai Vir Singh. Professor Attar Singh observes: "Authorship of *Jyotirudae* published by Punjab Text Book Society has not so far been ascertained and the contents of the novel indicate an intimate knowledge of Bengali-Urdu household. May be it was written by some Bengali settled in Punjab or is a translation of some obscure Bengali novel." Bhai Vir Singh's *Sundrī* (1898), the first novel in Punjabi, was written with a purpose.[6] His inspiration came from the Sikh

history and his purpose was to pull the Sikh people out of their stupor and stagnancy. The story of *Sundrī* begins with the abduction of a Hindu girl Surasti by a Mughal official. The villagers cannot prevent the official, but the girl is rescued by her brother Balwant Singh who was disowned by his parents because he became a Sikh. The girl finds shelter in a hideout of the Sikhs, where she lives with a band of brave Sikhs but again becomes a prisoner of the Mughals. Balwant's friends again rescue her, and she is given the option to live in the forest with other Sikhs or to go back home. Surasti being impressed by their courage and dedication decides to become a Sikh—she is now named Sundari. The story is about Sikh courage and sacrifice, the resistance of the Sikh community against the tyranny of the Mughals and its role as the protector of the poor and the weak. The historical background is thin but Bhai Vir Singh has created the illusion of the vanished time as did Bankim or Hari Narayan Apte. The characters moving under the threat of captivity and death are all larger than life, and the narrative glows with the author's pride in the Sikh community.[7]

Two more novels, *Bijay Singh* (1900) and *Satvant Kaur* (1900) by Bhai Vir Singh, followed in quick succession. These three novels taken together may be treated as a trilogy dealing with the eighteenth-century Sikh history, and they remind one of Bankim Chandra's trilogy, *Ānand Maṭh*, *Sītārām* and *Debī Caudhurānī*. The main aim of Bhai Vir Singh was to create ideal heroes and heroines and to infuse a new strength into the Sikh community by presenting glorious accounts of Sikh bravery, and sacrifice. Despite modern critical reservations about his narrative technique and plot-construction, he succeeded admirably both as a novelist and as a thinker. All these novels are, however, components of a bigger whole consisting of his epic *Rāṇā Sūrat Singh* and his biographical works on the Sikh saints.

Two Major Types

The historical novels present two interesting types, one depicting the past of a community or of a region to which the author belongs, the other dealing with regions (and consequently characters belonging to that area) with which the authors do not have any immediate relation. Quite often, however, the two types intermingle. The hero of *Durgeśnandinī*, for example, is a Rajput but the heroine a Bengali. The locale of *Ānanda Maṭh* or *Debī Caudhurānī* on the other hand is in Bengal and the major characters are from that region. *Mōkanāṅki* (1895), the first historical novel in Tamil by Ti. Ta. Sarvanamutha Pillai, belongs to the first type. It is story of love between Mokananki, the Tanjore princess, and a ruler of Triunchirapalli in the seventeenth century. It evokes the memories of places and incidents to which the readers are immediately drawn. Kulandaiswamy

Pillai's *Cattiyavalli* (1910) is an example of the second type. It is also one of the earliest historical novels in Tamil which used Rajasthan as its locale. In fact, both Rajasthan and Maharastra have been extensively used by the novelists in different languages, their main issue of interest being Hindu chivalry.

The Muslim counterpart of these writers is to be found in Abdul Halim Sharar (1860–1926), the author of *Florā-Florinḍā* (1899). Sharar, a journalist associated with *Avadh Punch*, editor of *Dil-Gudāz*, a supporter of Sir Syed and a strong opponent of *purdah*, wrote several historical romances celebrating glories of Islam. His *Mālik-ul-Azız-Varjana* (1888) is a rejoinder to Scott's *Talisman*, and both *Hasan aur Anjalīna* (1889) and *Mansūr Mohana* (1890) deal with Muslim glory. Sharar's attraction to the past may be related to his own experiences: he spent his early life in Calcutta at Matia Burj in the company of Wajid Ali Shah's sons and courtiers still pursuing the life of leisure and pleasure. And he had always had a nostalgia for the royal court and its glamour. It is also interesting to know that he translated Bankim's *Durgeśnandinī* into Urdu in 1885, the year he published his first novel. He was one of the few writers of his time to visit England, though his experiences abroad are not reflected in his novels. He wrote several books on history and lives of the heroes of Islam.[8]

His *Florā-Florinḍā*[9] is the story of Muslim power in Spain in the ninth century. Its heroine, Flora, is the daughter of a Muslim father and a Christian mother. Florinda is a nun sent by the Christian community in the guise of a young Muslim widow to keep watch on Flora. It is a rather complicated story of tense religious conflicts, full of exciting incidents and descriptions bordering on pornography. "Sexual lust, allied with religious fanaticism," writes Russell, "is portrayed as the dominant motive of the Christian characters."[10] And of course, Sharar lost no opportunity to present the Islamic civilization in all its splendour.

Historical Novels in Telugu

Telugu literature rich in *prabandhas*, bearing historical events and personages, proved a fertile ground for historical novels introduced by Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham (1867–1946). Some critics have described his appearance as "an epoch making event." In 1896 *Hemalatā* by Chilakamarti and *Lakṣmīsundara Vijayamu* by Khandavalli Ramchandrarudre were awarded the first and second prizes respectively by the journal *Cintāmani*.[11] The first novel took its theme from Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, and the second was set against the background of the times of Tipu Sultan. Both the novels chose their locales outside the Andhra area. In his later novels Chilakamarti uses the time of Ahalyabai or of Raja Kalingagangu. Khandavalli recreates the time of the Gajapathis of the sixteenth century

(*Dharmāvatī Vilāsamu*, 1893); Dharanipreggada Venkata Shiva Rao concentrates on Shivaji (*Kāñcan Mālā*, 1908) and Bhogaraju Narayan Murti on Aurangzeb (*Vimalā Devī*, 1910). K. R. Bankapura in his Kannada novel *Vasayi Koteya Ghanaghora Saṅgrām* (1902). deals with the capture of the fort of Vasayi and the bravery of the Maharastrian soldiers.

Protagonists in Hindi

The Hindi novelists in general preferred colourful figures such as Prithviraj (Baldev Prasad Misra's *Pṛthvīrāj Cauhān*, 1902) and romantic heroines like Anarkali (Baldev Prasad Misra's *Anārkali*, 1902; Ganga Prasad Gupta's *Nurjahān*, 1902) or Sultana Razia (Kishorilal Gosvami's *Raziyā Begam*, 1904). Most of these novels were part of the popular literature of this period catering the need of the growing reading-public interested in exciting and romantic stories. It is not the interpretation or even the reconstruction of history that kept most of the writers engaged, but a construction of a romance with predictable ingredients. Such works appeared in Indian English also: T. Ram Krishna's *Padmini* (1903), K. K. Sinha's *Sanjogita* (1901) and M. V. Naidu's *The Princess Kamala* (1904), to give a few examples, all without any serious concern literary or social. The Indian historical novel entered a significant phase with the advent of Apte.

Hari Narayan Apte

Hari Narayan Apte, one of the most powerful novelists of this period, kept up the tradition of the historical novel begun by Bankim Chandra alive. His novels are part of the growing historical consciousness as evidenced from the historical researches of that time. The fall of the Maratha empire left a permanent wound in the Maharashtra psyche. The outcome of contemporary researches, including Ranade's *The Rise of the Marathi Power* (1900), was the emergence of Shivaji with new glory and significance. "A movement was set afoot by raising a fund for the renovation of Shivaji's Samadhi at Fort Raigarh," write Deshpande and Rajadhyaksha, "and for the construction of a memorial."[12] It started casually but Tilak gave it a political dimension and turned it into a movement. In 1896 a great festival was organized at Raigarh in honour of Shivaji where thousands gathered and Tilak soon converted it into a national festival.

The historical novels of Apte are the glowing expressions of the Maharastrian nostalgia and pride. When Apte wrote *Uṣākāl* (1897) very little data was available to him. But like Bankim Chandra and Ramesh Chandra, he made full use of all the material available to him, including the ballads and the legends. His first historical novel *Mhaisūrācā Wāgh* (seralized in *Karmaṇūk* from 1890 and published in a book-form in 1891)

was an adaptation of an English work on Tipu Sultan, writen by Meadows Taylor. His series of novels—*Uṣāḥkāl* (1897), *Sūryoday* (1905–06), *Sūrya-grahaṇ* (1908–09), and *Madhyāhna* (1906–07), an incomplete work centre—round the character of Shivaji. Critics are in agreement about the great literary merit of these works, particularly of *Uṣākāl* and *Gaḍ Ala Paṇ Sinha Gela*, which are still read with pleasure. The contemporary public acclaim, however, was more due to the immediate historical context than to anything else.

It was a period when Shivaji, along with the Rajput heroes, fired the imagination of writers belonging to different-regions. Purushottam Visrama Mavaji's Gujarati novel *Śivājīno Vāghanakha* (1907), to give a random example, was written in defence of Shivaji's killing of Afzal Khan. In the novels of Apte the Maharastrian readers found an emotional solace and inspiration comparable to the Muslim readers' response to the novels of Abdul Halim Sharar, the distinguished contemporary of Apte.

Among other historical novels of Apte, *Rūpnagaracī Rājkanyā* (1900–02), based on an episode in Aurangzeb's career, deals with the same theme and the same incidents already exploited by Bankim in his *Rājasimha*. Apte's *Candragupta* (1902–04) is a recreation of the political atmosphere of the Maurya period, with Chanakya as its hero. His *Kālakūṭ* (1909–11), an incomplete novel, takes the theme of Prithviraj, the last Hindu King of Delhi, and his last novel *Vajrāghāt athavā Vijayanagaracā Vināśkāl* (1913–15) deals with the last days of the Vijayanagar kingdom, estimated by many critics as his best novel. From the themes, and particularly from the heroes chosen by Apte, one sees very clearly that he, like Bankim and his contemporaries, belonged to a nationalistic trend of writing. His greatest achievement in this respect was to establish Shivaji as a new national hero. The trend which started with Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay's novel *Aṅgurīya Binimay* in 1862, and sustained in the novels, plays and poems in different languages, culminated in the novels of Apte.

II PRESENT: REAL AND IDEAL

Indulekha

Critics have seen similarities between Chandu Menon's *Indulekha*, the first novel in Malayalam,[13] and *Henriette Temple* (1836) by Benjamin Disreli. Chandu Menon was familiar with the English novel and in fact wanted to translate it into Malayalam. But after some serious thought he decided against it and wrote "a Malayalam novel more or less after English fashion," and the result was *Indulekha*. He stated in a letter to his

English translator[14] that his intention was to create a taste among the Malayalam readers

> not conversant with English, for that class of literature represented in the English language by novels of which at present they . . . have no idea, and to see whether they could appreciate a story that contains only such facts and incidents as may happen in their own households under a given state of circumstances.

Indulekha, like most of the early novels in other Indian languages, is didactic and written more to instruct than to amuse.[15] It is a love story, interspersed with a lot of discursive but instructive material. It gives a realistic picture of a nineteenth-century Nayar joint-family of South Malabar with great details about the matriarchal system and customs associated with it. Indulekha, the heroine of the novel, is the granddaughter of Panju Menon, the old chief of the household. Panju Menon, conservative and sceptical about English education, has an argument with the young educated Madhavan who is in love with Indulekha. Panju Menon gets so angry with Madhavan that he decides to prevent their marriage and tries to marry Indulekha with a middle-aged rich but licentious Nambudiripad. In order to poison Madhavan's mind, the Nambudiripad family spreads a canard about the moral character of Indulekha, which Madhavan believes to be true. Madhavan leaves Malabar, travels to different parts of the country but finally returns home to marry Indulekha. The misunderstanding between the lovers delays but does not prevent the happy ending.

Chandu Menon made his hero and heroine highly idealized. Indulekha is beautiful and accomplished in all arts. She is frequently compared with European girls in respect of her physical charm as well as intellectual accomplishment. The character of Indulekha is remarkable if only because she represents a new idea of womanhood, an embodiment of the Indian and Western virtues put together. He wrote,

> Twenty years hence there may be found hundreds of Indulekhas in Malabar who would be able to choose their own husbands for pure and sweet love. My narrative of the love and courtship of Madhavan is intended to show to the young ladies of Malabar how happy they can be if they have the freedom to choose their partners.

The debates and discussions in *Indulekha*, some of them having no immediate relationship with the main plot, are not a mere evidence of the author's moralising tendency but also of his anxiety to make the novel an instrument of social change. Chapter eighteen entited "A Conversation," the longest in the book, contains elaborate discussions on the study of English, on atheism and religion and Indian National Congress.[16] Such

conversations become almost an essential feature of the Indian fiction and drama at the initial stage of their development.

After *Indulekha*, Chandu Menon started writing another novel *Śārada*, which remained incomplete because of his untimely death. According to critics *Śārada* had the promise of being a better novel. No novel but *Indulekha*, however, created such a tremendous impact on the reading public in Kerala. Several writers, all of them now forgotten, sought to ape *Indulekha*, which prompted K. Raman Menon to satirize them in his *Parannōṭi Pariṇayam* (The Marriage of Parangodi, 1892), with which began the satirical novel in Malayalam.[17]

Early Oriya Novels

Experiments in the Oriya novel began from the late seventies. Ramashankar Roy made several attempts,[18] but the first Oriya novel *Padmamāḷī* by Umesh Chandra Sarkar appeared in 1888. Like Ramashankar, Umesh Chandra was a Bengali settled in Orissa. "I am not adequately familiar with the language of Utkala," wrote Umesh Chandra in the preface to his book, "and I am making an attempt [at writing a novel] knowing full well that I may be laughed at."[19] Writing about the work Gauri Shankar Ray, the editor of *Utkal Dipikā*, observed

> as the author is new and so is the technique of [the] writing of the novel, we prefer to ignore the flaws in his language. One can easily recognize that it is written in imitation of Bengali.[20]

Both *Padmamāḷī* by Umesh Chandra and *Bibāsinī* (1891) by Ramashankar were influenced by the novels of Bankim Chandra. The first novel deals with a dispute between two princely states, Mayurbhanj and Nilagiri, and focuses on the love between Parikhit Singh and Padmamali. Ganeswar Mishra's description of the work is worth quoting:

> The novel is full of romantic scenes, adventures, chance coincidences and suspenses . . . it is full of images of murder, rape, burglary. . . . It reads more like the prose rendering of a medieval *Kavya* dealing with princely romances than a novel.[21]

Bibāsinī, which takes the eighteenth-century Orissa as its back-drop, presents exciting moments involving the raid of the Maratha soldiers, and the pathetic picture of a horrible famine. The work also reminds one of *Ānanda Maṭh*. Whatever be the value of these feeble attempts, the Oriya novel actually started off with Fakir Mohan Senapati. His first novel *Lachamā* (1901) deals with the past, its story is of the Maratha invasion of Orissa. The heroine Lachama, a country girl, on her way to Puri got separated from her husband because of the raid of the Maratha invaders,

who also killed her parents. After a long and tortuous series of events, she met her husband and both of them killed Bhaskar Pandit, the Maratha chief.[22] Apart from a close resemblance to Bankim's technique, the moving theme and the character of a heroic woman in *Lachamā* made an immediate impact upon the reading public.

Chamāṇa Āṭhaguṇṭha

The greatest work of Fakir Mohan, *Chamāṇa Āṭhaguṇṭha* (1902), is not only free from all traces of the Bankim tradition, but it created a new world of fiction which was further expanded and enriched later in the century by several writers, particularly Premchand and Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay. The novel was first serialised in *Utkal Sāhitya* from 1897 under the pseudonym 'Dhurjati,' and completed and published in a book form in 1902. The remarkable quality of the work is its stark realism and grim humour, and abundant sympathy for the poor and the downtrodden. It is a story of an unscrupulous landlord and his greed for acquiring more land, told in the language of the common man. It centres round the machinations of the landlord to grab a piece of land measuring six acres and thirty-two decimals, which is the title of the book, belonging to a poor weaver Bhagia and his childless wife Saria. So common were these incidents in Indian villages that it was not difficult for a writer of Fakir Mohan's experience and competence to weave out of it the agonizing tale of the Indian peasant. A few years earlier Rabindranath, himself a landlord, had written a poem "Two Bighas of Land" (1895–96) on a similar theme. A tender and touching poem it certainly was, but Fakir Mohan went far ahead in depicting the suffering of the poor, groaning under a socio-economic system that involved the absentee landlordism, the intriguing rent controllers manipulating to become owners of estates, the nefarious activities of the police, the heartlessness of the court and the simple daily lives of villagers. The novel is indeed, a memorable human document of rural India.

Chamāna Āṭhaguṇṭha can be described as the culmination of the tradition of realism that first appeared in the play *Nīl Darpaṇ* and sustained by such plays as *Jamidār Darpaṇ* and *Cākar Darpaṇ*, and the novels such as *Govinda Samanta*, *Samāj*, *Sansār*, *Svarṇalatā*, and *Paṇ Lakṣāmt Koṇ Gheto*. All these plays and novels contain elements of realism in varying degrees but none can match Fakir Mohan's novel in respect of its minute details of social life and economic undercurrents regulating human relationships and the variety of characters representing traditional occupational groups. Taking *Lachamā* and *Chamāṇa Āṭhaguṇṭha* together, Fakir Mohan presented a moving record of human misery and struggle. The tradition enriched by him was later taken up by Premchand, Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay,

Takazhi Shivasankara Pillai, Pannalal Patel and Gopinath Mohanty, all master-chroniclers of social transformation. The only other Oriya novel that belonged to this realistic tradition was *Bhīmā Bhunyā* (1908) by Gopal Ballabh Das a novel which is one of the earlist attempts to look into the problems and social traditions of the tribals.

Four Women

Dilrām, written by Mirza Qalich Beg in 1888, is the precursor of the novel in Sindhi. It is more like a traditional *qissā* containing a mixture of the probable and the improbable incidents and supernatural elements. Two years later he wrote *Zinat*, a story of a middle-class Muslim family in Sindh, considered to be the first novel in the language. The time of the action in the novel is the last years of Talpur rule and the early years of the British occupation in Sindh. Zinat, the heroine of the novel, represents an ideal woman serving adequately to project the author's views on the relationship between the development of a community and women's education. The novel has an inner connection with some Urdu novels, such as *Mirat-ul-Urūs* and *Taubat-un-Nasūh* of Nazir Ahmed in particular, in respect of realistic and intimate records of the Muslim middle class and the portrayal of the tensions between the traditional and modern sensibility.

The story develops within the domestic confines. Zinat's widowed mother Shahr Banu is anxious to get her daughter married to her nephew according to traditional customs. Zinat disagrees with the proposal and marries Ali Raza, a friend of her brother. Ali Raza, an educated young man, teaches her English. She matures into an enlightened woman, though she is reluctant to reject the *purdah* system. On their way to Bombay Zinat falls off the deck of the ship one night and every one takes her to be lost and dead. She is, however, rescued by a group of fishermen of Kutch, where she gives birth to a son. Zinat who has been advocating the *purdah*, is now exposed to the vagaries of nature and of men during her separation from her husband. She is now able to look at the age-old system critically without bias. After a great many sufferings she finally meets her husband and the story ends happily: her children are well educated, and comfortably settled and the couple lead a peaceful life.

Critics have noted the presence of some autobiographical elements in the novel which may not be totally accidental. What makes it interesting is the author's liberalism in matters of social custom and his creation of a woman character in conformity with the reformistic zeal of the nineteenth-century Indian novelists. Mirza Qalich Beg did not write a novel to entertain his readers, but to persuade them to accept a rational view of life and social order. One tends to agree with the estimate of this work by Schimmel that it

contains some points which are far more modern than most of the modernist approaches made half a century later, and although the plot of this novel in its second half is not very convincing, *Zinat* deserves a place of honour in the history of Muslim educational literature.[23]

The first social novel in Kannada—*Indirā Bāi* (1899) by Gulavadi Venkata Rao (1844–1913)—published at the fag end of the century also presents a virtuous heroine who is a victim of the inhumanity of traditional customs. Indirabai, the heroine of the novel, was married to an elderly person at a very young age according to the customs of the day. Denied all happiness by her old and debauched husband she is expected only to obey the rules prescribed for her. The husband dies soon leaving Indirabai to struggle on her own against poverty and face indignities, but the best in Indirabai comes out through her sufferings. She educates herself; she gathers courage to meet the challenges of society, takes decisions against the established norms which she finds irrational and inhuman, and finally decides to remarry. By modern standards such a story will hardly be of any interest. But the vivid realism with which the author described the social conditions and the optimism he generated by his sympathetic characterization of the younger generation, made a deep impression on the reading public. Not only was it a story of a hapless woman struggling against orthodoxy and cruelty, but also of her victory promising the emergence of an enlightened generation.

It is a coincidence that Mirza Muhammad Hadi Rusva's (1858–1931) *Umrāo Jān Adā*, also a story of a hapless woman, was published in 1899. The heroine Umrao Jan Ada, however, unlike Indirabai and Zinat, is a courtesan of the early nineteenth-century Lucknow. She was abducted at a tender age and sold as a prostitute. Despite all her attempts to change the course of her life she was trapped in the net of circumstances and had to live the life of a whore. There is hardly any work comparable to this novel projecting the life of a woman, so sensitive and sophisticated, told with such compassion and feeling.

Rusva criticised his predecessors in a vein similar to that of Lal Behari Dey for their obsession with the past and attraction for the marvellous. He wanted his novel to be considered a portrait of his time, and most of the critics think that *Umrāo Jān Adā*, because of its realistic presentation of life, be accepted as the first novel in Urdu. What dominates the narrative, its characters and their relationship, its plot and movements, its intense realism, not only unprecedented in the Urdu novel but rare in the novels written in other languages. Russell describes it as "an isolated achievement"[24] and Rais claims that "during the following three decades, no Urdu novel could equal *Umrāo Jān Adā* in novelty of plot or excellence of characterization."[25]

It is interesting that three remarkable novels of the nineteenth century, *Indirā* (first version 1873, revised 1893), *Paṇ Lakṣāmt Koṇ Gheto* (1893) and *Umrāo Jān Adā* (1899) are written in the same technique, that of autobiographical narration. Perhaps this was a mere coincidence that three novels with women protagonists belonging to three different cultural milieus and social situations adopt a nearly identical technique. Or, perhaps, this technique was found most natural for establishing the authenticity of the narrator's voice which happened to be the voice of the woman.

The Marathi novel, *Paṇ Lakṣāmt Koṇ Gheto*? (But who cares?) by Hari Narayan Apte, began to be serialised in *Karmaṇūk* from 1890 and was published as a book three years later. It is a tragic tale of the heroine Yamuna and a painful document of the tyranny of man against man. This story has been built up with masterly skill presenting each character fully and admirably without sentimentality but never without sympathy. Yamuna grows up in a joint family where there is little freedom and little understanding, where all brief moments of hope are smothered by cruelties of man. She moves to another joint-family after her marriage. The young bride finds the atmosphere there equally stifling and suffocating. The Hindu joint family surfaces in the novel with all its authoritarianism and callousness, the animal existence of women, intensified by the manoeuvrings of pampered drunken husbands and mean and jealous women. Yamuna realises that the only ray of hope for her is education; the only fresh air of life is life in the city. She enters a new world when she goes to Bombay, the city promising freedom. Like Bankim's Indira, Yamuna too is overwhelmed by the size and magnificence of the metropolis, outside the narrow domestic surroundings. She finds freedom not only in the atmosphere of the city but also in her desire for learning. Apte intensifies her tension by taking her back from Bombay to Pune, from freedom to damnation. Yamuna oscillates between hope and frustration and the story ends slowly and painfully without offering any consolation. Of all the novels dealing with the sufferings and predicament of women in the nineteenth century, *Pan Lakṣamt* is the most significant not only because of its detailed representation of men and manners, but also because of its recognition of social reality. The celebration of the doll's marriage interrupted by the patriarch, with which the novel opens, slowly acquires a symbolic value. Yamuna's husband dies at a time when everything seems to be all right. But the story does not end like a fairy tale. Yamuna comes back to Pune and undergoes all indignities stored for a Hindu widow of her time. She refuses to have her hair shaved, the usual rite after the husband's death. But she is too weak to resist the brutal forces of orthodoxy. She writes her 'autobiography' at the instance of her brother who

thinks that the story will expose social injustices against women. Yamuma writes reluctantly. The irony underlying the title "Who wants to see? But who cares?" distinguishes the novel from all others dealing with women.

A Novel of Idealism

The Gujarati novel, *Sarasvatī Candra* by Govardhanram, was published in four parts (1887–1901). In its preface, written in English, the author gives some clues to the structure of the novel, using the third person singular for the writer:

> When he first desired to give an objective existence to all that so sketched out in his mind's book, he intended to give it the form of essay. Second thoughts discovered that the reading class in Gujarat were, for various reasons, difficult to reach through abstruse or discursive matter, and that illustrations of real or ideal life would be the best medium, best in the sense of being attractive and impressive, for communications like which the writer has to make . . . that this is especially so with a people, who must be made, and not simply left, to read.

One need not think, however, that *Sarasvatī Candra* is a treatise in the form of a novel. It is a novel in its own right and it won the public applause for its powerful characters and interesting story and not merely for "the abstruse or discursive matter" it contained. The huge book running into two thousand pages tells the story of the quest of a youngman, Sarasvati Chandra and his beloved Kumud. Sarasvati Chandra, a young lawyer and son of a rich merchant of Bombay, betrothed to the charming Kumud, has to leave home because of the intrigues of his step-mother. He takes to wanderings and during his travels is exposed to various kinds of men and women, administrators, officers, dacoits and ascetics. He finally meets Kumud who was married to a rake and widowed, and feels passionate attraction for his old love. But eventually Sarasvati Chandra is able to sublimate his love and transform it into service to mankind.

It is, as the author claimed, a story of moral values in the guise of a story of love. With its numerous incidents, sub-plots and varied discussions, the novel is a veritable labyrinth, but everything is controlled by the author's vision of a moral universe. Despite allegorical strands in the names of characters, Buddhidhan, Lakshminanda, Dhurtalal, one realizes that they are neither stereotypes nor abstractions but full-blooded human beings. The novel, extremely popular since the time of its publication, is also a centre of controversy because of the marriage of Sarasvati Chandra with Kusum and not with Kumud, a widow whom he loved Its structure also defies the general canons of unity and probability. Jhaveri complains that "the flow of the story gets interrupted every now and then particularly in the third and the fourth parts of the novel; and gross improbabilities like Kumud and Sarasvati Chandra seeing one and the same dream serializ-

ed for two or three consecutive nights, and many other inconsistencies of a minor nature, have been suffered to exist."[26] But as Umashankar Joshi has pointed out, the novel exercises its spell over the readers "not because it has solutions to offer but because it has questions to raise—some of them near-insoluble."[27]

Two features of this novel that demand attention are the amorphous nature of the narrative and the nature of the hero. The form and technique are clearly related to the traditional Indian narrative, which prompted Anand Shankar Dhruva to describe it as a *purāṇa*. It must be pointed out that this is not an exclusive feature of this novel, but of many Indian novels of this time. The other interesting feature is the wandering hero. At the mundane level this was attractive to the early novelists who could incorporate certain elements of travelogues, which gave a spaciousness and plenitude to the narrative. At a different level the journey was an inward one providing scope for probing into the inner psyche of the characters.

Two Novels of Rabindranath

Rabindranath's *Cokher Bāli* was serialized first in *Bańgadarśan*, which he edited, and later published in a book form in 1903. Like the stories of Zinat and Indirabai, Umrao Jan Ada and Yamuna, this is also the story of a woman, Binodini, who refuses to accept her fate meekly and struggles with conviction. She asserts her right to live and to love which is denied her. One may not agree with Krishna Kripalani's statement that "the modern novel proper, whether realistic or psychological or concerned with a problem" begins with *Cokher Bāli*, but there is little doubt that the second phase of the Indian novel begins with it. The story is free from all melodramatic as well as didactic elements, from all intrusions of polemics and philosophic reflections that characterise most of the novels in the nineteenth century. It concentrates on a dilemma of human relationship, tells a story without any interference from the omniscient narrator and weaves intricately and subtly a moving story of human love and suffering. The heroine Binodini is a vivacious widow, beautiful and intelligent, who rebels against the codes of society. Although in the end she accepts the predicament of her social status and appears to have been defeated, but that was an artistic contrivance negotiating with the realities of life. What makes this novel memorable is the personality of the heroine, who arouses violent passions within a family totally dominated by conventions. The narrative technique depends more on a penetrating analysis of the behaviour of the characters, their thoughts and feelings than on a description of 'great' things in nature or narration of exciting events. It is this analytical mode of narration that makes this novel significant in the history of the Indian novel. Rabindranath was to write greater novels but none

has surpassed this in the art of narration.

The next significant work of Rabindranath, *Gorā* (1910), has an epic dimension, being a narrative unfolding the complexities of the Indian socio-religious fabric. Although it starts as a story of two friends drifting away from each another because of their differences on religious and social attitudes, it slowly acquires a rare magnitude as the characters, social types and idealized individuals, begin confronting one another. It is the story of a change in the protagonist, an impulsive and bigotted Hindu though an uncompromising patriot. That he was a waif born of Irish parents during the rebellion of 1857 and brought up as a Hindu is not known to him. When the truth is revealed all his orthodoxy and fanatical pride in religion crumble like a house of cards. However, it is not the sudden recognition of the hero's lineage only that brings about the reversal. The change comes from two sources: first, the hero's experience of life in rural India which makes him aware of the callousness and inhumanity of society. Second, the benign influence of an enlightened woman who makes Gora realise the power of love and the power of women in humanizing society. It is the story of the hero's long journey through sectarianism and fanaticism to the ideals of humanism. *Gora* is a search for a new Indian identity in the perspective of Indian history. In his joy and excitement on the realization of his true self, Gora says

> Today I am really an Indian. In me there is no longer any opposition between Hindu, Mussulman and Christian. . . . Today give me the *mantram* of that Deity who belongs to all, Hindu, Mussulman, Christian and Brahmo alike—the doors to whose temples are never closed to any person of any caste whatever—He who is not merely the God of the Hindus, but who is the God of India herself.[28]

III THE SHORT STORY

Early Stages

There are at least three distinct stages in the growth of the short story as a modern literary form. All these stages are autonomous and self-sufficient but inter-related. The first stage belongs to that of anecdotes and the second that of tales and fables. The third stage emerged in the nineteenth century with the advent of journals and periodicals which encouraged the growth of character-sketches and reportage of incidents. There was yet another stage which belonged to the novella or short fiction.

The short story distinct from anecdotes, tales, sketches, reportage and novellas came at the last stage of the evolution of narratives. As a form, it shares some features of these four but it developed its own distinctiveness identified by the presence of a conscious narrative, foregrounding a particular incident, or a situation, or a moment of emotional intensity.

The ancient Indian literature was extremely rich in tales, fables and parables, and there was hardly any time in any Indian literature when the stories did not occupy a prominent place. The stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the various *Purāṇas* were told and retold along with the cycle of stories of *Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa* and of Betal and Vikramaditya. The corpus increased in size and variety with the Perso-Arabic contact; stories from the Middle-East became a valuable part of Indian literature. Many of these stories were recreated in verse in the pre-printing era and they were the first to appear in a new form when the printing press and prose were introduced in our languages.

The short story as a literary genre appeared in all Indian literatures when the mythological, adventurous and marvellous stories had exhausted their possibilities, and the novel was firmly established. As the various Indian terms for the novel indicate the reader's and writer's perception of the novelty of the form, so do the different terms for the short story in different Indian languages reflect the varied distinctiveness of the form implied in nomenclatures like *kathā, ākhyān, upākhyān, afsāna* and *dāstān*. A large number of collections of stories published between 1800 and 1885, some of them already referred to, belong to these traditions. These stories continued to appear even after 1885, but the critical terms[29] identifying the 'short story' had by then emerged as a result of the writer's desire to distinguish the new stories from the old.

The Kannada work *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kathā Samgraha* (1886), a collection of stories about Krishna collected from Sanskrit *purāṇas* and folklore, or the eight-volume Urdu work *Dāstān-e-Amir Hamza Daftar Awwal* (1887–1900), a collection of stories from Perso-Arabic sources, compiled by Hafiz Syed Abdullah of Belgram, or the Tamil work *Viveka Cākaram* (1890), a collection of stories each one of them linked with the other by a slender thread of narration (as in *Śuka Saptatī* or *The Arabian Nights*) by Husain Khan, or the Gujarati collection of anecdotes *Tūcakā Samgraha* (1890) by Jahengir Baharmji Marjhaben, or the Sindhi work *Sabha jo Singar* (1894), collection of stories based on *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* by Sobhraj Hasaram Daswani, or the Maithili collection of tales for the instruction of women, *Strī dharma Śikṣā* (1897) by Laldas, are some of the examples of the continuation of the indigenous tradition of tales. The growth of the short story was also accelerated by the emergence of short fiction, i.e. novellas and long tales which share the general features of the novel in respect of structural complexity and development of characters through a considerably long period of time. Bankim Chandra's *Rādhārānī, Yugalāṅgarīya* and *Indirā* are such examples. Fakir Mohan Senapati is probably the first Indian to write a short story in the modern sense. His first short story 'Lachmania' was published in 1868.[30] The growth of the

short story was partly regulated by the growing demand for stories by the reading public who preferred a complete story to parts of novels serialised in journals and periodicals. The editors of various journals, therefore, encouraged the popular novelists of their time to contribute stories to each issue. The situation was very much similar to that in contemporary Europe and America where journals played a dominant role in the development of the short story.

One of the earliest stories, considered by the critics as the first specimen of short story in Bengali, distinct from the novella as well as the tale, was written by Purnachandra Chattopadhyay in 1873 and was published in *Bańgadarśan* edited by his elder brother Bankim Chandra. This story, *Madhumatī*, its theme being the amnesia of the heroine, appeared as a fresh and striking work. It was followed by a sentimental story by young Rabindranath in 1877. The short story as a viable form did not emerge in Bengali till the year 1891 when Rabindranath wrote six short stories for the six consecutive issues of the newly established journal *Hitabādī*. The first short story in Malayalam, *Vāsanāvikṛti* (The Mischief of Habit) by Kunji Raman Nayanar, was published in the monthly *Vidyāvinodinī* in 1891.[31] Despite the fact that Dalpatram wrote several stories collected in *Bāidini Mulākātnun* (1856), *Tārikh Bodh* (1870), *Daivajña Darpaṇ* (1872) and *Gujarātnān Kettāk Aitihāsik Prasaṅga ane Vārtao* (1876)—and some of them do contain elements of the short story—and despite Navalram Pandya's claim for Srimati Shrunger's *Tuṅki Kahānio* (Short Stories, 1885) as the first specimens of short stories in Gujarati, it is Ambalal Shakerlal Desai's *Śāntidās* (1900) which is, by and large, accepted, as first short story in Gujarati.[32]

The pre-history of Marathi short story goes back to the stories of didactic nature published in the journal *Marāṭhī Jñān Prasārak* (1850) and 'Ekā Manjrāce Shāhāṇpaṇ' (The Wisdom of the Cat, 1888) published in *Manōrañjan Āṇi Nibandha Candrikā*. But the short story in the real sense was born in the journal *Karamaṇūka* (1890) edited by Hari Narayan Apte. Since it was considered an inferior from—inferior to the novel—very few Marathi writers took short story seriously. K. J. Purohit observes, "Hari Narayan Apte, whose position as a novelist remains unequalled even to this day, could not produce stories to match his reputation in the novel."[33] Out of his many stories collected in *Sphuṭa Goṣṭī* (1898), only a few bear the stamp of his genius. In fact the, Marathi short story followed the line of growth similar to that of the growth of novel: its first phase was dominated by didactism, its second by entertainment. The magazine in which the stories began to appear regularly is, incidentally, called *Manōrañjan* (Entertainment, 1895). This magazine published many stories, including translations from Bengali, and more significantly,

from the adventures of Sherlock Holmes which had begun to appear in *The Strand* (1891).

About the Oriya short story a scholar observes that "till 1896 the art of short story writing was practically unknown to Oriya literature," and "'Rebatī' (1898), a story about a tragic character of rural Orissa written by Fakir Mohan Senapati, was perhaps the first real story in the language in the modern sense."[34] In Oriya too, the short story was born in and nurtured by journals, like *Utkal Sāhitya* (1897) edited by Bishvanath Kar and *Mukur* (1906) edited by Braja Sundar Das. Most of the stories of Fakir Mohan were written at the instance of *Utkal Sāhitya*. One of the collections of short stories in Oriya, *Citra* by Chandra Shekhar Nanda, was published in 1906. The short story in Kannada too had its origin in the periodicals. Panje Mangesh Rao's *Bhārata Śravana* (The Recitation of the *Mahābhārata*) and *Kamalapurada Hoṭlinalli* (At the Hotel Kamalapura), both published in 1900 in the monthly *Subhāṣiṇī*, are the earliest examples of the Kannada short story. "Still uncertain in their form, most of them narrate some humorous incidents" writes a Kannada critic.[35] After Panje, M. N. Kamat (1883–1940) wrote a few stories but they really belong to the pre-history of the Kannada short story. The Kannada short story as a distinct literary genre is a creation of Masti Venkatesa Iyenger (b. 1891) whose first story appeared in 1911 in the periodical *Madhuravāṇī*.

The short story in Hindi appeared around 1900. "Our first Short Story," writes Jindal, 'confined to a single incident or moment, appeared in the first volume of *Sarasvatī*. That was 'Indumatī' by Kishori Lal Goswami."[36] Rāmachandra Shukla's *Gyāraha Varṣa Kā Samay* (Eleven Years Time) was published in 1903. If 'Indumatī' is an imitation of a Bengali story as suspected by some, then Ramachandra Shukla must get the credit of writing the first original story in Hindi. Another story, *Dulāivali* by Banga Mahila[37] was published in 1907. In Tamil, the short story developed with V. V. S. Iyer (1881–1925) around 1915–1917 when he published his *Maṅkayarkaraṣiyin Kātal* (Love of Mankayarkarasi and other stories). Although Gurazada Appa Rao (1861–1915) and Achanta Venkata Sankhyayana Sarma (1864–1933) "are alternately credited with having written the first story" in Telugu, the short story made real progress in Telugu only after 1920.[38] The Urdu short story was born in the writings of Premchand (1880–1936) and his contemporaries such as Sajjad Haider Yaldrum (1880–1943) and Niaz Fatehpuri (1884–1969). The earliest collection of Premchand's short stories came out in 1908.

Signs of Maturity

From its hesitant appearance in the seventies the short story established itself as an important literary form in Bengali, thanks to Rabindranath,

by the last decade of the nineteenth century. By the first decade of the twentieth it attracted writers in a few more languages, Assamese, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi and Oriya but it took another couple of decades to become a pan-Indian literary form.[39] The other important feature in the history of the Indian short story is the contribution of the periodicals. The important periodicals are: *Hitabādī* and *Sādhanā* in Bengali; *Sarasvatī* in Hindi; *Jñānasudhā* (1886) and *Vidyāvāridhi* (1899), devoted entirely to short stories, in Gujarati; *Subhāṣiṇī* (1900) in Kannada; *Vidyāvinodinī* in Malayalam; *Manōrañjan* (1890) in Marathi; *Utkal Sāhitya* (1897) and *Mukur* (1906) in Oriya; *Vivēka Bodhinī* in Tamil and *Kṛṣṇa Patrikā, Andhra Patrikā* in Telugu. The relationship between the growth of the short story and the periodicals appears to be more vital and deep than usually acknowledged.

Rabindranath, finally discovered the potentiality of this new literary form around 1891 when he wrote six stories for *Hitabādī*, including the 'Postmaster.' Between 1891 and 1895 he wrote nearly forty-two stories, all of which, except the first six, were published in the journal *Sādhanā* (1892). During the next fifteen years he wrote twenty-one stories. Although he contined to write short stories even later and some of them were acclaimed for their acute social consciousness and fine craftmanship, his power as a short story writer attained great heights during this period. Rabindranath was familiar with the stories of Edgar Allen Poe. Some of his 'supernatural' stories strongly resemble Poe's but temperamentally, unlike Poe, he was interested in the ordinary and the apparently trivial. He was also exposed to the stories of Maupassant through his elder brother Jyotirindranath who knew French and his eldest sister Svaranakumari who wrote a few stories in which one hears the echoes of Maupassant and Pushkin. But Rabindranath remained free from any possible influence of the French and Russian writers. His inspiration came from within and he created stories from his own experience, most of them about joy and suffering in the lives of the common people. "As Euripides was charged with making slaves interesting," writes Edward Thompson, "so those who would stand on ancient ways might charge Rabindranath with making the petty griefs and joys of ryots significant. Much of his permanent fame will rest on these stories. They are the very life of his native land, the Bengal so tenderly invoked by him as Lakshmi, with such a succession of lovely, memory stirring sights, filling the heart with peace."[40]

The stories are, however, not exactly about *ryots* (peasants) but about ordinary men and women and children. For the first time in modern Indian literatuare, the life of ordinary men and women received such sympathetic understanding and was depicted with such love and feeling. Taken as a whole, his short stories present a new world, a world of beauty

and charm, fragments of human life, each unique in itself. Not all stories, however, are about the ordinary, some deal with the extra-ordinary, the supernatural, and some with the cruel and the complex. The *Kṣudita Pāṣān*, a fantasy, *Naṣṭa Nīḍ*, an excruciating story of love; or *Durāśā* also a story of frustrated love and pathetic realisation of the futility of religious creed, only to mention a few, also belong to the world of Rabindranath. His achievement as a short story writer lies in his ability to make the story a vehicle of wide-ranging emotions and experiences, personal and psychological, social and political, lyrical and dramatic. With him the short story became a prestigious literary form capable of accommodating the intimate as well as the universal modes of thought, and developed into a flexible and congenial genre in different Indian languages.

The most conspicuous feature in the development of the Indian short story is the foregrounding of the common man. The novels about the contemporary social life, in the main, remained engrossed with moral issues; protagonists were created according to the needs of the author's reformistic zeal. The short story presented the common man and his mundane problems. The first Gujarati short story, for example, draws its material from the changing life of the village artisans, facing a serious problem of livelihood with imported goods infiltrating the rural market. The focus is on human misery and helplessness caused by the economic policy of a foreign government The early Hindi stories are also realistic in the main, though with a moral bias. 'Indumati' is a love story against a historical background, but Madhav Rao Sapre's 'Eka Ṭokri Bhār Miṭṭi' (A Basketful of Earth, 1901) is a story of conflict between a poor widow and a wealthy landlord. Shukla's Gyāraha Varṣ Kā Samay' is the glorification of the Indian concept of love, and Chandradhara Guleri's 'Usne Kahā Thā' (She had said), again, is a story of love and sacrifice, illuminated by an idealistic view of life and told with vividness and power. The first Malayalam story, 'Vāsana Vikṛti,' written in a breezy style about a young thief and how he was imprisoned, is a fresh departure from the didactic stories. It is a testimony to the possibility of the ordinary and the trivial as interesting subjects. The Oriya story 'Rebatī' by Fakir Mohan is a faithful depiction of the pathetic life of a village girl, torn between her ambitions and the prevailing superstitions.

In some ways the short story acted as a balance between the historical novels and the novels dealing with social problems by identifying a new zone of experience. The growth of the short story also coincided with the growth of the new lyric which gave a new meaning and significance to commonplace things in nature and life. The short story learnt from the lyric the art of compactness of form and unity of emotion. It followed the narrative techniques of the novel, but eventually it discovered its true

nature by establishing its relationship with the lyric.

It is not suggested, however, that the other types of stories vanished overnight. They continued and they, too, had various configurations depending upon the nature of the writers. Works like *Tirāviṭa Mattiyakālak Kataikal* (1897) or *Mariyatairāman Katai* (1897) in Tamil, both collections of tales from the oral tradition, or *Hemlate Prabhākar* (1904) in Kannada, a love story, or *Vinoda Kathāmanjari* (1903) in Telugu, a collection of entertaining tales, or *Salīm-wa-Mehrunnisa* (1897) in Urdu, are continuation of the traditional tales. This tradition remained side by side with the new form which was a conscious rearrangement of the fictional narrative structure.

In 1899 Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay appeared on the literary scene with a collection of Bengali stories entitled *Naba Kathā* (The New Tales), which was followed by *Ṣoṛośī* (1906) and *Deśī o Bilātī* (1909). Basically a humorist and an admirer of Balzac and Maupassant, Prabhat Kumar added a new dimension to the Bengali story. His construction was neat and balanced, his themes simple and amusing with one or two noted exceptions such as *Debī* (later filmed by Satyajit Ray), and his style lucid and witty. His stories lacked profundity and lyricism but their gripping plots made him a popular writer both in Bengal and outside. One of the features of Prabhat Kumar's stories is the exploitation of the old structure, although he learnt the art of story-telling from several European authors. His stories show that the short-story did not reject the older narrative structure completely; rather there was a fusion of the two. The older structure of tales (*ākhyān/upākhyān*) asserted itself quite often, particularly in humorous stories.

The potentiality of the old forms was fully exploited by Trailokya-nath Mukhopadhyay (1847–1919), who had the ingenuity to combine the techniques of the oral form with the modern art of narrative. He wrote a large number of stories collected in *Bhūt o Mānuṣ* (1897), *Lullu, Nayan Cāder Byabasā* (1894–95), *Majār Galpa* (1905), and the most remarkable of all, *Damaru Carit* (1923). In most of his stories there is an atmosphere of 'story telling' by a narrator to a group of attentive 'listeners.' The structure of many of the stories follow the pattern of '*dāstān*' or the cycle of stories, one leading to the other. This technique appears to be very appropriate with his themes, mostly humorous and ironical.

From its early stage the short story began to attract serious critical attention. Suresh Samajpati wrote a short but penetrating article on the short story in his journal *Sāhitya* in 1899. Narayan Hem Chandra, translator of many stories from English and Bengali into Gujarati, was one of the first to write about the nature of this new literary form. He published a book *Naval Kathā Viṣe Ek Vicār* (A Discussion of the Novel, 1904) which

contained a chapter on *Nāni Vārtā*, the term he employed to designate the new form, the short story. "An anecdote, a fairy-tale, a character-sketch, an incident in the daily life of the people from the lower strata of society, any [one] of them can provide a theme for the short story. The difference between a short story and a novel is just like the difference between a sonnet and an epic."[41] Hemchandra's observations on the short story were more a description of the form with reference to its thematic component rather than an attempt to canonize. The point that needs attention is Hemchandra's focus on "the daily life of the people from the lower strata of society" as a major thematic component of the short story.

The Gujarati writer used the form with great flexibility and seriousness. Not only did a large number of short stories appear in Gujarati in the first decade of the twentieth century—thanks to various journals patronizing young writers—but also much serious attention was paid to it by discerning critics. We are told by Chandrakanta Mehta that several women writers in Gujarati—Sumati, Urmila, Vijayalakshmi Trivedi, Shardaben Mehta and others—found the form most appropriate to streamline the problems of women. In an anthology of stories, entitled *Tuṅki Kahānio* (1909) edited by Pramila and Arvinda, two women writers of Gujarat, one hears the voice of women protesting against the injustice suffered by them. Ranjitram Mehta's (1882–1917) 'Ahmad-Rupāṇḍe' (1908), a story of love between a Hindu girl and a Muslim boy leading to their marriage overcoming the religious barrier, *Hirā* (1909) claimed by some as the first modern short story in Gujarati based on the charming Sindhi-Punjabi folk ballad 'Sohni-Mahiwal' are the two facets of the Gujarati short story of this period: its radicalism and its humanism. These are stories with a new content and a new attitude that paved the way for more competent authors like Narad and Malayanil who were to dominate the literary scene in the next phase of Gujarati literature.

The Marathi Situation

Marathi presents a situation which does not fit into the general pattern of the development of the Indian short story. K. J. Purohit has made a very interesting observation about the stories of V. S. Gurjar (1885–1962) and his contemporaries, contradicting the general critical opinion that they wrote under a dominant Western influence. He thinks that the short story was under the spell of the Maratha drama then at its best. "Unfortunately," he writes, "the stories of this period were not only dramatic, but largely theatrical."[42] Gurjar, the most prolific story-writer during the first phase of the Marathi short-story, made the form popular but not dignified enough.

Two Short Story Writers

We must mention two more writers, both to become popular in the decades to come, who made their presence felt by their short stories and that too under pseudonym. In 1891 H. Bose, a manufacturer of perfumes and hair oil started a competition of Bengali short stories, awarding a prize, 'Kuntalīn Puraskār', to the best short story writer. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay (1878–1938), then totally an unknown figure, sent in his story *Mandir* (The Temple), in the year 1902, in the name of his uncle Surendranath Ganguli, who was a writer of some merit. The story was adjudged the best and won public admiration when it was published next year. But the identity of the author, destined to become the most popular story-teller of India, was not known to the readers.

The emergence of the other author is even more interesting as it is related with Government intervention in creative activity. The politicization of the Indian stage and the Indian novel was more or less complete by 1905. Indian poetry since 1858 had a strong element of patriotism and racial hatred. The short story, the youngest of literary genres, was comparatively free from the political angle. In some of the stories of Tagore the political predicaments were touched upon. *Megh O Raudra* is an example of the story of a perceptive young man who felt obliged to protest against the inhumanities of the government and had to pay a heavy price for it. The true political story was born in the hands of Dhanpat Rai who published *Soz-e-Vatan*, collection of five stories, including *Duniyā kā Sabse Anmol Ratan*, in 1908 under the authorship of Nawab Rai. This book, like *Mandir* of Sarat Chandra, was only the first flicker of a genius. *Soz-e-Vatan* attracted the keen eyes of the authority which found the stories seditious. All the copies were promptly confiscated and restriction was imposed by the district magistrate to the effect that all of Nawab Rai's future writings must be cleared by him before they could be published.

In 1910 Dhanpat Rai decided to change his pen-name again. He wrote '... let's bury Nawab Rai, at least for a while. And let's find another gentleman to succeed him.'[43] The 'gentleman' who succeeded Nawab Rai was Prem Chand, yet another pen-name of Dhanapat Rai.[44]

CHAPTER 15

Many Voices of Indian Poetry

I THE CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO TRADITIONS

The tension resulted by the dominance of the traditional literary ideals and the challenges these ideals faced from the English educated class were more pronounced in the poetry of this period than in any other literary genre. In sheer quantity poetry was still the most dominating branch of literature, its prestige and importance remained almost undiminished, the growing popularity of the novel notwithstanding. All great writers of the period with a few noted exceptions were primarily poets.

The poetry of this period, very much like that of the period immediately preceding, had two distinct sources of inspiration: one, traditional poetry, both classical and medieval; and two, European poetry. The second stream of poetry had already established itself firmly in Bengali thanks to Michael Madhusudan Datta, and appeared in Gujarati and Marathi too creating a rift in the literary world Now with the spread of English education in other parts of the country and with the growth of the English-educated reading public, the new poetry found a more congenial climate.

It is not to be assumed that the indigenous tradition yielded its place tamely to the new. The resistance to the new was stiff and stubborn and it continued so for a long time. In the case of certain genres, such as the novel or the short story or the eassy, there could not be much resistance against those literary forms as there were no equivalent genres in the past. The resistance was mainly against the attitudes and sensibilities expressed through these forms. The real tension at the formal level was possible only where a dominant literary form existed as is the case in the history of Indian drama. The tension between the old and the new was most pronounced in poetry because of several reasons, such as the existence of a great body of classical and medieval poetry, besides the tradition of a powerful and highly schematic poetics and its conventions, encouraging the adherence to the old. The religious and didactic verses, written in many languages in a huge quantity, were more a result of an old habit than of any real poetic or religious inspiration. This is not suggested, however, that the continuance of the traditional poetry was inevitably devoid of artistic compulsions and was just an exercise in paying blind homage to the old. On the contrary some of the poets belonging to the older tradition had genuine poetic talent. The dominance of traditional

poetry was stronger in areas where the readership was unaffected by English education. The themes of this poetry were derived from mythologies and were generally treated without much conscious attempt to deviate from the standardized versions. Whether it is Tamil *Naḷan Kummi* (1888) or Assamese *Nal Caritra* (1889), or Oriya *Kṣetra Parikramā* (1891) or Kannada *Sukanyā Caritre* (1907) or Nepali *Śakuntalopākhyān* (1908) or Punjabi *Halate Yogirāj Śrī Bhartiharijī* (1906)—they are all continuation of the older traditions in respect of both themes and forms. Continuation, but not necessarily repetition. The process of change, howsoever slow it might have been, had started within traditional poetry without any intervention of Western literature. The Kannada work *Hadibadeya Dharma* (1893), for example, deals with the duties of women; the Gujarati poem *Kulavantī athavā ajñānavilāp* (1895) with female education; the Telugu poem *Telugu Nāḍu* (1908) with the conditions of contemporary life—all of them are in traditional form and metre, but all are written in response to a changing society. This awareness of the changing reality eventually brought changes in the poetic world itself.

II EPIC TRADITION

It was the period when the lyric established itself in many languages, although the tradition of the epic was still vigorous. Because of interactions between the two types of poems, long and short, a compromise between the epic and the lyric became quite conspicuous. One notices two types of long poems written in this period. The first type includes the poems which are directly related to the earlier narrative tradition in respect of theme, form and sensibility. The second type includes a new poetry that developed directly under the inspiration of Western poetry. *Kissā*, for example, remained a popular form in Punjabi till the end of the nineteenth century. The poems *Hīr Rāñjhā* (1886), *Hakīkat Rai* (1887), *Candar Badan* (1887), *Pūran Bhagat* (1898) are examples of that vibrant stream. *Kissās* (qissā) were also being written in Kashmiri and Urdu, though *masnavi* was a more popular form in those two languages. Similarly *sawai* remained a popular form in Nepali and the *rāso* form surfaced from time to time in Hindi and Rajasthani and occasionally in Gujarati (*Pṛthurāj Rāso*, 1897), as did *Kiḷippāṭṭus* in Malayalam. The transcreations of Sanskrit epics as well as the writings of new epics on the basis of old themes continued as usual. The Oriya *Mahābhārata* (1887) by Raja Krishna Singha, the Kannada *Turaṅga Bhārata* (1889) by Paramadev, the Gujarati *Jain Rāmāyaṇ* (1890) by Hemchandra Acharya and Chand Jha's *Mithilā Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇ* (1891) are some of the finest examples. But a new mode had already emerged in narrative poetry both within the familar epic tradition and outside it since

1860 when *Tilottamā Sambhab* by Michael Madhusudan Datta was published. We have mentioned before how that tradition was sustained by the later Bengali poets, Hemchandra and Nabin Chandra, and also by those who were inspired by Michael or by the models of Western narratives such as the Assamese poet Bholanath Das (1858–1929) and Kamalakanta Bhattacharya (1853–1927); the Oriya poet Radhanath Ray, or the Gujarati poet Mani Shankar Ratnaji Bhatt (1867–1923) or Kant as he was more popularly known. But there were narrative poems and epics which were free from the Western impact and grew out of the evolution of our indigenous tradition. One such epic that deserves critical attention is *Rāṇa Sūrat Singh* by Bhai Vir Singh.

The importance of this epic is not in its being the 'solitary epic in modern Punjabi' but because of its theme and technique. The story is simple and had a historical basis. Surat Singh was an eighteenth century Sikh hero who was adopted as the son-in-law and heir by a Rajput ruler. He fought against the Mughals and lived an ideal life according to the norms of Sikh ethics. "The author," observes G. S. Talib, "unlike writers less conscientious about historical verisimilitude, has kept the background true to history in all particulars."[1] The story, located in the mid-eighteenth century which also provided the background of the historical romances of Bhai Vir Singh, forms an integral part of the author's plan of presenting the intense moments of Sikh history.

Rana Surat Singh, who died young, has been depicted in the epic as a man of perfection. Although the epic is named after Rana Surat Singh, the protagonist is his widow, Rani Raj Kaur, a woman endowed with nobles virtues. It is her grief for her departed husband and a desperate desire to be united with the Rana that forms the hard core of the story Her mother seeks the help of a necromancer whom Raj Kaur rejects as a fraud. Then is brought in a Vedantist, sermonizing that existence is false and illusory. Next comes a *haṭha yogī* telling her about the power of the yoga. But she remains unhappy and unconvinced. Finally, she finds solace in the congregation of holy people. A holy man teaches her that dedication and service, not empty grief, can give her the desired fulfilment. As queen she must dispense justice to her subjects and accomplish the work of her husband. She follows the advice and finds solace.[2]

There are sections in the epic exhibiting remarkable imaginative power and poetic insight. One such memorable part is where the queen in a dream is taken to a flight in the celestial regions by a benign spirit. The flight in dream seems to be a favourite device of many Indian writers of this period. This was used by Dvijendranath Thakur in his poem *Svapna Prayāṇ* (The Flight in Dream, 1875) which, according to some Bengali critics, was inspired by Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Later in the

twentieth century the device reappeared in Iqbal's *Jāved Nāma* (1932),[3] a poem in Persian, constructed partly in the structure of the *Divine Comedy*. Subrahmanya Bharati's *Ñānaratam* (The Chariot of Knowledge), an allegorical prose work written in 1910, is also a description of a poet's journey on the chariot of knowledge through different worlds, eventually reaching the world of *dharma*.[4]

The more important characteristic of the poem is its ethical-religious framework. It is a call to the Sikh people, in the words of Talib, "depressed after defeat and losing self-confidence as a community, to engage in fruitful activity and try thus to recapture greatness and to find fulfilment."[5]

A similar motivation to galvanize the Hindus from their stupor of inactivity operated in the Bengali poems of Nabin Chandra Sen. His *Raibatak* (1887), *Kurukṣetra* (1893) and *Prabhās* (1896), the trilogy dealing with the life of Krishna and his vision of India, are the manifestations of the nineteenth-century Indian concern for nationhood and for women's emancipation. Although uneven in quality, the epic enjoyed considerable popularity because of its focus on "the idea of national degradation, its cause and cure in the light of historical facts,"[6] and on the hope of a bright future it evoked.

Several other epics were written in Bengali during this period, some prompted by patriotic fervour, some by a sheer delight of imaginative flight into the past. *Bīrakumāra Badh* (1903) by Mankumari Basu, an honoured poetess, and *Mahāśmaśān* (1903) by Kaikobad, are notable works of this kind. The themes were chosen either from mythology or from history with the express purpose of fulfilling the demand of the patriotic reader. The themes and forms are quite traditional in many cases; for example, the Urdu war-poem *Jang-name-e-Hazrat-Ali* (? 1889), the masnavi *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* (1889) in Urdu, *Pāṇḍava Caritre* (1891) in Kannada, *Jarāsandha Badha* (1892) in Oriya, or *Hiṇḍola* (1894) in Hindi. Such narrative poems continued to flourish throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century and in the first decade of the twentieth. The Assamese poem *Sītāharaṇ Kāvya* (1902) by Bholanath Das, the Oriya poem *Kīcaka Badha* (1903) by Gangadhar Mehar, the Malayalam epic *Pāṇḍavoyam Mahākāvya* (1903) by Kocchunni Tampuran, the Nepali poem *Nṛsimha Caritra* (1906) by Homnath Khatiwada, are typical instances of this trend. To this trend belonged Maithili Sharan Gupta's (1886–1964) epic *Jayadratha Vadh* (1910).

III NEW NARRATIVE POEMS

The other type of narrative poem that emerged during this period was intimately related to the Indian response to English Romantic poetry. All the poets contributing to the Romantic trend were educated in English,

and the corpus of poetry created by them resembles some of the features of the Romantic literature of the West, although it will be both unfair and unnecessary to think of a Romantic movement in Indian poetry. It was an attitude, which had its antecedents in the older literature, that expanded and flowered at a particular historical moment, and slowly grew to size. It had its first powerful expression in the novels of Bankim Chandra not only in the description of nature but also in the conception of characters. Its manifestations in poetry can be discerned as early as in 1856, when Bankim Chandra wrote his long poem *Lalitā*. The works which acted as the source of this trend were the ballads as well as the novels of Sir Walter Scott, *Childe Harold* of Byron and the longer poems of other Romantic poets. The Indian poets were also attracted by poets like Thomas Parnell whose *The Hermit* was a text book in colleges. The Bengali poem *Udāsinī* (1874) by Aksay Chandra Chaudhuri was written in imitation of *The Hermit*. Another noted narrative poem of this kind was *Yogeś Kābya* (1881) by Ishan Chandra Bandyopadhyay. The protagonist of the poem is a sensitive intellectual of the nineteenth century whose mental world was moulded by Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and Harsha on the one hand and Shakespeare, Milton and Wordsworth, Shelley, Moore and Tennyson on the other. Both Hemchandra and Nabin Chandra took inspiration from the Western Romantics also, but the finest and one of the earliest poems of this kind, distinctive by its subjectivity, is Biharilal Chakrabarti's *Sāradā Maṅgal*. On the evidence of this poem and *Svapna Prayāṇ* (1875) by Dvijendranath Thakur, one can conclude that a new romantic poetry had emerged in Indian literature by the seventies of the last century. The *prophanic* features of Romanticism that distinguished the Bengali poetry of the seventies soon spread on to other languages. They appeared in Hindi in 1886, the year Shridhar Pathak's (1859–1928) *Ekānta Vāsī Yogī* (The Forlorn Recluse), a translation of T. Parnell's *The Hermit*,[7] was published.

The new poetry, as we have already observed, developed in two distinct streams, the lyric and the narrative. It found the first expressions in poems on nature and woman. In certain cases—Biharilal provides a good example—the lyrics and the narrative verses were so intermingled that the narrative poems, known as *Khaṇḍa Kāvyas*, underwent a radical change. Biharilal's narrative poems are but garlands of lyrics with a very slender story to tell. Of course, there were poets like Radhanath Ray in Oriya and Mani Shankar Ratnaji Bhatt (1857–1923) in Gujarati who wrote a new type of narrative poems where the story had its own attraction.

Radhanath Ray who has been extolled as a supreme poet of nature—his *Cilikā* (1892) is one of the exquisite nature poems in Oriya—mesmerized the reading public of Orissa with his skill of story-telling. His six long narrative poems—*Kedār Gaurī* (1886), *Candrabhāgā* (1886), *Nandikeśvarī*

(1887), *Uṣā* (1888) and the incomplete *Pārvatī* (1891) and *Mahāyātrā* (1893)—are indeed remarkable for their myth-making and evocating power. Except the plot of *Mahāyātrā*, which is the last journey of the Pandavas to the Himalayas, all other plots of these narrative poems are partly borrowed from Western sources. *Kedār Gaurī* and *Nandikeśvarī* as well as *Uṣā* are based on the stories of Pyramus and Thisbe, Scylla and Minos and Atlanta's Race by Ovid respectively; *Candrabhāgā* on the story of Daphne and Adonis, and *Pārvatī* on that of Agamemnon by Aeschylus. In this respect he is comparable to Michael Madhusudan Datta but he had an extraordinary power to Indianize the themes. In fact, all his stories have been so ingeniously located in the background of Orissa that an Oriya reader would accept them as parts of the legend and mythology of his region. What strikes one about these poems is not only the power of description of nature—the sea, the mountain, the lake and the open country—but the passionate and temptestuous love overpowering men and women. "The general trend of the theme," points out Gopinath Mohanty, the celebrated novelist, " . . . is the behaviour of human beings afflicted with physical passion for the opposite sex which is what Radhanath means by his use of the word 'love' (*prema* or *prīti*) and that impulse defies parental authority, social inhibitions and all considerations of propriety and safety."[8] Love with its irresistible charm and power, as a force defying social codes and moral norms, appeared in Indian literature as a result of the impact of Western poetry, not necessarily Romantic poetry alone. Ovid, for example, is the poet to whom Radhanath is most indebted. Gangadhar Meher (1862–1924), a contemporary of Radhanath, born of a weaver family, also excelled in long narrative poems. But unlike Radhanath he drew his material from Indian sources and did not show any attraction for the model introduced by Radhanath. His *Indumatī* (1893) and *Kīcak-badha* (1903), two works written in this period, present a striking contrast to the poems of Radhanath, in terms of absence of Western impact and sophistication.

All the poems of Radhanath end in a tragic note which is again a feature borrowed from Western poetry. Nature and women, innocence and purity of love, youth and beauty haunted by death, are the main components of his poetic universe. One finds a similarity of this world with that of the Gujarati poet Kant who is remembered for his *Khaṇḍakāvyas*. He wrote seven narrative poems of uneven merit, but three of them, *Vasanta Vijay* (1890), *Cakravāk Mithuna* (1890) and *Devayāni* (1889) are in the words of Jhaveri, "remarkable specimens of the art of the *Khaṇḍa kāvyas*."[9] Kant, a graduate of Bombay University, had a thorough Western education, and underwent a great spiritual conflict which resulted in his conversion to Christianity and later in his return to the Hindu fold. Unlike

Radhanath's, his poems drew their material from Indian sources, but like Radhanath's some of his poems (for example, *Vasanta Vijaya*, which tells the story of Pandu's death caused by his sexual desire for Madri) end in tragedy. His *Cakravāk Mithuna*, too, is a poem rich in pathos, though tempered by philosophical disinterestedness. His *Devayāni*, however, is a poem of joy and beauty. The similarity between the poems of Radhanath and those of Kant are not to be sought at the level of story and characters, but in the atmosphere created by them. Kant constructs his poem, as Jhaveri observes, on "the most crucial moments of man's life" and "the subtle interplay of emotions that . . . drive man to his inescapable doom."[10] And here Radhanath appears as a soul kindred to Kant.

IV THE NEW QUEST

The trends of new poetry were visible in the treatment of various themes—worship of beauty in nature and in women, uninhibited flight of imagination, mysteries of creation and death, as well as situations of social protest and patriotism. It was not the theme which made the new poetry conspicuous but the attitude, the atmosphere, the intense subjectivity of the poems. Concerning the new poetry in Bengal, the distinguished philosopher, Brajendranath Seal, observed two essential elements in the "genesis of the neo-romantic type of mind and art." They are:

> (1) a sense of discordance between the inner and the outer, spirit and nature, the ideal and the real, (2) a subjective egotism, which arising in the passage from a mechanical subjectivity, sets up the gratification of the individual consciousness as the standard in questions of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness.[11]

The poets who transformed the Indian poetic world in this period had, indeed, faced a conflict of the inner and the outer order, and placed the 'self' at the very centre of poetry. This started with Michael Madhusudan, if not earlier with Narmad, or Ghalib, who was of course free from any Western impact, and flowered slowly with the growing Indian familiarity with Western poetry and the challenges against the rigidities of religious and social norms. Hemchandra, Nabin Chandra and Toru Dutt, to mention the important few, are the products of the new wave. They created the climate and others followed them. The new poetry came of age by the end of the nineteenth century at the hands of Keshavasut, Radhanath Ray, Kant, Rabindranath, Nanalal and others.

Critics agree that the overall change in the traditional Marathi poetry was brought about by Keshavsut through his choice of subject. That he thought that the incidents of day-to-day life, the trivial and the com-

monplace were 'poetic' enough was itself significant in the history of Marathi poetry. His poems on flowers, rains or butterfly, the little girl sleeping quietly or a girl performing *rangoli* in the courtyard, opened a new world of experience. The discovery of a new world also prompted the poet to discover his own poetic language and rhythm. He broke the established conventional stanza patterns, experimented with different rhyming schemes and so on. Even in his translations he was trying to experiment with new structures. His poems such as *Tutāri* (The Trumpet) or *Zapurza* are examples of intricate rhyme schemes. His experiments, one must repeat, were not prompted by a blind urge to imitate Western models but were attempts to free poetic expressions from the chains of conventions.

It is the discordance between the inner and the outer that is reflected in the poems of Keshavasut, particularly in his poems on social reform, untouchability, subjection of women, and exploitation of the working class. In *Tutāri* he gives a clarion call to change the old world and his voice along with that of Shelley and Byron and all the champions of the French Revolution, can be heard resounding in later poetry in Marathi as well as other languages. In respect of his experiments with metres and forms, Keshavsut can be compared with Michael Madhusudan Datta to some extent; he was the first to write sonnets in Marathi. In his choice of themes he comes closer to Biharilal, and in his social concerns very close to Bharati and Iqbal. He declared himself as 'the new soldier'

> I am the new soldier
> with new spirit
> of the new age. . . .[12]

Keshavsut's contemporary Narayan Vaman Tilak (1865–1919), who embraced Christianity in disgust with Hinduism, also wrote poems of social protest but felt more at home with the tender and charming aspects of life: he was known as a poet of 'flowers and children.' In his nature poems he finds a new significance for existence independent of any theological scheme. In fact, the trend initiated by Keshavsut was followed by Ram Ganesh Gadkari, Govindagraja (1885–1919), T. B. Thombre Balkavi (1890–1918), Bee (1872–1947), Eknath Pandurang Rendalkar (1887–1920), Nages (1889–1967), N. S. Rahalkar (1882–1957), Madhavanuja (1872–1916), D. K. Ghate, (1875–1899) Dattakavi (1875–99) and a few others. Most of them wrote very little: Govindagraja's only collection of poems, *Vāgvaijayantī*, was published after his death; Balkavi died at a very young age; Bee, though he lived long, wrote very little, and Datta, a pioneer in children's verse, did not write more than fifty poems. All of them differed with one another in their diction and predilections, themes and forms, but they shared a new attitude towards life and nature.

This was the situation, more or less, in Gujarati also. The love lyric 'Bulbul' (1882) by Keshav Amrat Naik (1877–1907), an actor of some fame, was an indication of the changes that were coming from within the native traditon. This poem, a blending of *sakhi* and *ghazal*, is a fine expression of a lover's lament within the indigenous poetic conventions. The process of transition, however, started with Narasimharao Bholanath Divatia (1854–1937)'s collection of *Kusum Mālā* (1887) and gained momentum in *Hṛday Vīṇā* (1896). The critics immediately recognized a new trend of subjectivity, which they identified as of Western origin, and debated about the nature of this poetry.[13] Poems such as 'Divya Sundariono garabī' (A Song of Heavenly Nymphs) or 'Madhyarātriye Koyel' (The Cuckoo at mid-night) are, in tone and temper, similar to those written by Keshavsut, Govindagraja, Biharilal and Rabindranath, to mention some of the important poets of the time. Similar trends of Romanticism appeared in the writings of Bezbarua, Chandra Kumar Agarwalla (1867–1938) and Hem Goswami (1872) the romantic trio of Assam.[14] Except *Phular Cāki* (1907) by Hem Goswami, none of the significant poetical works of Bezbarua and Agarwalla appeared before 1910. But the new poetry began to appear in Assamese since the publication of *Jonāki* (1889).

Rabindranath, the most prolific and also the most versatile among the poets of this period, discovered his own idiom around 1882, the year his *Sandhyā Saṅgīt* was published. The Romantic world created by Goethe's *Werther* in Europe did not have its Indian counterpart in the nineteenth century, but a sense of disillusionment, doubts and despair, melancholy and morbidity suddenly became "poetic" in Bengal. The observations of Seal on this aspect are worth quoting.

> The same insanity and suicidal mania as in the *Werther*; yes, born too of despair, only a despair less universal than Werther's, as arising out of a yearning, unquenched and unquenchable, and not like Werther's ranging over the entire diapason of existence and therefore world-enveloping. This only serves to corroborate our statement that the movement in Bengal is more largely emotional than it was in Europe. If a maddening, deadly conflict between the inner and the outer, the ideal and the real, subject and object, be the key-note of the rhapsody, it is marked almost as distinctively by an intoxication of egoism, which imparts an autumnal sun-set glow, an impalpable fiery film, to its inner atmosphere. The inmost soul of nature is laid bare, as in interpreting her sights and sounds, like the moonlight and the murmuring stream, but the interpretation is wholly subjective, coloured by the ruling passion of the observer, and as such, quite distinct from either the sensuous naturalism of Keats and Musset, or the Pagan hylozoism of Swinburne.[15]

Between 1866 and 1900 Rabindranath published several works, including *Kaḍi O Komal* (1886), *Mānasī* (1890), *Sonār Tarī* (1894), *Citrā* (1896), *Caitālī* (1896), *Kalpanā* and *Kṣaṇikā* (both in 1900). The egotistic sub-

jectivity of his early poems faded out slowly and was replaced by a more mature vision of life. The regulating moods and tenors of the poems of *Mānasī*, *Sonār Tarī* and *Citrā*,—intense longing for beauty and attraction for the unknown, as well as a deep attachment to the trivial and the common—continued till 1900. The mood of despair and resignation surfaced occasionally but the dominating mood was one of joy and wonder. He wrote some of the finest poems on love and nature during this period. Two distinct strands, one, the poet's intimate response to nature and the mysteries of existence and the other to society around him, were clearly visible from now and they continued throughout his poetic career.

The new poetry, of which Rabindranath was the most distinguished creator, can be claimed with some justification as the final phase of the Romantic movement that started in Germany and appeared in different countries in Europe in successive stages. It was not an imitation of Western poetry; but a spontaneous expression of a particular state of mind and experience of the Indian poets, howsoever, small be their number. The new attitudes to various social and religious institutions that grew among a section of the English educated people—small but powerful—as result of their contact with Western thought, *not only literature*, were reflected in this body of poetry.

One can go a step a further in asserting that the emergence of the romantic temperament, as a dominant force in the poetry of this period, was almost inevitable under the changing social conditions. The new poetry, compared to the traditional one, had a smaller corpus and was restricted to a few languages and to a few individuals, all of them without any exception not only receptive to Western romantic poetry but acutely conscious of their individuality as well. All of them were restless, and tense, constantly experimenting with forms and metres and themes to ensure the maximum measure of freedom as artists. Poetry became a document of the experience of the poet's search for the unknown, longing for beauty, brooding over death, and challenging the very scheme of things. The new poetry, however, did not snap its links with our own traditions but maintained its links with them, and drew inspiration and sustenance from ancient texts, religious and secular. It also reflected the aspirations of a colonial people; hence the mood of revolt and the feeling of patriotism gained predominance. The new poetry reached its high watermark in Rabindranath who, frequently criticised by his contemporaries for his subjectivity or 'egotism' and 'obscurity' of expression, provided the link between the new and the old poetry, e.g.in *Kathā* and *Kāhinī* which are his verse tales. The boat image, the strange unknown pilot of *Sonār Tarī*, the lyric on Urvashi presenting her as the symbol of the ever-desired but never-possessed eternal feminine, the journey into

the time of Kalidasa in *Svapna* and the return to the reality with a shock, or deep affection for the earthly ties as in *Svarga Haite Bidāy* (Farewell From Heaven), the powerful dramatic poems, the exquisite frivolity of the *Kṣaṇikā* poems and the sombre world of *Naivedya*, opened a new realm of experience in Indian poetry. This experience was a product of the contemporary poetic psyche born out of the interactions of the Indian and Western values.

The new poetry emerged in Malayalam in its embryonic form in the last decade of the last century in the writings of A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1863–1918)[16], the nephew of Kerala Verma. Both the uncle and the nephew represented two distinct phases of literary history. Rajaraja Varma's short poem *Malaya Vilāsam* (1895), the theme of which is a journey through the Western Ghats, is one of the early experiments in lyrical compositions in Malayalam. The birth of the new poetry initiated a serious debate among the poets, and the readers as well, over the nature and conventions of poetry. A controversy over the use of rime, for example, started in Malayalam in the last decade of the nineteenth century. K. C. Kesava Pillai wrote a paper entitled 'Bhāṣā Kavitā' in 1908 against the insistence on rime. He was supported by Rajaraja Varma and opposed by another poet of merit, Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer (1877–1949). The debate, however, was not confined only to rime but it spilled over other issues of poetry. Rajaraja Varma, 'rebelliously struck at the constricted view of poetry,' writes George 'with its rules and formulas and dry insistence on classical models.'[17] While the older school insisted on certain themes and forms on grounds of suitability and tradition, he fought against such stifling formulas and welcomed any subject capable of inspiring the poet. He wanted '*subjective poetry of the kind popular in the West*'[18] to be introduced in Malayalam. The debate is an indication of the change in attitude and sensibilities. The changes were finally manifested in the poems of Kumaran Asan who, like many poets of his time, was passionately drawn towards English literature. His stay in Calcutta as a student at Sanskrit College (1898–1900), according to his biographers, 'contributed largely to opening the doors of English literature' for him.

Kumaran Asan wrote five books, three of them translations from Sanskrit (the translation of *Meghadūtam* was incomplete). His real poetic power was flashed in *Oru Vīṇa Puvu* (A Fallen Flower) published in 1908. Ulloor, a contemporary of Asan, wrote this about this particular poem:

> There were many poets before who were fully conversant with Western literature; but it was Asan who first introduced the Western style of introducing the subject and description.[19]

The poems are generally elegiac in spirit dealing with the fleeting nature of life. They present some similarity with the early Tagore in respect of

their expression of despair and pain, as well as in their delicate portrayal of women in love. Despite Rajaraja Varma's welcoming attitude to new poetry, Malayalam poetry was still dominated by the convention-bound *Mahākāvya* or secular erotic poetry. *Oru Vīṇā Puvu* is a revolt against that poetry. His development as a poet will take us beyond 1910. A great era in the history of Malayalam poetry that was about to begin with Ulloor (1877–1949)[20] and Vallathol (1878–1958), was heralded by the 'Fallen Flower' of Kumaran Asan.

The Vitality of the Indigenous Tradition

Although the romantic trend spread gradually over many other languages it was not the only trend in Indian poetry. The other major trend of the period was closer to the traditional poetic forms though not a servile imitation of them. This trend too emerged out of the poet's response to the changing society, a society in need of positive national ideals. Even a romantic poet like Rabindranath, as pointed out above, often wrote which had an immediate social purpose. The courage and valour of the Rajputs, the Marathas and the Sikhs, the sacrifice and benevolence of the Buddhist and Hindu monks, which form the subject matter of *Kathā*, belong to the other tradition of poems, more robust and loud, direct and straight-forward. One of the important poets of this tradition was Maithili Sharan Gupta (1886–1964).

Maithili Sharan appeared at a time when the Hindi poets were still uncertain about the exact medium of poetry. As pointed out by a scholar:

> During the first decade of the 20th century, Hindi literature was far from being established as the cultural medium of the Hindus in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and the Central Provinces. Many still thought that only Braja Bhasa (the main dialect and literary vehicle) was fit for poetical expression. Such traditionalists could show that Khari Boli (current speech) did not possess a standardized form even in prose.[21]

The duality of Hindi literature, its medium of verse being Braj and its medium of prose the newly standardized *Khari Boli*, caused some stylistic problems for many poets. From the time of Bharatendu attempts were made, though not very extensively, to use *Khari boli* as the language of poetry. The first poet to use it with reasonable success was Shridhar Pathak whose translations of Goldsmith's 'The Traveller' (*Śrānt Pathik*, 1886) and 'The Deserted Village' (*Ujārgām*, 1889) introduced a new tone in Hindi poetry. Several other poets notably Nathuram Sharma (1859–1932), Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay (1865–1947), Lala Bhagwan Din (1866–1930) were experimentators of *Khari boli*. But it was Maithili Sharan who made it the most effective instrument of poetic expression.[22] 'Their poetry was mostly of the narrative kind,' writes one critic about these

poets, 'matter of fact and message oriented,' but 'seen in a larger perspective the early narrative writing was in effect a preparatory ground work over which the genuine poetic structure was soon to rise.'[23]

Mathili Sharan started writing at a time when the political climate of the country was charged with emotion and all great Indian intellectuals, including Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi, the mentor of Maithili Sharan, were deeply concerned about the future course of the political movement. The dominant feature of his writing was patriotism and glorification of the past. His two important works published in this period were *Raṅg mēi Bhaṅg* (1909) dealing with a patriotic episode from the annals of Rajasthan, and *Jayadratha Vadh* (1910), based on an episode in the *Mahābhārata*. The best writings of the poet were yet to come, but these early works were indications of the poet's main concerns.

Various types of poetry, flourishing in different parts of the country, and some times within the same language area, present an interesting panorama consisting of both folk and elite, Western and Sanskritic elements. Tirupati Venkata Kavalu and Chellapilla Venkat Sastri of Telugu, for example, were traditional poets but they made poetry popular among the masses. Telugu poetry, the classical poetry in particular, was patronised by, and mainly confined to, the privileged class. But these twin poets took poetry to the masses. The romantic poetry, known as *bhāva kavitā* in Telugu, appeared much later, only in the third decade of the twentieth century. In Kannada also we have noticed how the traditional poetry continued, though it did not have such powerful protagonists like the twin poets in Telugu. But a disquiet was simmering within the literary life which finally asserted itself around 1911 when B. M. Srikantaiah (1884–1946) started criticising the existing literary models.[24]

In Malayalam, one notices the existence of the classical tradition alongside the newly emerging Western trends, one represented by Vallathol who had no acquaintance with English and the other by Ulloor, well-educated in English—and both major poets of the twentieth century Kerala. Similarly, Hiteshvar Barbarua (1876–1931), a poet deeply influenced by Western poetry, wrote *Birahinī Bilāp* (1896), a passionate romance, one of the best in Assamese. His contemporary Raghunath Chaudhuri (1879–1966) on the other hand, a man of little formal education, emerged as one of the finest poets in the second decade of the twentieth century. While the Oriya poets Chintamani Mohanty and Gangadhar Mehr both wrote long narrative poems, they did not create the identical world of Radhanath; their poetry, less sophisticated was closer to the tradition and almost free from the impact of the West. Fakir Mohan wrote a large quantity of poetry, long narrative poems like *Bauddhābatār Kābya* (1909) on the life of Buddha, and several short verses dealing with nature

and the religious sentiment. The Marathi poet Narayan Muralidhar Gupte (1872–1947), better known as Bee, whose poetry is marked by a delicate sense of beauty and metaphysical subtleties, stands apart from both Datta Kavi[25] (Dattatreya Kondo Ghate, 1875–99), a poet of nature and child and Eknath P. Rendalkar (1887–1920), a socially conscious poet and inaugurator of blank verse in Marathi.

Patriotism and Social Concern

Indian poetry in the beginning of the twentieth century was diverse in themes, attitudes and forms. Yet one of its dominant moods was patriotism. Patriotism that manifested itself in different genres and not only in poetry had many facets. One of the facets, as we have pointed out several times, is the glorification of the past and the lament over the vanished glories. A poem like *Khudurkuṇī Oṣā bā Tapoi Carita* (1887) by Govinda Rath in Oriya which eulogised the maritime glory of Orissa or Hali's famous poem *Shikwa-i-Hind* (1887) that mourns the decay and degeneration of India, is the representative work of this period. There was another type of poetry which may not be strictly called patriotic but which was inspired by the criticism of the British rule and the Indian attitude to Westernization. Two poets deserve special mention in this respect.

Akbar Allahabadi made his literary debut as a follower of the Lucknow school, his poetic *ustad* was Wahid, a pupil of Atish. He joined *Awadh Punch*, a paper conservative in its outlook, which was 'throughout its career the rallying point of every conservative prejudice,' as Sadiq wrote, 'and was opposed among other things to religious and social reform, female education and the abolition of purdah.'[26] Strangely, however, it supported the Indian National Congress, unlike Sir Syed. Akbar was little interested in politics, may be because of his job, may be because he was 'far too timid to venture far into politics', as Sadiq suggests, or may be because he 'did not have a political or a theological mind' as Mujeeb asserts,[27] but he found *Awadh Punch* a convenient platform for ventilitating his criticism against the intellectuals. He did not see eye to eye with Sir Syed, and despite his occasional realization of Sir Syed's greatness Akbar was critical of him. There was a strong core of conservatism—but not religious bigotry—in him. Unlike his other contemporaries he had no nostalgia for the distant past and did not sing of the glories of Islam; he was ruthlessly critical and satirical about the present plight of the Muslim in particular and Indians in general. A few extracts from his poems will illustrate this point.

> The reign of the Qur'an is over,
> And the days of world wide trade;
> We subsist now as landlords on rents
> Or, for clerical jobs are paid.

While we slave for food as clerks
Our heart, bleed for Persimand Turks.[28]

'Medieval in outlook, he is modern in his method,' says Sadiq about Akbar who used both humour and satire as his weapons to attack the trend of Westernization in Muslim society, initiated by Sir Syed. But his conservatism did not make him either dull or dogmatic. He made fun of the false prophets of modernism, the aping attitude of the young and the hypocrisies of the politicians and theologians. He was intensely patriotic, firm in his understanding of the inner strength of the Indian people. In his criticism of the West he comes closer to Bankim Chandra and Chipulunker, and to some extent to the Sindhi poet Bulbul. His poetry is a faithful record of the gradual decline of the Indian enthusiasm for the West. Akbar continued to dominate the Urdu literary scene till the emergence of Iqbal (1878–1938). Iqbal though wrote several charming nationalistic songs and his first important work *Shikwa* was published in 1909, but he appeared in full glory, like his other contemporary Premchand, during the next phase of Indian literature. Shams-ud-din Bulbul (1857–1919) was one of the first 'to awaken the Muslim of Sindh from their apathy and ask them to agitate for their political rights.'[29] In his *Karima Natural* (appended to his *Dīwān*, 1891), like Akbar Allahabadi, he was sarcastic about the Indians aping Western ways of life. This poem, interspersed with the Persian lines from Sadi, is one of the memorable works of Indian disillusionment with the West and a document of penetrating self-criticism. A few distiches are quoted here in H. I. Sadarangani's translation.

Bring me a quart of the best whisky
'O Generous one, have mercy on our condition'

I am trying my best to travel to foreign lands
'Except Thee, there is none to listen to our plaints'

Lest these Mullas confuse and confound us
'Protect us from the wrong path'.[30]

An undercurrent of patriotism may be seen in most of the writings even when they were not pronouncedly patriotic. Nature poetry, for example, which became quite popular in some of the languages and which had nothing to do with politics of any kind, evoked a sense of pride for a particular region, and also for the country as a whole for its beauty and charm. While a section of nature poetry embodied some patriotic elements, patriotic poetry almost invariably exploited the beauty of the country—its rivers and mountains, forests and plains—and made it an inseparable part of its structure. An important Oriya poet of this period, Nanda Kishor Bal (1885–1928), earned the title *pallīkabi* (the poet of rural life) for his tender lyrics, celebrating the beauty of the rural Orissa, collected

in his *Pallīcitra* (1898), *Nirjhariṇī* (1900) or *Cārucitra* (1902). The poet was not particularly interested in political agitation, but these poems, not to speak of those which appeared in *Janmabhūmi* (Motherland, 1903), presented Orissa in an altogether new light, with a new charm and freshness that fired the imagination of his patriotic readers. We are not suggesting that everything that was written in this period was regulated by a spirit of patriotism, but that spirit was so pervasive and so penetrating that no writer of any consequence failed to respond to its demands.

Religion and Patriotism

The partition of Bengal in 1905 and the political agitation that followed it, gave a momentum to patriotic writings and many writers felt it their duty to spread the message of nationalism. Rabindranath wrote some of his well-known patriotic songs at this time—one of them became the national anthem of Bangladesh about seven decades later. The political struggle was intensified in different parts of the country and political poems, many of which had religion as well as nature as their ingredients, grew in abundance.

Two poets, Iqbal and Bharati, deserve special mention in this connection. Although the first collection of his Urdu poems, *Bāng-i-Dira*, was published in 1924, Iqbal achieved fame as early as 1899.[31] Iqbal recited his 'Nāla-i-Yatīm' (The Cry of the Orphan) at the annual meeting of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, in 1899. He also recited his *Nayā Shivāla* and *Tarāna-e-Hindī*, two famous nationalistic poems, at this place. Iqbal's poetic output till 1910 was little. The poems he wrote before he left for England in 1905 belong to his initial phase of experiments. Critics have noticed 'distinct echoes of the English Romantics and the Persian mystics' in them and some of the poems have a 'foreshadowing of his later philosophy.'[32] The patriotic poems written before 1905, including his famous *Tarāna-e-Hindī* that starts with the famous line 'Sāre jahān se acchā Hindustān hamārā' (the best in the world is our India), share the spirit of the patriotic poems in other Indian languages, the same pride for its past and pain for the present.

The Swadeshi movement which gave a tremendous momentum to the growth of patriotic literature also created discord between the Hindus and the Muslims. The distrust and suspicion that Sir Syed had about the Indian National Congress since its inception eventually led to the birth of the Muslim League in 1906. Iqbal, in England at that time, not only supported the Swadeshi movement as a political strategy against a foreign government but thought 'if this movement [could] bring about and strengthen the unity of aspirations between the Hindus and Muslims, it would have served its objective.'[33] The question of Hindu-Moslem unity,

which was becoming increasingly important in political life also, was becoming more pronounced in literature since the last decade of the nineteenth century. The issue became extremely conspicuous in the next century as evidenced in the choice of heroes like Tipu Sultan and Sirajuddaula and in the attempt to present a few Hindu heroes also as promoters of religious amity. Some militant Hindus and Muslims, asserting themselves with full vigour, however, tried to poison the atmosphere.[34] Iqbal's lines.

> Majhab nahīn sikhāta āpas men bair rakhnā
> Hindī hain ham watan hai Hindūstān hamārā
> (Religion does not teach mutual discord
> Indians we are; our country is India)

are the first effective expression of the artist's concern for a serious problem that was to dominate the political life of India in the next few decades. Iqbal's poetic career, however, took a turn in the next decade; and his real contribution to Indian literature cannot be discussed with reference to a handful patriotic poems only. But these poems are important in our literary history, being expressions of a young poet's vision of India.

The same thing can be said about Subramania Bharati (1882–1921). Bharati's poetic career, however, was intimately connected with the political life of the country. In November 1904 he joined the popular Tamil daily paper, *Svadeśa Mitran*, as sub-editor at the invitation of its editor Subramania Iyer, and from 1905 he became actively involved in politics.[35] The period between 1905 and 1911, the year the Bengal partition was finally annulled, was charged with political frenzy. The song 'Vandemataram' became suddenly popular all over India and the phrase itself became a sacred and powerful slogan. Not only did Bharti translate this poem into Tamil, but he used this phrase in several of his own poems. When the utterance of the phrase itself became an act of sedition Bharati wrote, 'We will sing this, this we will sing.'

In 1907 at the Congress session in Surat the party was virtually split. Tilak, described as the arch-offender, thought about the 'ruin of Congress.'[36] On 30 April 1908 Khudiram Bose threw a bomb: it was meant for the district judge of Muzaffarpur but it killed two British women. He was hanged to death, the first Indian in the twentieth century to become a martyr for freedom. Anonymous poets wrote songs eulogising the courage and sacrifice of the eighteen year old boy. Bhupendranath Datta, younger brother of Swami Vivekananda, openly preached violence in the column of *Yugantar*, a paper edited by him, as did Brahma Bandhav Upadhyay and Aurobindo Ghose. Aurobindo was prosecuted for sedition, Tilak was arrested in July 1908 and given six years transportation. Sir

Curzon Wylle was killed by Madanlal Dhingra, a young student in London in 1909, who was hanged to death; he died with the words 'Vande Mataram' on his lips. Savarkar was extradited in 1910 to be given life transportation in the Nasik conspiracy case. Various centres of revolutionary terrorism emerged in different places in Europe. Not only did these stormy days have their immediate impact on contemporary poetry, but they haunted the memories of writers for years and became a source of literary material for many novelists and short story writers. Subramania Bharati can be described as the most authentic voice of this period: his poems incorporate the intensity of an unprecedented turmoil. In 1905 he came into contact with Sister Nivedita whom he accepted as his spiritual mentor just as he had accepted Tilak as his master in politics. After the Surat Congress of 1907 Bharati wrote a poem on Tilak. His first book of poems *Svadeśi Gītāṅgal* (1908), dedicated to Sister Nivedita, was published at a critical moment of his life. He had to leave Madras for Pondicherry to avert imminent arrest. Two years later at Pondicherry he met Sri Aurobindo who made a deep impact on his life and poetry.

Bharati made a harmonious blending between his love for the Tamil land, its language and tradition, and his love for the whole of India, in an ascending scale of intimacy and relationship as it were. One finds Bharati not only declaring Tamil as the sweetest language and portraying the glory of Tamil land with feeling and power, but also declaring with equal power the glory of India, its unity and its diversities.

> Thirty crore faces she has
> But life only one
> Eigteen glorious tongues she has
> But thought only one.[37]

One also notices the spirit of Iqbal's 'Sāre Jahān se acchā' in these lines:

> Ours is the incomparable mountain
> Himalaya firm, eternal
> Ours the peerless river Ganga
> Whose water sweet is holy.[38]

The spirit of Iqbal, however, underwent a change by 1909, the year he recited his poem *Shikwa* at a gathering of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in Lahore, the same place where he had read his patriotic poems five years ago. The poem is a complaint against God for his indifference to the Muslims, who despite their great achievements in the past, were the worst sufferers in the present. Iqbal recalls the great achievements of the Muslim arms and the civilizing role of Islam:

> You tell us who were they who pulled down the gates of Khyber?
> Who were they that reduced the city that was the pride of Ceasar?

Fake gods that men had made, who did break and shatter?
Who routed infidels' armies and destroyed them with bloody slaughter?
Who put out and made cold the 'sacred' flame in Iran?
Who retold the story of the one God; Yazdan.[39]

The work reveals a militant attitude towards Hindus: *Hind ke dair-nashīno kō muslamā kar de* (Convert to Islam India's millions who still in temples dwell.)' "*Shikwa* may be regarded," points out Khushwant Singh, "as the first manifesto of the two-nation theory which was later elaborated in detail by Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali and accepted as the basis of the foundation of a separate state for the Muslims [Pakistan] by Mohammad Ali Jinnah."[40] Iqbal's *Shikwa* is the first significant discordant note in the patriotic literature of the twentieth-century India.

The story of the new Indian poetry will remain incomplete without a reference to Rabindranath's *Gītāñjali* (1910), a collection of religious songs in Bengali. Some of the sonnets of *Naibedya* (1901) contained the seeds of *Gītāñjali*, despite the fact that the Naibedya poems are prayers to God marked by an austerity of structure and robustness of emotion. Some of the tender religious lyrics of *Kheyā* (1906) replaced the sternness of *Naibedya* by an intimacy of tone. The concept of Godhead, as lover and friend, changed the texture of Rabindranath's religious poems. His God also longs to meet the devotee as much as the devotee waits for him. These poems have affinities with the religious songs of the medieval mystics like Kabir and Dadu and the Bengali Vaishnava poets as well as with the thought of the Upaniṣads. But they have neither the authoritarian voice of the Upaniṣadic songs nor their apocalyptic quality. They are different from the general stream of mystic poetry, free from all theological dogma, and often indistinguishable from poems of love and nature. The poet of *Gītāñjali* rejects asceticism and all doctrinal regidities; his god is a lover and a friend, and also a labourer and ploughman, a god who lives with 'the poorest and lowliest and lost.' And the poems are a record of the poet's intimate response to the beauty and splendour of the universe, an expression of joy and longing and expectations of the beloved, who is identical with God. *Gītāñjali* is the culmination of an ancient tradition and also of a new form of lyric that emerged in Indian literature.

Epilogue

The assumption of the superiority of the moderns over the ancients, once put forward so strongly by Charles Perrault,[1] has been rightly rejected by the historians. All ideas of progress in the history of art and literature may be misleading and untenable. The Indian literature of this period is certainly rich and stimulating, but any claim of its superiority over the literature of the preceding centuries by virtue of its "modernity" would be wrong. Its uniqueness, however, can hardly be disputed. Some of the features that made it different from the literature of other periods may be highlighted here as concluding observations.

There was a change in the mode of transmission of literature, a change in the patronage system and in the nature of readership. All these created new constraints as well as a new climate for the writer. We have mentioned how the changes from the scribal age to the age of printing and the limited growth of literacy made the new literature an exclusive property of the literate middle class. Very little is known about the literature produced and enjoyed by the 'illiterate' masses, but there is little doubt that they continued to produce their own literature. Although the scribal tradition continued in some areas for a long time, the story of Indian literature during the years between 1800 and 1910 is a story of the emergence of the literature in print, creating a split in the old readership. It was a literature meant primarily for the middle class. It was regulated and assessed by the taste and the priorities of that class. The division of literature between folk and elite or between 'illiterate' and 'literate' people existed in other periods of Indian history as well, but during this period the middle-class literature had a further sub-division: one dealing with the serious problems of human relationships and concerns, more committed to the demands of aesthetics and morality; the other anxious to provide moments of enjoyment without making any intellectual demand on the reading public. With the advent of the new class of intermediaries, who exploited the possibility of literature being used as a saleable commodity, texts were produced with a view to profit-maximization, which was possible only by alluring the reading public with objects of entertainment. Hence there was the growth of a "popular literature" or "sub-literature", as opposed to "serious" literature, causing a clear division in the profession of writing, namely the writer as an artist and the writer as a trader. Of course, there are cases where the distinction is not very clear; a "popular" writer can be a "serious" writer as well, although serious literature is radically different

from "sub-literature." In fact, sub-literature cannot be identified solely by the criterion of sale or by the magnitude of public response; it is identified mainly by its intent. By the time the printing press and the publishing houses were well established, and journals and magazines of varying qualities wide-spread, the sub-literature had also emerged as an important social phenomenon. This sub-literature has been generally ignored by the critics and very little of it has been preserved in the libraries. But impervious to criticism, it grew abundantly satisfying the immediate need of the largest section of readers. Obviously this was a new situation unprecedented in our literary history.

Related to changes in the modes of transmission and patronage was the change in the nature and composition of the reading public owing to spread of education. We have mentioned how the 'listner' became a 'reader' and how it effected a change in the relationship among participants in literary activities. Perhaps even more significant, at least in case of certain literary traditions, was the sudden change in the patronage system. A significant part of the nineteenth-century literature was produced under the traditional patronage; that literature was intimately connected with the old and, to some extent, conservative traditions. Most of the new experiments in form were undertaken by that group of writers who did not have the patronage of "Kings" and Nawabs but who came from various professional groups—teachers, journalists, lawyers, government officers. It was also in this period that, for the first time, the writer and the intermediaries realized the potentiality of the women readers and of the juvenile readers towards the end of the century. This realization had a great impact on the literary activities of the people: it opened up the possibilities of the development of new themes and new forms of literature.

What makes this period unique in our literary history is its continuous conflict between the indigenous and the alien ideals, values and sensibilities. The conflict is a tortuous one. It was not a contact between two authors or two texts, it was a contact between two civilizations in an unfortunate historical circumstance. The Indian writers, at least some of the very talented amongst them, were fascinated by the power and the sweep and the beauty of Western literature. But they were also restless about the political domination of the British. This love and hate relationship with the West made the literary contact tortuous and complex. The uniqueness of the Indian literature of this period lies mainly in the Indian writer's ability to negotiate with the literature of the West and in his capacity to give a memorable expression to the human problems he faced during this period.

Much of the literature produced in this period was a continuation of the earlier traditions, parts of which were already sterile. The develop-

ment of the literature all over the country was hardly uniform either in quality or in quantity. "If India is a land of contrasts, of sweltering heat and perennial snow, of fabled ease and brutalising want, of the wisdom's calm and the clamour of ignorance," writes Krishna Kripalani, "so is its literature many-faced, many-voiced, here primitive, there sophisticated, now inspired, now imitative, at once sublime and grotesque, exhilarating and trite."[2] Not only is this true of Indian literature in general, as Kripalani points out, but more true of the literature of this period in particular.

We have tried to explain the reason of this unevenness or the non-uniformity of the literary development by resorting to the pro-phanic and the meta-phanic features which were partly regulated by socio-economic changes. The whole country was not exposed to the changing socio-political-economic forces simultaneously, the expansion of English education, the spread of printing, the decline of traditional sources of patronage were gradual and varied. Consequently the literary changes occurred at different points of time in different language areas. The history of Indian literature cannot be properly understood if we fail to find out the correspondences between one stage of development of language A and another stage of development of language B. "Now if one literature is found most productive between 1857 and 1885," writes Professor Amiya Dev, "and another during 1885–1910; their measure of productivity being, say, the growth of a new genre and the treatment, very broadly, of the theme of tradition and modernity, then their historiographic correspondence will have to be made between 1857–1885 and 1885–1910."[3] The pro-phanic and meta-phanic features, therefore, are useful not merely in understanding the continuity within the changing landscape of different component literatures, but also in establishing the right correspondence among them.

The co-existence of different traditions and different values, representing the old and the new, is a feature that can be observed in any period of Indian literary history, but the situation in the nineteenth century became complex with the impact of the Western literature and civilization with all their supposed superiority. The Indian writer had to face a serious challenge, perhaps for the first time in the history of Indian literature, from another literary world which appeared with a blinding glare and which was intimately associated with the ruling power. The Indian writers responded to it; they borrowed several literary forms, the novel, the tragedy, the literary essay, the farce, and so on. There must have been some resistance no doubt, but that was more against the values expressed through them or entailed in them. But there was an attraction for the new, at times hesitant and cautious, at times impetuous and uninhibited.

We must add a note of caution regarding the co-existence of several

traditions and attitudes within Indian literature, some regarded as "modern" and some as "not-modern". The pro-phanic features are essentially those that separate one literature (or one group of literatures) from other literatures which had shared a common pattern for a certain period of time and formed a well-knit complex. The features that brought rift within that complex in the nineteenth-century India were caused mainly by the intervention of Western literature. These features were regarded by many literary historians as signs of "modernity" and anything that did not conform to those were relegated to a rather derogatory category, "traditional" or "medieval". It is not only that some literatures, say Bengali or Marathi, were thought to be more Westernized (therefore "modern" and more "advanced") than other literatures of India, but certain authors and texts belonging to these very languages were also identified as "not-modern" if only because Westernization was equated with modernization. The perception, whether true or false, that a particular language-literature was more modern than the other was as important as the perception of the "modern" and the "medieval" existing within the same language.

The concept of the "medieval" like many other concepts borrowed from European historiography was totally incongruous to the Indian literary situation. The opposition between the Greeco-Roman literature on the one hand and that of the Renaissance on the other, which makes "medieval" a useful category in European history—though its usefulness is not beyond dispute—is certainly an imposition on Indian literary history. As a temporal category it has a limited validity in Indian history but to think of a dark Indian medieval age is reprehensible. Not only did the Indian medieval period produce a vast and opulent body of lyrics, epics and ballads, but its creative energy burst into splendid expressions in music and painting and architecture. The idea of a dark and intellectually stifling Middle Age infiltrated the thought process of a section of the Indian elite which imposed the tripartite time division of the West on Indian history.

There is no doubt, however, that the literature of this period is a significant departure from the past. It is also true that there was much in the earlier traditions that many in the nineteenth century found abhorrent and repugnant. A group of writers felt impatient with the continuance of the older traditions which they thought stagnant and sterile. They welcomed Western literature with a certain fervour. It represented a new spirit, that of modernity. In an article published in 1871 Bankim Chandra observed that, "By far the greater number of Bengali writers belong to the Sanskrit school and by far the greater number of good writers belong to the other (i.e. the Western School)."[4] The first part of the statement is

correct and applies to other literatures of India as well. The second part of the statement is true for only a few languages. Bankim identified the "good" writers not only by the degree of Westernization (he did not rule it out either) but by the power of their "originality" About the Sanskrit School, Bankim wrote that the authors were "rarely caught straying beyond the beaten track, beyond a reverential repetition of things which have been said over and over again from time immemorial." His criticism of this literature, particularly in respect of its "reverential repetition of things" applies to literature dominated by the Perso-Arabic traditions as well. Hali and Shibli Numani, for example, were severely critical of the mindless repetitions that became so conspicuous in Urdu poetry. In his *Muqaddamah-Shir-wa-Shairi* (the preface to his collection of poems) published in 1893 Hali chastises his contemporary poets for being content with the Iranian milieu of the ghazals—the wine and the roses, the nightingale and the taverns—with its imported artificialities and contrivances, and persuades them to bring poetry closer to social reality. Bankim ridicules the Sanskrit school for its obsession with fossilized metaphors and dead poetic conventions—the 'five flower-tipped arrows' of the god of love, the soft breeze and the moon and the bees and the *Kokila*, the 'moon-face' and the 'lotus-eyes'. The major breakthrough achieved by the writers of this period was first manifested in their challenge against the age-old poetic conventions and canons. The movement against Paravastu Chinnay Suri in Telugu, the Venmani movement in Malayalam, the debate between *Bijulī* and *Indradhaṇu* on Oriya poetry, or between Manilal Dvivedi and R. B. Nilkanth in their respective journals *Priyamvadā* and *Jñānasudhā* over the poems of Narasimharao Divetia—all are manifestations of this challenging spirit. Rarely do we see in the previous centuries writers so compelled to challenge the existing norms and another group so eager to defend them with all tenacity.

Was it only a defence of an ancient literary system? It was a defence of a tradition extending beyond literary activities. It was a defence of a value-system threatened by a foreign imperial power. This does not, however, mean that those who challenged the ancient conventions and norms were unpatriotic or de-nationalised Anglicised Indians. The difference between the two groups of writers was primarily in their perceptions of the West, in their enthusiasm or lack of enthusiasm for Western literature and the values enshrined in it. These perceptions regulated their respective responses to the literary models and ideals of India and of the West.

The resistance of the old and the offensive of the new were expressed in the forms of parody and farces and satires. Various new forms, such as the novel and the drama, the essay and the lyric were accepted by the writers at large, even by them who were not particularly well-versed in

English. Many of them even used the new forms to defend their old ideals, literary and social. The adaptation of a new structure, even when it was a mere borrowing, forced the recognition of its distinctiveness. A writer could refuse to accept the emerging order but he could not keep himself completely free from the tension of the time. His text, even when it appeared old, represented that tension to some extent. "It is not an absolute newness but an otherness," points out Frow, "a determinate negation."[5] One would like to add that the texts produced by the 'traditionalists' were not always a blind adherence to the tradition but a conscious negation of the new.

No literary period can replace the whole of the past. Many texts of the past wither away and only a few remain. "So long as a work of art is extant it belongs to no particular time at all," reminds W. P. Ker. "The conditions and circumstances of its production," he points out, "are historical and belong to a time of which only a faint and illusory image can be projected by the most cunning historian. The work itself is present."[6] The nineteenth-century writer and reader looked at their own literary heritage at times critically, quite often with pride. The expansion of printing and publishing made the texts of the earlier times easily available to the readers. It was for the first time in our cultural history when the whole of ancient literature became accessible to the reader. The sudden spate of translations from Sanskrit, and Persian too, brought a large number of ancient and medieval classics within the reach of the common reader. The critical literature that emerged in a few languages became seriously engaged in a process of mediation between the past and the present. Bankim Chandra's essay on *Uttar Rām Carit* in 1872, Chiplunker's treatise on Sanskrit poets, *Sanskṛta Kavi Pañcak* (1876), Bharatendu's essasy on drama, *Nāṭak* (1883), Rabindranath's *Prācīn Sāhitya* (1907), Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi's essays on Sanskrit literature and literary ideals (collected in *Sudarśan Gadyāvalī*, 1909), their differences in attitudes and temper notwithstanding, are evidences of a new responsibility on the part of the writers themselves. While the writers were engaged in a serious problem of adjustment and reconciliation with the literary models and canons of the West, they were aware of the oppressive as well as the salutary effects of their own literary heritage. It was not a question of accepting or negating the whole past; it was a process of the discovery of all that was living in the ancient traditions. There was, of course, one group defending the past uncritically. The 'modern' Indian writer insisted on his right to judge the past work according to its relevance (which includes aesthetic value as well) to the present. He, like the 'traditional' writer, was also a part of the reading public whose literary taste and perceptions had been conditioned by the past work. "The aesthetic implication" of a work, points out Jauss, "lies

in the fact that the first reception of a work by the reader includes a test of its aesthetic value in comparison with works already read." He continues, "The obvious historical implication of this is that the understanding of the first reader will be sustained and enriched in a chain of receptions from generation to generation, in this way the historical significance of a work will be decided and its aesthetic value made evident."[7]

It is, of course, through the chain of receptions from generation to generation that the past works are reappropriated and they continue to exist simultaneously with the present works. And those works also regulate the experimentations of the moderns in both positive and negative manners. The nineteenth-century writers, to give an example, adopted the *novel* from the West, yet their narrative techniques and patterns did not lose their links with the *kathā* and *ākhyān* and *dāstān*. They admired the European drama and imitated the Western models, yet the native models were not discarded. They wrote new narrative poems and lyrics under the inspiration of the British Romantics, yet the traditions of the devotional poetry of our medieval period or the sophistication of the Urdu ghazal continued to be a part of their creations. The mediation with the works of the past is a continuous process in all periods of literary history. There is nothing unique about the process itself, except when it becomes conspicuous by the manner of the mediation, as it did in this period.

Never in our literary history was there so much obsession with the past, such glorification and defence, such criticism and introspection. But this obsession with the past was also counterbalanced by an intense awareness of the present. The satire and the farce, the travelogue and the essay are expressions of that awareness. The transformation of the literary world from the religious to the secular, from the supernatural to the rational, from the grandeur of the court to the sterner realities of existence is spectacular and to some extent radical. The contemporary life with all its diversities and complexities, its social predicaments and moral dilemmas demanded the attention of the writers. The religious literature, or the literature produced within a religious framework, did not disappear altogether but lost its dominance and was replaced by works involved with the pressing problems of existence, other than metaphysical. The marvellous continued to cast its spell upon the reading public, but a new world presenting the familiar situations of life emerged slowly causing an expansion of the thematic range of our literature and eventually imposing upon the author the role of the educator and the propagandist. The extension of the thematic range provided a great variety of literary expression, and brought forward issues never considered 'literary' And also because of the writer's direct involvement with the burning issues of contemporary life, much of the literature produced in this

period was for immediate necessity, fragile and intransigent, didactic and propagandist, and significant part of it patriotic.

The nineteenth-century writer exploited the potentiality of the past fully and admirably. But it must be said to his credit that he also discovered new beauties in his surroundings. The sudden popularity of the travelogues describing cities and towns, temples and tombs, rivers and mountains of the country is an expression of the writer's joy in living. Almost suddenly the Indian writer started taking great delight in nature around him, when the rivers and the mountains, the birds and the flowers, "every common sight" appeared fresh and glorious. Suddenly he found 'poetry' in the common and the trivial, the small and the ordinary, both in nature and in human relationship. This was confined not only to the short story and the nature poetry of this period, but was extended to the novels also. The tension between the novels dealing with the historical theme and the novels about contemporary domestic or social situation was finally resolved by the first decade of this century when the realistic novel replaced the historical. But the sense as well as the presence of the past was so strong in the psyche of the Indian writer and reader that their attitude towards history and mythology—the memory of the poeple—controlled the treatment of the present.

A nostalgia for the past institutions and rituals and values can be seen in the ambivalence of the Indian writer's towards the process of urbanization and industrialization, leading to a very complex texture in the poetry of this period. We do not have the space to go into detail, but we cannot ignore it altogether. One notices a strong current of criticism against Western technology running through the literature of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, denouncing it as a menace to Man and Nature. It is not that the Indian writer did not realise that the new technology represented the 'Modern' spirit, the courage and ability to challenge the raw forces of nature. But the technology that came to India was also associated with the Western political power; it was an instrument of exploitation and consolidation of the colonial rule. His reaction against industrialization and urbanization was partly because of his resistance to the Western way of life and partly because of his attachment to the unspoilt beauty of nature. Swami Vivekananda talking about the beauty of the Ganga warns his friends about the coming onslaught.'

In the hands of money-grabbing merchants, everything will disappear. In place of that green grass, brick kilns will be reared and burrow-pits for the brickfields will be sunk. Where, now, the tiny wavelets of the Ganga are playing with the grass, there will be moored the jute-laden flats and those cargo-boats; and those variegated colours of cocoanuts and palms, of mangoes and lichis, that blue sky, the beauty of the clouds—those you will altogether miss hereafter; and you will

find instead the enveloping smoke of coal, and standing ghostlike in the midst of that smoke, the half-distinct chimneys of the factories![8]

The vision of an unspoilt Nature took the poets either to the past or to the countryside of the present where nature still remained unaffected by the "money-grabbing merchants." The lyrics in general and the nature poetry in particular reflected the tension of the Indian writer who admired the power of science and technology, realized the necessity of urbanization and expansion of factories but who helplessly watched their de-humanizing effects. He marvelled at the railways and the telegraph and the steam engine, the new cities and the ports, but did not see any aesthetic potentialities or poetic element in them. The metaphors and the imagery used in Indian poetry remained confined almost exclusively to rural life or nature undefiled. It was always the river and the sea, the mountain and the forest, the sun and the stars, the trees and the flowers that supplied the material for poetry. Rarely did the Indian writer use the objects associated with cities and ports, offices and stations, factories and workshops except in negative and de-humanizing connotations. Although a considerable number of Indian authors lived in cities, earned their livelihood and took part in the social and political activities there, the city as depicted by them was invariably, with a few exceptions as usual, a menace, and the countryside a haven of peace. The Indian writer found in the rural life the still centre of Indian civilization. The country represented the eternal time flowing yet unchanged, the town the abberration of the modern. But a few writers, it must not be forgotten, also saw the promise the cities brought, the freedom of the individual, the intellectual ferment, the economic opportunities.

The most conspicuous and the most recurrent theme of this period is the condition of women. The social and intellectual concerns of the city promised a new role for women. The reason for the predominance of this theme is directly related to the various social programmes championing the cause of women. The link between the social movements and the literature produced during this period is so intimate that most of these writings—those graphic descriptions of the pathetic life of women, the impassioned appeals for the betterment of their existence and also the sarcasm of the conservative at the slightest deviation from the norm on the part of women—have great value as social documents. But there were texts of literary excellence—some of which have withstood the test of time—that presented much deeper (not always neat and symmetrical but disturbing and provocative) problems relating to women and society. Women, one may concede, enjoyed a special position in the pre-nineteenth century literature too: there were memorable delincations of women characters. Many of them suffered terribly and nobly but never raised

any question against the system that made them suffer. There was a *change* in the situation in the nineteenth century. Whether she was Yamuna of Baba Padmanji, or Yamunabai of Apte, Rohini of Bankim or Lachama of Fakir Mohan, Zinat of Mirza Qalich Beg or Indirabai of G. Venkata Rao, Umrao Jan Ada of Rusva or Indulekha of Chandu Menon or Binodini of Rabindranath—all different in their physical and intellectual qualities, social and economic status—she refused to play the role traditionally assigned to her. The new woman launched a protest against the scheme of things through her words and actions that disturbed the complacency of the rising middle class. No other issue in literature—and also in life—agitated the reading public so intensely as did the woman's problem. One may not find actual counterparts of these women characters in real life: they emerged out of the writer's search for a new order, social and moral, and out of his vision of the emancipated woman yet unborn.

It was a new and, to some extent, sudden realisation like that of Gora of Rabindranath who spoke to Sucharita:

> I keep thinking that India can never be fully revealed only by looking at her men. Her manifestation will only be complete when she has revealed herself to our women. I have had an almost burning desire that I shall be able to see my country, standing by your side and looking at her with one united vision. For my India, as a man, I can only work and if necessary die, but who, except you, can light the lamp of welcome to her? If you stand aloof the service of India can never be beautiful.

This is the voice of the lover who idealizes the woman, this is also the voice of the patriot who recognizes the role of the woman in society. The crucial position that women came to occupy in the literature of this period can be ascribed to two main reasons. First, the Indian writer's interest in contemporary life, and second, his realization of the woman's role in society—to some extent parallel to his new realization of the beauty and significance of Nature as reflected in the new lyrics. In portraying the woman as a victim of social conventions, the Indian writer performed not merely a social duty but responded to an artistic challenge as well. If in their capacity to suffer silently the women characters of this period are linked with the Indian heroines of the past, in their refusal to resign to fate they broke off with the past.

One more factor that added a new dimension to the literature of this period should not go unnoticed. Among all the Western literary genres to which the Indian writers responded, tragedy was the most foreign and therefore his response to it was the most significant. Whatever be the reason, the absence of tragedy in Indian literature is a fact. The Indian acceptance of this genre was itself a challenge to the age-old dramatic norms. It is not that the Indian writer showed any special competence in

grafting tragedy within the Indian literary fold. In fact, most of the tragedies written in this period were imitative and contrived. But a passionate response to an unknown world of experience, a world stern and tense, was certainly very significant. To begin with, it was an artistic curiosity, a tempting invitation to probe a new realm, but slowly it became a part of the Indian writer's experience. It was not simply the knowledge of a new technique, or recognition of calamity or disaster or death as a final solution or culmination of a certain situation but a view of life that accommodates suffering and catastrophe and death as facts of existence without imposing philosophical significance on them. Through his acquaintance with Western tragedy—conceptually different from the unhappy-ending-texts in our own traditions, both elite and folk—did the Indian writer acquire a new vision which could not be easily reconciled to a world-order regulated by the doctrine of *karma*. From now onwards two streams of literary thought and exercise can be identified in Indian literature, both dealing with the theme of suffering and death. In one, suffering is regarded as part of a divine scheme to be endured silently, in another suffering is an outcome of choices made by man involving a moral dilemma.

APPENDIX I

Integrated History of Indian Literature:

A Draft Working Paper

1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

A history of Indian literature is a long desideratum and our task is to make it possible. Undoubtedly the task is enormous: the corpus is too wide and diverse, languages involved are too many and difficulties numerous, some of them almost insurmountable in the present state of our knowledge. Moreover some of the attempts made towards this direction have not met with much success. None the less the writing of a history of Indian literature cannot be postponed indefinitely and a beginning has to be made.

Comprehensive accounts of most of the Indian languages written by competent scholars are now available, definitive editions of many important texts of old and medieval times are being prepared steadily, and our knowledge about the interrelationships between various Indian languages is increasing every day. On the basis of the knowledge available to us, it is now possible to prepare an integrated history of Indian literature which will present an account of the literary activities of the Indian people since the time of the composition of the Vedic hymns.

By Indian literature we do not mean just a confederation of literatures produced in many languages, but a single literary universe reflecting the creative urges and achievements of the Indian people through many centuries. Languages involved in this activity are indeed many, different from one another in their geneology and antiquity. Literatures produced in them are uneven both in quantity and in quality. Yet there is a basic thread of unity underlying their many-splendoured diversities. Linguists have accepted the notion of India as a language area on the basis of features of convergence among Indian languages though they belong to four different families. Literary scholars have also noticed a few features which are pan-Indian and it is not unrealistic to talk of India as unified literary area. The regulating concept behind a history of Indian literature is this basic uniformity which can be seen at various levels.

The history of Indian literature, therefore, will be different from all known models of literary history. The existing histories of single literatures cannot act as its model for the simple reason that it must deal with a multilingual situation: its corpus is constituted of texts written not in one but many languages. Nor can we accept with profit the model which takes Indian literature as a conglomeration of several literatures such as Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi and so on in an alphabetical order, if only because a history of Indian literature has to be a total account of the literary activities of the Indian people cutting across linguistic and regional barriers. It will be a chronological account of all significant texts, spoken

and written, and of all traditions and movements and impacts and interactions that made them significant. This history recognizes the importance of all languages but it will not be a history of literature produced in a particular language alone: it will be a history of literature produced in all Indian languages not in isolation from one another, but in their interactions.

The term *Indian languages* should mean all languages of Indian origin and/or used extensively within the Indian territory. It will include those languages which are widely spoken and used by Indian for their intellectual and creative works. Persian and English are two such languages.

The proposed history will be different from all the existing histories in three ways:

1. It will try to present the literary activities of the Indian people at a given point of time irrespective of the fact the they were carried out in different languages.
2. It will try to present the common literary traditions cutting across linguistic barriers.
3. It will also try to present the *diversities* of literary expressions and experience of the Indian people.

In other words, it will provide a broader framework, broader than the existing monolingual frameworks, within which all significant texts produced under different linguistic situations and social conditions will find their due place. It will be possible to show relations between texts produced in different regions and in different languages, and to trace the history of a particular movement or a tradition in its entirety, and to study the evolution of a particular genre within a larger cultural milieu.

2. PREPARATION OF A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

As a first step towards the writing of a history of Indian literature one has to start with the preparation of a chronology. This will include all dates of composition or publication of all major texts in all languages of India. It will also include the dates of different phases of all major literary movements, dates of establishment of institutions of literary importance, and major events in the political, social and religious life of the country, and finally the dates of birth and of death of all major writers.

To facilitate the work the total span of time through which Indian literature has evolved should be divided into smaller segments and the chronology of each segment should be prepared separately. Problems will differ from period to period and the methods of handling materials will vary accordingly. It will be comparatively easier to prepare the chronology of the modern period as the dates of publication of texts and biographical information about the literary personalities are easily available and more or less accurate and precise. But the determination of exact dates of composition of most of texts in the earlier periods is extremely difficult. Further we go back more acute are the controversies among scholars about every piece of information. "Even today the views of the most

important investigators", wrote Winternitz in the beginning of this century, "with regard to the age of the most important Indian literary works, differ, not indeed by years and decades, but by whole centuries, if not even by one or two thousand years." Scholars of Sanskrit literature have, therefore, prepared a relative chronology on linguistic evidence and we do not have any other alternative at this stage of our knowledge but to depend on them.

2.1 *Steps to be Taken*

A chronology of each segment of the history of Indian literature is essential because this alone will show the total literary activities of the Indian society at a given point of time. That will make the task of identifying the features of unity in various works produced in different languages in different parts of the country.

The kind of chronology we are talking about has to be prepared in two phases. In the first phase an exhaustive card-catalogue should be prepared separately for each language. In the second phase a composite catalogue should be prepared by arranging the cards chronologically without any reference to the languages. This master catalogue will be a store-house of all bibliographical information.

2.2 *Place of Literary Traditions in the Chronology*

In old and medieval literatures one often has to depend on notional dates of composition of many texts. Greater difficulty arises in respect of texts such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Pañcatantra* or the *Jātakas* which have grown through several centuries. One has to determine whether to consider such texts only when they have reached the stage of stability or as evolving texts. If they are considered only at their final stage, then their role in the preceding periods will be ignored, and that will naturally be an incomplete account of the literary situation of that period. One has to take care of the evolving and flowing traditions of texts-in-transition in order to understand the peculiarity of Indian literature. If the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*, whatever be their form in the Vedic period, as it has been suggested by some scholars, they were also a part of the literature of that period. An account of the Vedic period would remain incomplete without a reference to the existence of those texts which emerged fully several centuries later. Similarly, there are many medieval texts, which are available to us today, passed through several stages of evolution before they achieved a state of stability. A chronology of Indian literature must try to include the possible dates of the phases of growth of such literary works.

3. THE NATURE OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES

On completion of the chronology of a particular period one must start collecting information about (i) the modes of transmission of literary texts, (ii) the participants in the literary activity, and (iii) the languages involved in the literary production in that period in addition to the socio-religious and political background of that time.

3.1 *Modes of Transmission*

Indian literary texts have been, as in fact literary texts in all societies, transmitted in three ways: through spoken words, through written words, and through printed words. The transmission of texts through printed words is a recent phenomenon. Prior to 1800 Indian literature was transmitted either orally or through the written word. The earliest period of Indian literature, normally known as the Vedic period, was dominated entirely by oral traditions which had two streams of development. A rigorous mechanism was developed for the preservation of the sacred texts, and the Vedic literature has been preserved in the form they were first composed. But the other stream of oral literature, of which the epics and some of the Buddhist texts were once a part, was not subjected to that rigorous mechanism of transmission devised by the priestly class. They continued to evolve through several centuries till they were committed to writing. The language and style in which they were first composed underwent several changes through centuries and various matters were interpolated in their body. This mode of transmission continued throughout the history of Indian literature till printing was firmly established in India.

Even with the discovery of writing and its extensive use, the oral mode of transmission was not discontinued. Texts were often read out for an audience either by the poets themselves or by professional readers. Texts were not meant to be read silently: they were to be heard or performed. They belonged to two categories: *Śrāvya* (to be heard) and *Dṛśya* (to be seen). In the medieval times the recitation of texts used to be accompanied by music and at times by dance. The mode of transmission of many medieval texts shared some of the features of performing arts. In fact the whole of medieval Indian literature, though written, was transmitted orally. This not only explains the reasons for various interpolations in the texts, but this factor determined the structure of those texts to a considerable extent. A large part of medieval poetry, particularly the short verses, was actually meant to be sung by professional musicians according to different *rāgas*; even the long narrative poems were recited and chanted in a special manner. Because of the employment of the oral device the medieval literature had the widest distribution among the masses. Had it been an entirely written literature it would have reached only to the elite.

3.2 *Participants in the Literary Activity*

By 'participants in the literary activity' of a given period, I mean the author and the audience to which a particular text is addressed. Theoretically an author's work is for any one who cares for it. In practice, however, an author either writes for a group of people with a deliberate design, or is often obliged to write for a particular audience. The nature of the text is often determined either partially or totally by the taste and demands of that particular audience. The Vedic literature, for example, was written for the priestly class, the ornate Sanskrit poems for the aristocrats of that time, the *Caryā* songs for an esoteric religious group, and the poems of the Alwars, or the *Vacanas* of the Virashaivas for the common man, many of whom did not know how to read or write. Michael Madhusudan

claimed that he wrote for that section of the people which was exposed to Western education. The role of the audience, therefore, is as important as the education and culture of the author himself in creating the standards of taste and judgement of a particular period.

The dynamics of literary activities in each period will be more clear when one gains insights into the nature of patronage under which literary production is sustained. Indian literature received patronages from different groups people at different points of time: Brahmin priests, exclusive religious groups, royalty, landlords, the middle class and also the illiterate masses of population. Each group has created a literature according to its own need and each group has valued literature according to its taste and requirement. Because of the different kind of audience within the society of a particular period, different types of literature emerged under different patronage conditions. It is not only the dichotomy between the sophisticated and the folk literature with which we are more or less familiar, but the variety of literature produced by different religious or social groups according to its own need, and at times according to its theological or ideological requirement. A body of literature has often evolved within a certain ideological framework and that literature was supposed to be enjoyed and evaluated within that framework alone. The Gaudiya Vaishnavas, for example, constructed an elaborate poetics and insisted that the literature produced by the members of that group should be judged by the canons formulated by them. There were groups which rejected all traditional poetics or perhaps developed a new poetics, for the evaluation of their literature.

In addition to the poet and the audience or the patron, there were other participants in the literary activity. They were the professional singers and story-tellers. Rarely did they transmit the original text 'faithfully': they changed the text, tried to improve upon it, distorted it, introduced new material into its body, and they also took the role of interpreters. This is not necessarily an adverse criticism of their work, but a statement of fact. Their idea of text was certainly different from ours. The role of the scribes and the professional singers and performers in the making of many texts will never be precisely known but can never be ignored.

3.3 *Languages Involved*

Even in a history of a single language-literature one notices complex interplay of different languages, analysable in terms of influence and response and impact. A history of Marathi or Kannada or Oriya, for example can hardly ignore the part played by a classical language like Sanskrit, or a neighbouring language or a foreign language, like English or Persian in its making. In the case of the history of Indian literature an analysis of the linguistic situation in each period of its evolution becomes even more imperative if only to indicate the importance of multilingualism in its formation. The role of Sanskrit which acted as a source of energy and inspiration in each period of Indian history, is of course well acknowledged. In earlier periods when the Buddhists and the Jains used Prakrit languages for their religious propagation and championed the cause of the languages of the people, could not avoid Sanskrit altogether. They, too, wrote in Sanskrit along with the Prakrits, and in some cases in artificial languages which

were created on the basis of Sanskrit and the Prakrits. Even when Sanskrit ceased to be a language of creative writings and was replaced by the living speeches of the country, it was still used by a large number of scholars, some of them were creative writers, and it continued to exert its dominance on the growing literatures in younger languages.

Apart from dominance of a particular language at a particular time what appears to be more fascinating is the continuous interactions between languages. Even in the earliest period of Indian literature when Vedic-Sanskrit was the only literary language an interaction between Vedic and the contemporary Dravidian speeches is not altogether invisible at the level of vocabulary and even phonology. "The language of the Rig Veda is as yet purely Aryan or Indo-European in its form, structure, and spirit", writes Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "but its phonetics is already affected by Dravidian; and it has already begun to borrow words from Dravidian (and from Kol); not only names of objects previously unknown to the Aryans, but also a few words of ideas...". Interactions between languages began from the earliest period of Indian literary history and it continued throughout. Out of such interactions emerged the style known as *Maṇi-pravāla*, a hybridization of Sanskrit and Tamil or Malayalam. Code-mixing, to use a term from linguistics, is not only a feature of everyday linguistic activity in India, it is also an interesting feature of Indian literary activity. There are many instances of such code-mixing in literature to produce different effects. The song *Vande-mātaram* is an instance of modern *maṇi-pravāla* it being written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Bengali.

In fact the use of artificial literary languages in different periods of Indian literature for different purpose by various groups calls for serious study. The employment of the *Brajabuli*, (not the Brajbhāṣā) but a mixture of Maithili and Assamese/Bengali/Oriya by the Vaishnava poets of the eastern India to celebrate the *līlā* of the lord Krishna; the use of *Sandhyā Bhāṣā* by some religious groups or the *Ulṭā Bhāṣā* among the followers of the Nath sect or of Kabir; or the use of *Sādhukkari* by various saints in north India are extremely important to understand the development of Indian literature in a multilingual situation.

Apart from the ingenuity in using artificial languages or secret languages, one must also take note of the role of Persian and English in Indian history. The interaction between Persian and Khariboli gave birth to a new style which matured in Urdu. Persian was also employed in creative writings by the Indians and like the Indo-Persian style of painting and architecture, an Indo-Persian literature emerged in the medieval Period. The Bengali Muslims tried to create a new style of Bengali with a preponderance of words of Perso-Arabic provenance. The English language, too, played a similar role in the modern period: not only did it revolutionise our literary activities but created yet another stream of Indian literature, the Indo-English.

For each period of Indian literature, then, one has to state clearly the position and nature of the functions of various languages operating in the society. Almost in each period of Indian history the educated Indian had to use more than one language in his daily life where each language had a very clearly defined function. An educated Indian of the Buddhist period, for example, would know Pali and

Sanskrit and in all probability at least one other variety of Prakrit. An educated Hindu of the medieval period living in north India would know Persian which was useful for his official career, and Sanskrit, it being the language of higher education of the Hindus and at least one of the modern Indian languages. There was a hierarchy among languages in respect of their functions and social utility. Indian literature flourished in such situations. This is a literature where one finds a text written in more than one language, for example *Śakuntalā*; writers writing in more than one language, for example Vidyapati or Narayana Tirtha; or writers switching from one language to another, for example, Michael Madhusudan Datta or Premchand. A history of Indian literature is partly a history of this multilingual situation.

4. PERIODIZATION

The total span of time through which Indian literature evolved is too large to be viewed in its entirety. It has to be divided into shorter parts that will allow a scholar to treat them as significant units, more or less self-contained, to make the writing of the history of Indian literature possible. But the divisions must have certain rationals if they are to be of real use for the literary historians.

One has to use criteria, preferably literary, in demarcating different periods. But at times it is difficult to depend entirely on literary criteria and they are not always easy to determine either. Therefore, one should not feel apologetic about taking recourse to extra-literary criteria as well. The linguistic periodization, for example, provides us with a framework within which literary texts and traditions can be located, and it can serve as a useful broad frame of reference. Its inadequacies are of course obvious, as linguistic changes are not necessarily simultaneous with literary changes. Since neither linguistic changes nor the span of different literary movements and traditions can be precisely dated, one has to apply other criteria, socio-political in the main, to determine the periods with greater certainty. Some of the political dates are the only fixed points, to use the words of Winternitz, in an ocean of uncertainty. In any case literary periods as Dr. Sujit Mukherjee puts it, "should be regarded as hypothesis for the purpose of presenting the available materials, rather than absolute and complete demonstrations of the literary process at work."

4.1 *Criteria for Periodization: Linguistic Change and Change in Linguistic Situation*

Applying the criteria of linguistic changes three broad periods have been established by the linguists:

(i) From the time of the composition of the Ṛg Veda till the emergence of the Prakrit languages (? 1500/1200 B.C.—600 B.C.)

(ii) From the time of the emergence of the Prakrit languages to the emergence of modern Indian languages, except Tamil which originated in the earlier period. (600 B.C.—A.D. 800)

(iii) From the time of emergence of modern Indian languages till present day (A.D. 800–present day)

It is now possible to demarcate the literary periods within this broad framework by applying the other criterion that of change in the linguistic situation in the society. We know that by the time of Buddha (557 B.C.—477 B.C.) the Vedic language had undergone radical changes and that Buddha preached in local languages of his time. We also know that the language of the Ṛg Veda is an earlier form of Sanskrit which was fixed by Panini around fourth century B.C. Although we do not find any written evidence of that language till the Christian era, it is more or less accepted that two parallel developments of Vedic occurred side by side in different strata of population, one restrained by education and finally maturing in the form known as 'Sanskrit' which was given stability by Panini for all times; and the other because of a rapid development among the masses resulted in various Prakrits including Pali. The first period of Indian linguistic history can be accepted as the first period of Indian literary history as well.

The viability of this period is established by a large corpus of Vedic literature. There are evidences to conjecture the existence of other traditions of oral literature out of which evolved the great Sanskrit epics. To give more definiteness to this period it can be demarcated by the year of Buddha's death, 477 B.C.

The second period of Indian literature cannot be established by the criterion of linguistic change in Sanskrit or Pali alone. The time between Buddha and Kanishka (A.D. 58) can be called the second period of Indian literature because of two reasons: (i) the first ever written specimens of any Indian language was found at the time of Ashoka who died around 232 B.C. and (ii) some of the Buddhist texts in Pali were written and compiled during this period. If the first period of Indian literature can be described as a period of oral tradition, the second period is characterised by the features of change from that. It is a period of a movement from an oral tradition to a written tradition. This must be considered as a break-through in our literary history. More over this is also a period when languages other than Sanskrit were employed in literary and religious activities.

This period can be sub-divided into two shorter phases: Buddha to Ashoka, and Ashoka to Kanishka. The main reason for using the name of Ashoka is because of his rock-edicts which contain the specimens of a middle Indo-Aryan language. But it is also important to remember that the third Buddhist council took place during his reign and the third council is often taken as an important date in Buddhist history that being the time by which certain number of texts, including the Tripiṭakas, were compiled. The choice of Kanishka is motivated primarily from an anxiousness to give the period a definiteness.

Following these principles we can accept the time between A.D. 58 and A.D. 450 (Kanishka to Kumara Gupta) as the third period of Indian literature. Some one averse to the names of emperors in designating literary periods can call the period 'From Ashvaghosha to Kalidasa' or 'Bhasa to Tiruvalluvar' but the dates of both Ashvaghosha and Bhasa are yet to be firmly established. The year 450 is a convenient date, a time between Chandra Gupta II who died in 413 and his son Kumara Gupta whose reign ranged from 415 to 455.

This period can be sub-divided into two phases: A.D. 58—A.D. 250, and A.D. 250—A.D. 450 which is a convenient date being the year of Pallava king's consolidation of power in Kanchi and also being the latest date of the body of

literature known as *Sangam* literature. The period between the first century A.D. and A.D. 250 is the time of predominance of Prakrits and of Tamil. The period that followed witnessed a great efflorescence both in Sanskrit and Tamil. The main characteristics that distinguish the literature in both the phases are an elegance of expression and opulence of imagination and diverse experiments in poetic and dramatic forms. Taking Sanskrit and Tamil and Prakrit literatures together it can be called the classical age of Indian literature.

In our attempt towards a broad periodization so far we have used linguistic criteria along with literary and historical evidences to demarcate the periods as distinct as possible. The linguistic criteria that we are applying are not related to linguistic change alone but to the emergence of literary speeches. The first period is dominated by one literary language: Vedic-Sanskrit. The second period is distinguished by the emergence of a written tradition and of literatures written both in Sanskrit and Pali and other Prakrits. The third period shows the presence of Prakrit languages and of ancient Tamil along with classical Sanskrit. The periods, then, differ from one another in their linguistic situations, as well as in their literary variety. If we have used names of historical personages it is only with the desire to locate these periods within the generally known limits of history.

4.2 *Further Criteria: Religious Movements and Impact of Foreign Languages*

We will be applying the same criteria used before to demarcate the periods that followed the age of Classical Literature, but on occasions we will use other criteria as well.

The fourth period of Indian literature extends for about four hundred years, from 450 to 850. This can be divided into two phases: 450–650 and 650–850.

The year 650 is important if we remember that Harsha, a patron of literature and himself a writer, died in 647; and the general consensus among the scholars is that some of the great poets of post-Kalidasa period, Bhatti, Bharavi and Bhatrihari are among them, lived in the first half of the seventh century, while Dandi, Subundhu, Bhavabhuti and Bhattanarayana in the latter part of that century. Hence the choice of A.D. 650.

By the beginning of the seventh century Pallava kings shifted their patronage from Jainism to Saivism, and the dominance of Sanskrit faced the first powerful challenge from a language of the people, Tamil. By the middle of the seventh century flourished a great Saivite poet Appar, as did the Alwars, the Vaishanava saints. With the rise of the Alwars and the Nayanmaras began a new religious movement which later came to be known as the Bhakti movement. While the court poetry continued to grow in Sanskrit abundantly under the patronage of the royalty, the new literature in Tamil was patronised by the temples and the people at large.

The choice of the year 850 is not purely arbitrary as the decline of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit was evident by that time and some of the modern Indian languages had began to emerge. It coincides roughly with the linguistic periodization. Kannada for example, one of the modern languages belonging to the Dravidian family, started emerging as distinct speech in the eighth century as

several inscriptions, and the first written work in that language was available in the ninth. This period can be entitled as the period of The Court and the Temple, representing two major centres of patronage to the growth of literature.

Next four hundred years, 850–1250, can be taken as the fifth period of Indian literature which witnessed a steady drift of literary activities from classical languages to the younger languages. This is the first time in the history of Indian literature when so many languages, belonging to different groups and of varying antiquity, operated side by side each contributing significantly towards the growth of a mighty literature. The *Bhāgavata* composed towards the beginning of the tenth century and the *Gītagovinda* in the twelfth, both written in Sanskrit, made a lasting impression on the life and literature of the whole country. Prakrit had its first play by the close of the ninth century and Apabharamsa its epic, *Pauma Carita*, in the tenth. There was a rich crop of philosophical writings and even a richer epical literature in Tamil. It was the period of the composition of the *Càryā* songs, the first specimens of Eastern Indian languages. By the middle of the tenth Pampa wrote his epic in Kannada, and Nannay, the first known Telugu poet, translated a few cantos of the *Mahābhārata* in the eleventh. Gujarati and Marathi also emerged fully by the twelfth century and some of the ballads in early Hindi in all probability had their origin towards the end of this period. The most remarkable trend that one finds in this period emanates from the writings of the Virasaiva poets of Karnataka which represent the second phase of the Bhakti movement under the dynamic leadership of a remarkable man, Basavanna (1106–1167?).

The period between 1250 and 1604 can be taken as the next phase of Indian literature. The impact of the changes in the political life in India that began with the advent of the Muslims power started to be felt at various strata of social and cultural life of the country more effectively in this period. Although the Arabs had conquered Sindh as early as 711, Muslim power established itself by the end of the twelfth century and conquered a large part of Indian territory by the middle of the thirteenth. The Sufi saints who came from different parts of Persia and Afganistan had already spread over India adding a new tune to the Indian religious orchestra. The contact between the Hindus and the Muslims that began in the preceding centuries deepened with the passages of time and now began to yield fruits. This is the period when we find several Muslim poets writing in Indian languages. Amir Khasrau, surnamed the *Parrot of India*, was born in 1254.

The year 1604 has been chosen as another significant date in Indian religious history it being the year of compilation of the *Adi Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, and a great work of Indian literature. The literature of this period was dominated primarily, if not, exclusively, by different religious ideologies and organisations. It was not, however, a sectarian literature in any sense of the term, but a literature deeply concerned with the mundane problems of life, accommodating all human passions, and yet exploring some of the fundamental spiritual questions of man. The period witnessed a galaxy of great poets, many of them were saints, and of powerful popular religious movements which gave great momentum to literary activities. Many historians have described this period

as a cultural regeneration, a renaissance, caused by the interactions between two great religions, Hinduism and Islam, and also by the interactions between the traditions operating within Hindu society.

1604 to 1800 can be called the seventh period of Indian literature. Religious poetry which dominated the earlier period now lost much of its freshness and vigour, but in certain parts of the country it still retained its supremacy. Some of the great religious poets of India, Ramdas in Maharashtra, Ezhuthachan in Kerala, Shah Abdul Latif in Sindh, Ramprasad Sen in Bengal only to mention a few, lived and wrote in this period. Adaptations and transcreations of Sanskrit epics and the *Bhāgavata* which became a major occupation of many poets in the preceding period continued unabated.

In some respects this period is a continuation of the earlier period but it also witnessed many new trends, most important of which is the impact of Perso-Arabic literature. The impact of Perso-Arabic literary traditions began much earlier but became more pervasive and deep in this period. From the seventeenth century onwards we find poets in various parts of the country became more attracted towards the Perso-Arabic themes and forms and metrical structures, many of which became an integral part of Indian literature by the end of this period. The greatest singular impact of Persian on Indian language and literature is the emergence of Urdu. It started as a variety of Khariboli Hindi with a preponderance of words of Perso-Arabic and Turkish origin, which attracted a number of talented writers in Bijapur and Golkunda in the mid-sixteenth century. Within a hundred year it attained the status of a distinct literary speech. Urdu literature showed its signs of maturity in the works of Wali (1667–1741) often known as *baba-e-rekhta* (father of Urdu), who came to Delhi in 1700 and presented a new model of poetry to the writers of that city. Urdu flowered in Delhi and in Lucknow under the patronage of the nobility of that time. Ghalib, the greatest poet of the language, was born in 1797.

Urdu poetry apart from adding a new flavour and colour to the Indian poetry also initiated the process of secularization in Indian poetry strongly dominated by religious themes and ideologies. The sophistication of Urdu poetry is partly shared by the *rīti* school of literature of this period which was strongly influenced by the Sanskrit ornate poetry.

This period of Indian literature also coincides with the decline of the Mughal empire and with the rise of British power in India. It was in the beginning of this period, in 1612 that the first English factory was established at Surat and Jehangir granted a *firman* to the East India Company in 1613. The change in political power in the mid-eighteenth century with its far reaching effects on all walks of life marks the beginning of another period of Indian literature.

4.3 *Tentative Periodization*

On the basis of the above discussion it is now possible to come to some agreement about the broad periodization of Indian literary history. This can be used as a starting point and improved upon with the progress of the writing of the

between the two, however, is in the discovery of a new literature, in case of medieval Europe it was the Greeco-Roman, in case of India it was English, leading to a new experience of wonder and beauty. But the contact between the medieval Europe and the ancient Europe is a reunion of two phases of the same civilization; the contact between India and Britain is the contact between two different civilizations that too under a painful political situation, resulting in contradictory and conflicting attitudes. There are compromises and conflicts, tensions and assimilations, confrontations and acceptances. The literature of this period is a creation of this situation. The story of this literature, can neither be told within a conceptual framework of renaissance which is limited to a small section of people and sporadic in nature, nor within the framework of indigenous literary tradition alone. It is a period marked by Western impact and Indian response.

7.3 *The First Phase: 1800–1835*

The most important thing to be noted in this phase is the change in the linguistic scene. The English language, being the language of the new rulers of the country, promised better economic prospect and better social status to many Indians. A small section of people, almost exclusively the Hindus, realised the potentiality of the language and took initiative to learn it and to educate their children in that language. This period is distinguished by the famous debate between the Orientalists and the Anglicists which came to an end only after Bentinck's declaration replacing Persian by English in the court and making all funds available for the purpose of education to English instruction alone. The defect of this policy, of course, was pointed out by many, including William Adams, and it was corrected to some extent later, but this caused a split in Indian population, between a new class of people educated in English and the rest of the population who had either traditional education or no education at all.

With the establishment of the printing press, the manuscript-tradition faced a strong opposition, and slowly began to fade out from certain parts of the country. The printing heralded into a new era of literary production which was first felt in the realm of text-books, then in journalism, and finally in literary writings. Printing made the task of preservation of older texts easier; the reading public had a greater access to the literature of the past.

This is the period of the emergence of prose as a literary medium. The greatest singular achievement of the nineteenth-century Indian intellectual is the discovery of the potentiality of prose and its employment in wider area of century activities. Pre-nineteenth century prose in modern languages was a crude tool of expression used almost exclusively in legal documents and petitions and only in a few cases in historical records. In the first phase of this period it was seriously employed in text-books and newspapers and then in religious debates. The various experimentations that continued in respect of choice of vocabulary and syntax and style indicated that prose would dominate the literary scene in years to come.

In the first thirty-five years of this century, the seeds of a new literature, which was to flower in the following decades, were sown. It was also the period

when yet another language, English, began to be adopted by the Indians in their intellectual and creative writings: Cavellay Venkata Boriah's *Accounts of Jains* was published in 1809, Rammohan Ray's *Translation of the Ishopanishad* in 1817, Derozio's *The Fakeer of Jungheera* in 1828, and Kashiprasad Ghosh's *The Shair* in 1830.

The older tradition was, however, still vigorous in different parts of the country. For Urdu it was the golden age, the important figures of this period being Mir Taqi Mir (1724–1810), Mushafi (1750–1824), Nazir Akbarabadi (1735–1830) and Ghalib (1797–1869). In other parts of the country the older tradition was very much living and popular. Kavisurya (? 1845) of Orissa, Bhai Dalpatrai (1769–1849) of Sindh, Muktanand (1761–1830) or Dayaram (d. 1852) of Gujarat, to mention a few, were the stalwarts of the older tradition.

The themes that deserve attention of the historians of this phase can be enumerated as follows:

1. The spread of English education in India
2. The emergence of Indo-English writing
3. The beginnings of literary prose
4. The continuity of old literary traditions

7.4 *The Second Phase 1835–1857*

This period witnessed a further expansion of English education and of enlargement and consolidation of an English-educated readership, which widened the gap between the readers of traditional literature and those of the literature emerging under the Western influence. Various societies like the Native Board of Education (1840) of Bombay, Gujarati Vernacular Society (1848) of Ahmedabad or Vernacular Literature Society (1851) of Calcutta, and various centres of Christian missionaries created an atmosphere, through production of text-books and translations and adaptations from English, which made a deep impact on the taste and perception of the common reader.

Between 1835 and 1857 several colleges and schools were established in different parts of the country including two medical colleges in Bombay and Calcutta and an engineering college at Roorkee. The introduction of modern science in the curriculum also gave incentive to the production of text-books on various scientific subjects which helped Indian prose to extend its range of expression even wider.

This was also a period of great achievement in Oriental scholarship which started from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The immediate impact of Oriental learning on the Indian intellectual was the growth of an awareness in the glories of India's past which vindicated his pride. Its impact was more strong on the religious movements of the nineteenth century and also in the growth of patriotism which became a dominant feature of Indian literature in the modern period.

The tension between the Indian intellectual and the ruling class began to be felt clearly in this period. While Indians, the educated Indians to be precise, were

divided into different camps and they fought against one another on various social and religious issues, their attacks were also directed against the Christian missionaries and the imperial pride of many British administrators. Questions regarding religious reforms and social changes which agitated the mind of many Indians were reflected in the literature of this period. The older traditions of literature began to face the challenges from the new generation of writers familiar with English or with works translated from English. The older tradition remained more or less undisturbed in Urdu, partly because of the Muslim resistance against English education, and partly because of the continuation of the aristocratic patronage to it. The pressure of the changing society, however, could not be ignored altogether. Urdu prose written by Mir Amman in the College of Fort William, though not considered civilized enough by the Lucknow school, certainly inaugurated a new trend which was appreciated later. Experimentations in prose which made the earlier phase of this period so conspicuous, went on vigorously. Long narratives, most of which were adaptations from Sanskrit, Persian and English began to appear steadily and prepared the ground for the growth of a new genre of fiction. The first novel, or a coherent story with certain structural features of novel, appeared in Bengali in 1852 and in Marathi in 1857.

The themes which need special attention in this period are:

1. The continuation of the older tradition and the tension between it and the new literary trends.
2. The growth of Indo-English literature as a new stream of Indian literature.
3. Expansion of prose literature with special emphasis on translation and adaptation from Sanskrit, Persian and English.
4. Various social and religious movements and their impact on Indian literature.

7.5 *The Third Phase: 1857–1885*

Three universities were founded in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857. The total number of colleges in India at that time was 27. The number went up to 75 by the end of 1882 when another university, Punjab University, was founded. The spread of English education was certainly not spectacular in terms of the size of the country and number of people, but big enough to sustain the forces of westernization unleashed by the British rule. The Sepoy rebellion of 1857 can be seen as the culmination of various uprisings against the authority beginning from the Bareilly rising of 1816 or the Mopla outbreaks in the fifties and the Santal insurrection of 1855. None of those risings before 1857 left any deep imprint in the written literature, though their traces can be found in songs and verses in the folk literary traditions. The rebellion of 1857, however, shook the Indian intelligentsia, many of them watched it with hushed silence and some supported the British enthusiastically. The stories of courage and patriotism of some of the leaders of the rebellion, Rani Jhansi or Nana Sahib, for example, and of gory incidents and enormities perpetrated by the British troops, haunted the memories of the Indian population which surfaced at a later period in many novels and

plays and poems. The immediate effect of the uprising of 1857 can be seen in the growth of a new value, namely patriotism. Patriotic literature is an innovation in India and its growth was directly linked with the contemporary experience of the Indian writer.

Apart from the patriotic writings, the themes that dominated the literary activities of this phase were invariably connected with socio-religious problems of contemporary life, such as the widow remarriage, women's education, the role of women in society, English education and westernization, traditional religious values and western liberalism, individualism and social authority, exploitation of the peasants and labourers and so on. The impact of the West was most pronounced in the transplantation of new genres of literature. Not only did the novel and the drama which soon became the most popular forms, start appearing in some of the languages, but also literary essay, biography, autobiography, travelogue etc. began to grow steadily. A new form of poetry, distinct from our earlier form of *khaṇḍa kāvya*, emerged in this period, along with epic which followed the principles of dramatic construction. Experimentations with various forms of lyrics and the drama, particularly tragedy, and the novel revolutionized the literary scene beyond recognition. Literary journals and magazines which began to mushroom created demands for a steady growth of fictional literature, and sketches and commentaries on contemporary problems, and they also helped the growth of a critical literature which first appeared in the form of book-reviews.

By the end of this phase the influence of the West had become quite extensive and the new literature had established itself firmly. The greatest figures of this phase are Michael Madhusudan Datta, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and Bharatendu Harishchandra. In some respect it is the most fascinating phase in the history of western impact on Indian literature. The following topics may be identified for an intensive study to appreciate the achievement of this phase:

1. The growth of new literary genres: the novel, the drama, biography, autobiography, literary essay, criticism, lyric and epic.
2. Various experimentations with metres and stanzaic patterns.
3. Tensions between the older literary traditions and the new, and their reflection in literature.
4. Indian dramatic activity: synthesis of Indian and Western traditions. Growth of the Indian stage.
5. Emergence of new themes: patriotic writings, historical novels and plays, intepretations of old themes, contemporary social and religious problems.
6. Growth of literary magazines and their contributions.
7. Humorous and satirical writings exposing social evils.
8. Translations and adaptations from various languages, including from one Indian language to another.
9. Growth of a new critical literature.
10. Literature used as an instrument of social change and political struggle.

7.6 *The fourth Phase: 1885–1910*

The two major Western genres, the novel and the drama, which had already established themselves in India in the previous phase had now appeared in all the major languages of India. Bankim Chandra died in 1894 but left a deep imprint on several writers of India and the novel emerged as the most popular form of literature by the end of the century. Hari Narayan Apte, Chandu Menon, Rusva, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Mirza Qalich Beg, Bhai Vir Singh, Govardhanram Tripathi, K. Veeresalingam left their mark in this new genre by the end of this century, and Rabindranath Tagore emerged as a major novelist in 1902. The short story as a new form of art, distinct from fables and tales of the older periods, started gaining popularity in this period. This is perhaps the only form of literature which kept itself remarkably free from British influence, and derived inspiration from Poe and Maupassant and Chekov. The interaction between our own indigenous heritage and the Western literary tradition found its most congenial expression in the poetry and the drama of this period. The Indian poets were still firmly rooted in their own rich poetical traditions but they welcomed Western literature without any qualm. The new lyric that flowered in this phase exhibits a sense of discordance between the ideal and the real, a free expression of the human spirit and strong individualism, all of which are the results of the contact with European literature, particularly with the literature of the Romantic movement. The new political literature, emotional and individualistic, made love and nature its central theme and explored deep into the layers of human feelings instinct and perception. The most conspicuous figure of this romantic movement was Rabindranath Tagore.

The dramatic literature on the other hand did not achieve the expected literary excellence despite its familiarity with and attraction for many major European dramatists. The influence of Shakespeare remained confined to the external features of Indian drama while the indigenous traditions dominated its theme and spirit. The Indian dramatist was more successful in inventing a popular form which was extensively used to expose social evils and to arouse the anger of the people against British rule, but rarely did he produce something comparable to the excellence achieved in other fields of literature, poetry or the novel. The Indian dramatist realised that a mere imitation of Western models would not give Indian drama any proper direction: that could be achieved by taking all that was living in our traditions of performing art, both in its classical and folk stream.

The influence of the West was still strong in this phase: writers still looked for models in Western literature and read European writers avidly. But the passionate enthusiasm of the earlier phases was mellowed down and tempered by a sense of discrimination. The steady growth of national consciousness and the disillusionment with British rule gave impetus to the growth of a patriotic literature, which manifested itself in three ways: first, by glorifying the Indian past and identifying heroes like Rana Pratap, Shivaji, Tipu Sultan, Sirajuddaula: second, through celebrating the beauty of the Indian landscape, its rivers and mountains, as well as lamenting over its present economic distress; and, third, by presenting a vision of a glorious future of India. By the end of 1910 India was

about to enter into a new phase of her political struggle. The literature of this period reflects that mood.

The main features of the literary activities of this phase are:

1. The growth of political consciousness and nationalism and its relation with the literature of this period.
2. Reinterpretation of our past heritage and creation of new heroes out of our history and legends.
3. Relation between the poetry of this period and the Romantic poets of England.
4. Experimentations in the form of the novel and the short story.
5. Indian drama and Indian stage: Western influence and the indigenous traditions of performing art.
6. Introduction of fresh themes exploring various dimensions of man-woman relationship.
7. Contemporary socio-religious movements and their impact on literature.
8. Non-fictional prose literature: personal essay, biography, autobiography etc.
9. Literary criticism.
10. Continuous tension between the forces of revivalism and those of modernization.

7.7 *Conclusion*

The above account of the literary activities within a space of one hundred and ten years is too brief to realise all the dimensions of this literary period. Nonetheless it points out the distinctiveness of this period which was dominated by a strong influence of the West. In no other period the influence of a foreign literature and an alien culture was so strong on Indian literature and society; and also in no other period of Indian history, Indians looked back to their past so fondly and passionately. A passionate attraction for the West and a deep love for India are two regulating factors of this period. In certain respect there was a break with the past. India entered into the age of printing at the beginning of this period and with it the mode of transmission of literature changed radically. Silent reading replaced the age-old styles of chanting and singing poetry to a great extent, and alienated a section of population which once formed a part of literary audience. The new literature displayed great power and beauty, excelled the literatures of preceding periods in some respect, opened a new world of experience hitherto unknown. But it also turned out to be a literature mainly of the educated class. With the gradual disappearance of the traditional performers and story-tellers and interpreters who made a written literature available to the 'illiterate' masses, the modern literature became inaccessible to them. The patronage slowly changed from the masses or in some cases from the aristocracy to the middle class. The needs and the demands, the taste and prejudices of this class regulated the growth of literary production. Books became marketable commodity, a source of livelihood and profit. This encouraged the growth of a 'popular' literature. Indian literary

historians have paid little attention to this stream of literature in this period. Although short-lived and poor in literary quality, this stream of literature has an importance in the history of our society if only because it reflects the taste of one class of readers of a particular time. With the growth of the size of the reading public which valued literature mainly, if not entirely, for its entertaining power, this stream of literature acquired great popularity. The more sophisticated literature which tried to establish a new standard of taste always faced a stiff opposition from this stream of literature. Any history of literature will remain incomplete without a study of this tension between the 'serious' and the 'popular' literature of a given period.

The other interesting feature of this period is the extensive use of the English language by the Indians. A number of Indians started writing in English and only later did they switch to their mother-tongue, and some continued to write in both. The emergence of the Indo-English literature cannot be explained only as a manifestation of the anglicised Indian's anxiousness to gain patronage from his new master: it could be a manifestation of his dilemma as well in chosing the right medium for a new sensibility. One wonders wheher the initial signs of a resurgent literature appeared first in the Indo-English writings or not, before they could fully manifest themselves in Indian languages. The intrinsic value of the Indo-English literature can be measured by the established norms of criticism, but the importance of the English language in the history of Indian literature in this period can hardly by over stated. Numerous writings about Indian literature, by Indians and the British—they include book reviews, histories of literatures, critical essays and translations-form the source-materials of literary history of this period. The influence of English literature on various Indian literature has been widely acknowledged and has been a subject of detailed scrutiny by many scholars. But what is not so well appreciated is the amount of writing in English on Indian literature. A history of modern Indian literature is also a history of the role of the English language in our literary activity.

While one must acknowledge the great role played by the English language in the modernization of our literature, one must also remember the great heritage that our literature had. The literature that was produced between the years 1800 and 1910 was not an isolated phenomenon. It is linked with a great past which worked silently and imperceptively through out the centuries. That is the reason why this literature, despite a strong impact of the West, did not turn out to be a mere imitation of the Western literature, but remained distinctively Indian both in form and in spirit. We have tried to point out that while the process of Westernization was going vigorously in certain parts of the country, the traditional literary forces continued to work through out this period, and when they appeared to have declined completely they still continued to work at a much deeper level of our psyche. It is the duty of the literary historian to discover that. Once we see the links between this period, undoubtedly an extremely stormy one, and the preceding periods, we will also see the links between them and the more exciting period that followed.

7.8

On the basis of the above discussion it is proposed that a ten-volume history of Indian literature be prepared. One volume each may be devoted to each of the periods indentified, which are as follows:

I ? 1500/1200 B.C.—477 B.C.
II 477 B.C.—A.D. 58
III A.D. 58—A.D. 450
IV A.D. 450—A.D. 850
V A.D. 850—A.D. 1250
VI A.D. 1250—A.D. 1604
VII A.D. 1604—A.D. 1800
VIII A.D. 1800—A.D. 1910.
IX A.D. 1910—to the present day.

In addition to that there should be a separate volume devoted exclusively to Indian folk literature.

We have stated clearly that the periods are not absolute but tentative and certain changes in the periodization can always be made to make them more meaningful. Such changes may be necessary with the progress of the work when the dynamics of the evolution of Indian literature will be more and more clear. Criticism can be certainly made against the non-uniformity in the span of each period: the first six periods are much longer than the rest, each of them cover four centuries or more, while the later periods tend to be shorter. One can suggest that the early periods too, should have been shorter, or a uniform policy should have been adopted through out. The only argument that I can put forward in defence of this non-uniformity is that the length of time cannot be taken as the only factor in determining different periods of Indian literature. The availability of materials, the size of the literary corpus, indications of innovations in the modes of literary transmission and in literary forms and themes, the number of languages involved in the literary production are to be taken into account also. The first period, for example, which covers more than eight centuries, consists of one major tradition and of a body of literature written in one language only. The second period, on the other hand, witnesses a change in the mode of transmission as well as emergence of other literary speeches in addition to Vedic-Sanskrit. More over, our information about literary facts—other than the Vedic literature—is scanty and inadequate in the early periods. The more we come down to the later periods the more copious is our information about the literary situation in the country. That makes it imperative to make the periods shorter as we advance from the ancient to the medieval and from the medieval to the modern times.

One can also argue that the modern periods have been given undue prominence: Vol. VIII (1800–1910) covers one hundred and ten years, and Vol. IX (1910 to the present day) even less than a century, while the Vedic period (Vol. I) or the period of classical literature (Vol. IV) covers much wider period of time.

Again we must reiterate that the periods have been demarcated by certain criteria, such as linguistic change, change in the mode of transmission, number of languages involved, change in the literary patronage, change in the readership, impact of foreign languages and literatures and so on, and not by the literary excellence of a particular time. By alloting longer space to the modern period, we are not making any value judgment. Rather we consider each period of Indian literature valuable and significant to understand the total historical process through which Indian literature has evolved and is still evolving. Since the ninth century, number of languages employed in literary activities throughout the country began to grow and by the fifteenth more than a dozen languages emerged as supple instruments of literary expressions. This is an important fact in the history of Indian literature. Since the history of Indian literature as we see it, is the history of the total literary activity of the Indian people in many languages, the periods which involve larger number of languages deserve minute studies so that one can discover the links between the diverse languages. Apart from that, more materials are available for the modern periods than for the earlier periods. That necessitates these periods to be comparatively shorter. The largeness of corpus has been adopted as an important criterion.

But the periodization has not been entirely dependent on that criterion. It is always possible to divide the larger periods into smaller segments, and the volumes devoted to each period need not be of some length. On the other hand, it is desirable that the difference between the different volumes in terms of length, should not be totally disproportionate. There should not be any mechanical criterion to decide the size of each volume. It will depend upon the corpus of literary material and on the significance of the literature produced in a particular period. It should be left to the wisdom and understanding of the team of scholars working in the project.

We have suggested that the writing of the history of Indian literature may begin with the volume VIII for reasons stated above (Section 7). Works on volume, I or on Folk literature can begin simultaneously. But for other volumes, it is better to work chronologically since literary movements are spread over different periods and the continuity of themes and forms are to be traced through several centuries. The same is true of the Volume IX (i.e. the period beginning from 1910) which is so intimately connected with the previous volume in respect of themes and forms and ideas.

APPENDIX II

Questionnaire

1. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION

1.1. What were the languages in use in your area?
1.2. Was there any tension between the language of the people and the language of the power-elite?
1.3. Was there any agitation against the domination of any language group?
1.4. What was the status of Sanskrit and Persian in your language area?
1.5. Did Sanskrit dominate the literary activities of the people? Was this domination confined to themes or forms or both?
1.6. When was English introduced in your area? What were the places students used to go outside your area for English education?
1.7. What was the common man's attitude towards English education?
1.8. Were there many bilingual writers in your area?
1.9. Was there much inter-action between different literatures in your area?

2. THE MODES OF TRANSMISSION OF LITERATURE

2.1. When was printing introduced in your area? What was the reaction of the common people and the scribes towards the printed texts at the initial stages of their introduction?
2.2. What were the modes of transmission of literature before the introduction of the printing? Did the narrator/performer tradition continue for a long time?
2.3. Can you describe a scene of poetry-reading as conducted by the traditional performers?
2.4. Can you give some information about the specialized groups of singers/readers who used to present literary works to the people?

3. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES

3.1 *Patrons*

3.1.1. How long the patronage of literature by the landlords and richer section of the society continued? Did the literature produced under these people differ from the literature produced under the patronage of religious groups? Please indicate if this difference can be indicated in terms of themes, forms and general taste reflected in the literary works?
3.1.2. Did patrons of literature ever try to suppress certain kind of writings?
3.1.3. Do you think the printers/publishers/editors had any role in the determination of literary canons and taste?

3.2. *Authors*

3.2.1. What was the broad class-base the majority of the authors belonged to (e.g. *social*: caste; *economic*: profession; *religious*: sects)? Do you notice any viable change in the class background of the authors through the passage of time?

3.2.2. Is it possible to divide the writers in your language into two groups according to their educational background: English and traditional (i.e. Sanskrit/Perso-Arabic)?

3.2.3. How influential had been the women writers? Were they singular examples to all by themselves?

3.2.4. How remunerative had been the vocation of being an author? Were there many authors who earned their bread through writings?

3.2.5. What was the prestige of a translator of (a) Indian literatures, (b) English literature? Did the major writers translate from other literatures? Did the major writers take interest in writing text-books?

3.2.6. Do you think the English educated writers wrote only for the newly emerging middle-class and thus there was a split in taste among the readers?

3.3 *Reader/Audience*

3.3.1. Do you think the printed literature created two groups of readers, one, who could read the printed texts, and the other 'the illiterate' group who had no access to the new literature? The 'illiterate' group, being the majority, must have helped to keep the older modes of transmission alive. Was there any interaction between the two types of literatures produced for two groups of 'readers'?

3.3.2. Was there any noticeable difference between the audience response to a male author or a female one?

3.3.3. Was there any journal or body of literature primarily directed towards the women readership?

3.3.4. What was the general reaction of the reading-public to literary innovations? Was there any craze for sensational literature?

3.3.5. Are the 'popular' writings of this period remembered today?

3.4 *Intermediaries*

3.4.1. How penetrative had been the public library system?

3.4.2. What was the role of the academicians in fostering literary taste in your literature?

3.4.3. Had there been any undesirable intervention from any corner on the literary activities of your language?

3.4.4. Did journals play a significant role in the growth of your literature?

3.4.5. Did different socio-political and religious associations help the development of your literature?

3.4.6. How far have the reviews and criticisms come to withstand the test of time? Please give examples of both the extremes where it succeeded and where it failed.

3.4.7. Did the critics depend mostly on traditional literary canons?
3.4.8. Did new editions of old texts have any effect on contemporary literature?

4. LITERATURE AND SOCIETY

4.1. Was there any direct or indirect impact of the Sepoy Uprising of 1857 on your literature?
4.2. What was the general attitude of the authors towards the British rule? From when do you notice a strong anti-British attitude in your literature?
4.3. What were the major socio-political movements that influenced your literature? Do you think of any major movement that was not amply reflected in your literature?
4.4. Was there any literary movement of the downtrodden in your literature?
4.5. When do you think the problems of women became the focus of attention in your literature? Do you think there is any special reason for this?
4.6. What was the impact of the religious movements in your literature? Was there any tension between the religious literature and the secular literature?

5. TRADITION—INFLUENCE—INNOVATION

5.1. What were the dominant literary traditions in your literature before the introduction of English education? Did they continue even after the growth of a sizeable English-educated group?
5.2. Do you think there was a strong influence of Western literature on your literature? What were the channels of this influence? Is it the direct knowledge of English or translations of English literature, or through some other Indian literature?
5.3. What are the new forms of literature (e.g. novel, tragedy etc.) that emerged in this period? Would you consider these forms entirely new or was there any antecedent in your literary history?
5.4. Which is the 'modern' period in the history of your literature? Why is it called 'modern'? Is it fair to arrive at an equation like this: tradition = regression; and Westernization = modernization and progress?
5.5. Who were the most-read European authors in your language-area? Were they translated? Were they imitated? Were they criticised by any one?
5.6. What was the attitude of the English-educated authors to classical literatures: Sanskrit/Persian and to the literature free from Western influence?
5.7. Are translated texts in your language accepted as a significant part of your literature? If not, why not?

6. THEMES AND FORMS

6.1. Do you agree that prose became the most important medium in this period? Was there any prose in your literature before the nineteenth century? If so, how was that different both in structure and functions from the prose written in this period?
6.2. What image of India was reflected in your literature—the Hindu India, the Muslim India or an India comprising of all communities?

6.3. Was there a growth of patriotic literature? Did that patriotic literature tend to be communal/regional at any time?

6.4. What kind of heroes are found in historical novels and plays? Do you find any attempt towards the glorification as well as the villification of any particular community?

6.5. What were the major themes of social satires? Was the anglicized Indian and the educated Indian woman an object of ridicule?

6.6. What were the new literary forms in this period? Do you think that they were the results of Western impact?

6.7. What was the most popular literary form in this period? Did traditional forms undergo any significant change under Western influence?

6.8. What was the status of religious literatures in this period? Was there any new trend in religious literature under the impact of socio-political changes?

6.9 What do you think the most significant literary form of this period—the lyric, the novel or the drama?

6.10. What according to you are the unique features of your literature in general and of this period in particular?

6.11. Can you identify the heroes from old epics and mythologies that attracted the notice of the authors in this period? What were the reasons for their popularity?

6.12. Did Hindu writers show any interest in themes from Islamic history and Perso-Arabic literature? Give examples. Did Muslim writers show any interest in Sanskrit literature and Hindu mythology? Give examples.

Notes

Prologue

1 Manfred Gsteiger, 'Individuality, Interrelation and self Images in Swiss Literature' John I Hoot (ed), *Modern Swiss Literature* Oswald Wolff, London, 1985, p 8f

2 For details see Sujit Mukherjee (ed.), *The Idea of an Indian Literature A Book of Readings*, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, 1981

3 M Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol 1, English tr by V Srinivasa Sarma, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1981, p. 35

4 R Nath and Faiyaz, 'Gwalior', *India as Seen by Amir Khasrau*, Historical Research Documentation Programme, Jaipur, 1981

5 W. A Cope and A J Krailsheimer (eds), *The Continental Renaissance, 1500–1600*, Sussex, 1978 (*Pelican Guides to European Literature*)

6 *Ibid* , p 13 The main divisions are generic, e g poetry, drama, prose, fiction. Generic divisions are also subdivided, e g poetry has been divided into epic, lyric and pastoral, religious and philosophical

7 Gerald Brenan, *The Literature of the Spanish People*, Cambridge University Press, 1953, p ix (*Italics mine*)

8 Louis Renou, *Indian Literature*, New York, 1964, translated from the original French *Les Litteratures de l'Inde* by Patrick Spens, Paris, 1951

9 S. K Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, Calcutta, 1963.

10 Nagendra (ed) *Indian Literature Short Surveys of 12 Major Indian Languages and Literatures*, Agra, 1959, V K Gokak (ed), *Literatures in the Modern Indian Languages*, New Delhi, 1957, Sumiti Kumar Chatterji (ed) *Cultural Heritage of India*, vol v, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1978

11 Jan Gonda (ed.), *A History of Indian Literature* in 10 volumes, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975

12 Robert Watson Fraser, *A Literary History of India*, London, 1897, new edition, New York, 1976, H H. Gowen's *History of Indian Literature*, New York, 1931, reprinted, New York, 1968, is more or less a similar work that followed Fraser's scheme

13 Murray B. Emeneau, 'India as a Linguistic Area', *Language in Culture and Society*, (ed.) Dell Hymes, New York, 1964, pp 642-53

14 Albrecht Weber, writes about his lectures, 'I cannot say they are to treat of the history of "Indian Literature", for then I should have to consider the whole body of languages, including those of non-Aryan origin Nor can I say that their subject is the history of "Indo-Aryan Literature", for then I should have to discuss the modern languages of India also, which form a third period in the development of Indo-Aryan speech Nor lastly, can I say that they are to present a history of "Sanskrit literature", for the Indo-Aryan language is not in its first period "Sanskrit", i e., the language of the educated, but is still a popular dialect; while in the second period the people spoke not Sanskrit, but Prakrit dialects, which arose simultaneously with Sanskrit out of the ancient Indo-Aryan vernacular ' (*The History of Indian Literature*, tr. J Mann and T Zachariae from the 2nd ed. 1875, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Vol III, Varanasi, 6th ed. 1961, p. 1.)

Ramvilas Sharma, *Bhāratiya Sāhitya Ke Itihās Kī Samasyāe*, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 1–77.

15 'On Literary Evolution' (1929), tr. C. A. Luplow, included in *Twentieth Century Literary Theory* (ed.), V. Lambropoulous and D. N. Miller, New York, 1984, p. 153.

16 Nagendra, 'A History of Indian Literature· Basic Concept and Approach', *Emotive Basis of Literature and Other Essays*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 96–109.

The data presented here relating to various languages have been collected by the following scholars

Assamese
Dr Indira Goswami

Bengali
Dr Jayanti Chattopadhyay

Dogri
Sri Shivanath

English
Dr Chandra Mohan

Gujarati
Ms Sarala Jag Mohan

Hindi
Dr K D Paliwal

Kannada
Dr S G Jamapur

Kashmiri
Sri T N Kaul

Konkani
Dr Manohar Rai Sardessai

Maithili
Sri Surendra Jha 'Suman'

Malayalam
Dr K S Narayana Pillai

Marathi
Dr N D Mirajkar

Nepali
Dr Kumar Pradhan

Oriya
Prof Gopal Chandra Misra

Persian
Prof A W Azhar Dehlvi

Punjabi
Dr Jagbir Singh Ubbi

Rajasthani
Dr Hiralal Maheshwari

Sanskrit
Prof K Krishnamoorthi
Prof Vachaspati Upadhyaya

Sindhi
Dr Motilal Jotwani

Tamil
Dr A A Manavalan

Telugu
Dr C V Ramachandra Rao

Urdu
Dr Mohd Ansarullah

Introduction

The period chosen for this chronology is from 1800 to 1910, and the materials presented here have been collected from twenty-three languages, two of which are of non-Indian origin. We have included all the languages recognized by Sahitya Akademi. These languages are Assamese, Bengali, Dogri, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu arranged in an alphabetical order. In addition to these languages we have also included Persian in view of the fact that it was a language of both intellectual communication and creative activity in India during the period chosen by us.

The responsibility of collecting materials related to these languages was assigned to twenty-three scholars, chosen by a committee through a rigorous process of selection, each one of them competent in one of these languages. They selected materials for each language, independently and separately, from various sources, namely, catalogues of books, histories of literature, literary biographies, and in some cases from unpublished records. I shall talk more about the process of selection later, but it is necessary to mention here that these scholars collected all information they thought, and was generally considered, important for a survey of the development of these literatures.

The whole body of data can be classified into three major sections: (a) texts written and printed during this period, (b) authors born and dead during this period, and (c) events which are not literary in nature but which have some bearing on the literary activities. Once collected, these materials were thoroughly checked. A considerable part of the material was checked by the division of languages, National Library, Calcutta to ascertain greater accuracy, and edited to bring some uniformity in the style of presentation. At the next stage, the entire material was consolidated and arranged in a chronological order. Every care, however, has been taken to retain the linguistic affiliation of every piece of information. The chronological arrangement thus presents a minute breakup of the continuum of literary activities of the Indian people during the period 1800–1910.

II

The necessity for the preparation of a chronology of events of Indian literary history is prompted by two main reasons. The first is fairly simple and straightforward. One cannot study a history of literature, or for that matter, history of any evolving and changing institution or activity, without an awareness of its various stages of growth. A precise and accurate knowledge of events in the order they happened is imperative for the literary historian, and also for the literary critic, for understanding the process of history, the interrelations between authors and texts and movements. Most of the histories of various Indian literatures available to us, with a few noted exceptions, betray little concern with the dates of publications of texts or of the author's birth and death; and some appear to be totally unaware of their significance. Hence the necessity for a chronology that will include all significant facts, such as the time of composition and/or publication of texts, periods within which writers functioned, institutions

that initiated new literary movements, and socio-political and religious events related to the literary activities of a particular time. This will provide, if not anything else, a base on which a structure of Indian literary history can be built.

The other reason of equal importance, though of different nature, behind the preparation of this chronology is to present the diverse and the complex nature of Indian literary activities in their entirety. This has not been attempted before, and many scholars are sceptical of its usefulness. Since the literary activities of the Indian people are carried through many languages, the totality of the activity can only be perceived in a framework that accommodates a multiplicity of languages. We are in need of a chronology comprising many languages, or events occurring within different linguistic traditions; a chronology that will present varieties of our literary productions cutting across linguistic affiliations, but not disregarding them, at any given point of time.

One can argue that a mere chronological ordering of facts, belonging to histories of different languages such as Tamil and Assamese, Kashmiri and Manipuri, members of different language families and separated by geography, is not sufficient to prove their relationship, nor a simultaneity of events is by itself an evidence of a necessary connection existing among them. Two things can happen at the same time independent of one another: simply because A precedes B within a particular social milieu, their relationship is not automatically established. We are perfectly aware that some of the events are remotely connected with others, and some certainly are isolated events. But the main body of facts presented here suggests very clearly the existence of various kinds of relationship among the Indian languages, and among literatures produced in them. Not only are some of the languages intimately related, being members of the same linguistic group, but languages belonging to different families also converge at various points.

The majority of the literatures share a common literary heritage and common conventions. The chronology indicates the areas of convergences of formal and thematic development of different literatures in the country: it highlights the formation of cohesive groups (at times linked by a common tradition or theme or form; at times by geographical proximity, and at times by the nature of their response to a foreign literature) without minimizing their uniqueness or ignoring the fact that certain literatures had developed in relative isolation from the others. The relationship between them may or may not be always 'genetic' (i.e. due to some prior connections, historical or cultural) but their 'typological' relationship (i.e. a similarity of growth patterns, which may be due to the similarity of objective conditions under which they flourished) is quite evident. *Our attempt is not to emphasize the commonness of Indian literatures ignoring the uniqueness of individual literary traditions and to impose an artificial commonality from above*, but to present facts before the scholarly world to help it draw its own conclusion. The chronology is a starting point. And this is the main justification for a consolidated chronology of Indian literature.

III

Selection of Materials

Texts are of primary importance in any literary history: they constitute the body of literature. A literary history is primarily a history of the inter-relations of texts, and of their impact on the creative process and critical methods of a given

period. Maximum space, therefore, has been allotted to them.

Thousands of texts have been written and published in different Indian languages during this period: many of them are lost or forgotten and some are difficult to trace. But the body of literature that has been preserved and is readily available is quite large. It is well nigh impossible, and perhaps unnecessary, to include all the texts in a chronology. This is not a comprehensive or cumulative bibliography, but a chronology we wanted to be selective. The first step was to make a distinction between texts of non-literary nature and texts considered *literary* by the critics as well as the common reader. The texts of non-literary nature, for example, books written primarily with the intention of instructing or imparting information rather than entertaining and evoking emotional response, have been by and large, ignored. At the same time, we have included certain works of grammar and lexicon, and even text-books meant for school children, if only because they are evidence of a kind of activity that was closely linked with different literary experiments. They helped the growth of a new awareness of the importance of a particular language among its speakers; some of them were directly responsible for initiating processes of standardization of style, and some of them made a significant impact on writers and readers in their choices and preferences for style and diction. Similarly, some works of history or law, religion or science, have found place in this chronology, they being important specimens of early experiments of prose in certain languages, or being sources of literary materials for writers of a later period. Our policy has been to restrict their number but not to exclude them totally.

This is a period of intense scholarly activity in many areas of the country. Our literary scholars and social historians started taking a new interest in our old and medieval literature. As a result a considerable number of old texts was made available to the general reader and scholarly editions of some of the texts began to appear. We have excluded these publications for the simple reason that these texts did not belong to this period. A literary historian would of course look for, and could establish, a link between the creative urges and the scholarly achievement of a period; a relation between the old and the contemporary texts, and one can eloquently argue about the ontology of texts, both being a part of the past and the present. But a chronology has its own limitations: it imposes certain restrictions on choice and operates within a temporal framework. We have, however, tried to include a few texts of the earlier period, which appeared with additional material such as biographical notes and critical analysis, and which acted as agents of the growth of a new literary consciousness.

The selection of literary texts—poems, plays, fiction etc.—out of thousands of works is not easy. Each member of the team was free to exercise his or her discretion in the selection of books. For certain languages the task was relatively easy because of scantiness of material, but it was difficult for a number of languages where the literary production was vigorous. We have not followed any mechanical criterion, such as a fixed number of works for each language, simply because the volume of literary production varied from language to language; creative activities were conditioned by various extraliterary factors—such as the availability of printing facilities, the size of readership, the nature of patronage, the hegemony of one particular language—which were not uniform all over the country. It was a lean period for some languages and for others an era of efflorescence. We felt that the chronology should reflect the reality and must not try to achieve a neatness and symmetry that might distort the reality.

We have included or intended to include *all* major texts, i.e. texts acclaimed for their literary merit and for their importance in the history of the individual languages. We have been guided by the opinion of literary historians and critics.

There are many texts in each language which are not considered to be works of much artistic value today, though some of them gained popularity and critical attention at the time of their publication. We have debated whether to be guided solely by the contemporary judgement or by the critical and popular response of our time. The choice of the former criterion will naturally assure greater faithfulness to the nature of the literary activity of the period to which the texts belong, but will give a wrong impression about the story of their fortune and survival. The choice of the latter will reflect our response to these works and ignore the importance they once enjoyed, thus threatening to suppress some evidence of literary history. We have steered through a middle course avoiding the two extreme points of view so that neither the importance of certain texts at a particular time, despite modern reservation about them, gets obliterated, nor are we taken to task for presenting a partial picture of the time. For this very reason we have included many 'minor' works. In selecting them we have tried to avoid personal bias and depended upon the general consensus of the literary historians. Yet if it is found that some more important texts among them have been left out in preference to other 'less important' texts, this may be regarded as a human error of judgement not easy to escape in literary discrimination.

Another thing must be mentioned about the selection of texts. There were several literatures in India in the last century which were part of a scribal tradition. In many areas the printing press came very late, as late as the first decade of the twentieth century; and although in some areas printing facilities were available a little earlier, their impact on the existing modes of literary transmission was not spectacular. Literary activities remained confined to the scribal tradition. This chronology, therefore, includes many works preserved in the manuscript form, mostly belonging to Rajasthani, Dogri, Maithili, Kashmiri, Sanskrit and Persian. Some of these manuscripts are dated but many are not; and it is not easy to determine the precise date of their composition. Nonetheless, we felt that such works, representatives of a powerful and vibrant tradition spread over a wide area, could hardly be ignored. At the same time it was not possible to include many of them in a chronology in the absence of our knowledge about their date of composition. So we have mentioned those manuscripts along with the names of authors whose dates are more or less known. This will at least indicate the upper and the lower limits of the period within which the works were written. The adoption of this device also explains the length of entries on certain authors whose works are available to us in the manuscript form.

The problem of ascertaining dates of composition, and in many cases dates of publication, of literary works is not exclusively confined to those languages dominated by the manuscript tradition. It stretches to printed texts as well. The early publisher and printer was not always in the habit of giving dates and in some cases dates printed in the books were incorrect. Fortunately, such cases are not many. As there are many calendars in the country, *Vikram Samvat*, *Śakābda*, *Hijra* etc., the printers gave dates according to their own habit and predilections. It is not unlikely that some discrepancies might have crept in while we tried to convert all dates to the Christian calendar. However, we have not tried to settle any disputes regarding dates, nor have we taken sides, but accepted the view of the majority without any reflection on the views of the minority. All disputes

and uncertainties have been indicated, and occasionally explained.

The same method has been followed in the case of authors. We have included *all* major authors in every language and omitted those whose contribution to their respective literatures is marginal or negligible. We have considered, in choosing the authors, the quality of their work as well as the volume, the reputation they earned during their life and the prestige they enjoyed after death, their impact on the contemporaries as well as on those who came after them, and the critical and popular response to their works and personality both then and now.

Perhaps a clarification, if not a justification, is needed in respect of inclusion of authors who died within the first ten or fifteen years of the period covered by us. Most of them did not contribute much to the literary activity of this period, many of them had already ceased to be creative. In some sense they belonged to the earlier period. Similarly, the writers born after 1885 were hardly in a position to establish themselves in the literary scene by 1910, since most of them were still going through their phase of literary apprenticeship and many were yet too young to write. They belong to the next period, period following 1910, of the Indian literary history.

First of all, the chronology has to be a record of events that occurred in a particular time. Even when a writer belongs to an earlier tradition, and is not a party to the new movements, the fact that he died in a particular year remains an unalterable fact. A chronology is not an interpretation of facts, it is a record. In addition to the basic requirement of a chronology, what necessitates the inclusion of the old writers is their historical role. Facts relating to them indicate either the continuation of an earlier tradition or the stages of its extinction. Their inclusion is only a recognition of the lingering traditions of the earlier period.

But these arguments are certainly not valid for the inclusion of writers born around 1885 and afterwards, they being too young to contribute anything substantial to their respective literatures when this period ends. Being situated at a particular point of time as we are, we have the advantage not only to look beyond 1800, but to look after 1910. This advantage is denied to the historian dealing with contemporary periods. We do not know today who among us born in this decade are going to emerge as major writers in the decades to come. If we prepare a chronology of Indian literature for the period between 1910 and 1988, none born say after 1970 would find a place in it. Only future historians would know who among them indeed became authors of repute. But today, we *know* that some great writers were born during 1885 and 1910, and the years of their birth have become important to us *now*, although they did not have any meaning for the people of that time. Those born towards the end of the last century and the beginning of this century, who emerged as writers of merit later, provide a link between the two periods. The history of Indian literature does not end in 1910.

Selection of literary events which form the first constituent in the chronology of each year includes events of social, political and religious importance. The justification of their presence comes from their relationship with the reading public and the authors. The Dramatic Performances Control Act, for example, controlled the dramatic writings in a very distinct manner. The Ilbert Bill controversy agitated the minds of many writers giving rise to various satirical writings; the movements for the betterment of the conditions of women, the uprising of Indian soldiers in 1857, to give a few examples at random, tormented the Indian mind in such a manner that they continued to work deep under the

psyche and regulated the Indian writings in a very significant way. A history of Indian literature is a part of the history of the Indian people and that history cannot be understood without a reference to its sociological roots. Even a casual glance at this chronology will convince us that the literary map of India can be drawn in terms of the growth of literary texts under similar social conditions. Like the isoglosses and isomorphs of dialectology, the literary historian dealing with the Indian literary complex has to think of a similar concept, a concept of what I may call in the absence of a right word, *iso-thesis*, i.e. similar literary expression under the same situation or setting.

Along with major and significant socio-political-religious movements we have included institutions and societies, religious and educational, besides information regarding the establishment of printing presses and public libraries. All these institutions were not directly connected with literary activities, but all had made an impact in varying degrees on the literary life of the Indian poeple. Some helped the growth of an enlightened readership, some were instituted to produce text books, some to encourage translations, and some to propagate religious and social ideologies. Some of the best Indian minds of this period were text-book writers and translators, pamphleteers and polemists, and whatever they wrote, though not all of literary value, helped Indian literature directly or indirectly. Because of various historical reasons many of our languages, if not all, had to struggle to find their due place in our intellectual life, and several institutions and writers associated with them gave our writers necessary support and patronage to fight for their cherished causes.

We have tried to include major institutions: some of them were of all India importance, some had their influence confined to a particular geographical area, or to a certain linguistic and religious group.

We have also taken care to include an assortment of journals and magazines, many of them were either published by different institutes or maintained strong links with them. Since they are written material they have been grouped with the texts. The rationale for their inclusion, particularly the inclusion of many newspapers which contain more political and social matter than literary, is only to emphasize the relationship between journalism and literature, a relationship often undermined by academic critics, and their role in the propagation of literary works and in the building up of a writer's image and reputation.

IV

Arrangement and Presentation

The number of languages involved here is twenty-three, and languages different from one another in their phonological and graphemic system require an elaborate system of transliteration to accommodate their various distinctions. In order to facilitate reading as well as to avoid complication in printing we have used a minimum number of symbols and that too only in the cases of titles of texts. We have, avoided transliterating the names of the authors, many of which have by now acquired standardized spellings in English.

Instead of adhering to the practice of putting the surname (last name) of the

author first, we have followed the Indian practice. The country has a wide variety of naming patterns: in many areas the name of the person comes last preceded by the name of one's father and village or the family; the Muslims do not have surnames, and many writers, particularly in Urdu and Persian, are more known by their pen-names; and many writers are known by their first name rather than their family names. We have, therefore, cited the names of the authors the way they are usually written in their own languages. When the writer is known by his pen-name we have used that first

About the arrangement of the material in the chronology the following order has been followed.

A. Events that have influenced literary activities. These events include social, political and religious movements, establishment of various organisations, printing presses, libraries, schools, colleges etc., and occasionally publications of some old texts, or books written by foreigners, which made some impact on Indian literature.

B. Authors
   B. 1 Authors born
   B 2 Authors died

C. Texts
   C. 1 Grammer, lexicons, encyclopaedia, pedagogical material etc.
   C. 2 Verse
   C. 3 Prose
   C. 4 Plays
   C. 5 Translations

D. Periodicals

From B through D entries have been arranged in the alphabetical order irrespective of the language in which they are written. In the case of C. 3 (prose texts) a further sub-division, between non-fiction and fiction, has been made. When the entries are large non-fictional prose works have been grouped into several genres, namely essays, criticism, travelogues, history, autobiography and biography. There is no design behind the length of entries in each category. What we have tried to do is to give some information about the authors, texts and institutions to indicate their importance in the history of different literatures. But the user of the chronology should not expect from us what is normally expected from a dictionary of literature or an encyclopaedia. If we have trangressed the boundaries of a chronology, it is mainly because we did not want it to be absolutely bare and scanty, but at the same time we are aware that this can never be an adequate alternative to any literary encyclopaedia. It is not that we have given more space to the acknowledged great—in fact, that is not necessary—and ignored the less known. Rather we have tried to allot more space to them who are not so well known outside their linguistic areas, but important for various reasons. Authors who were more prolific, and those who wrote in more than one language, or excelled in different branches of literature, or participated in various other activities, have naturally taken more space than the others. That is more because of the nature of information itself and not because of an editorial policy.

Finally, while we feel that this chronology does have its intrinsic value, and

can be useful also to scholars who may not have any special interest in literature, we like it to be treated as part of *A History of Indian Literature, 1800–1910,* and not as a mere appendage. The preceding part is a narrative dealing with the various forces, persons and texts in their inter-relationship, which is the story of Indian literature. This part is a store-house of material out of which that story is made.

NOTES

1. * The dates of composition of these works are not known However, they must have been written before 1900 ? stands for 'disputed', 'doubtful' or 'not known'
2. Groups of materials have been separated by space to avoid unnecessary repetition of the classificatory headings (e.g. *authors born*, *verse*, *plays*, *periodicals* etc) as mentioned in the introduction.
3. Materials under *Translations* have been arranged in the following order: title, translator target-language and source. The language mentioned within brackets in some cases e.g. *Don Quixote* (English). indicates the medium through which the text was available to the Indian translators.
4. Information about authors born after 1880 have been kept to the minimum. These authors appeared on the literary scene only after the year 1910.

1800

Est. The College of Fort William (4 April). This College, established by Lord Wellesley in Calcutta, for the general education of the newly arrived British civilians in India, made a significant impact on the growth of literary prose in various Indian languages and in the production of pedagogical materials.

Est. The Serampore Mission and Press (10 January) by J. C. Marshman and William Ward. Willian Carey was one of the chief architects of this press which grew into the largest printing press in Asia. It printed books in almost all Indian languages.

b. Asir Muzaffar Ali Khan (d. 1861), a prolific poet in Urdu; his ghazals have been compiled in six *dīwāns*. He also wrote in Persian.

b. Godavardhana (d. 1851), a Kerala born poet who wrote extensively in Sanskrit. Among his works are *Bālyudbhava*, an epic; *Rasasadana*, a bhana; *Daśāvatāra Daṇdaka*, a poem on the incarnations of Vishnu; and *Rāmacarita*, an epic, which he could not complete.

b. Maulavi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur (d. 1873), an Urdu prose writer.

b. Momin, Mohammad Momin Khan (d. 1851), an Urdu poet representing the most sophisticated stage in the medieval Urdu poetry.

d. Arnimal (b. ?), a great Kashmiri poetess who excelled in the *lol* from

Rājiya Rā Dūhā (*Rājiya Rā Sorathā*), (Ms.) A Rajasthani poem on ethics by Kriparam Khidiyo. Published in 1894.

Śrīpāla Copāī, a *copāī* composition in Gujarati, by Rup Chand , a Jaina poet

Śṛṅgāra Śiromaṇi, a Hindi work on *rasa* and *nāyikā-bhed*, by Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

? *Vat Bagasirām Purohit Hi Rām Kī*, (Ms.) A Rajasthani love story written in prose and verse. Anon. Published in 1966.

? *Rānī Ketkī Kī Kahānī* by Insha Allah Khan. Generally considered as the first prose fiction in Hindi. The date of its composition is not precisely known but it is generally agreed upon that it was written around 1800. A story full of romantic and supernatural elements.

Svargārohan Parva, tr. by Pritharam Dvija. Assamese verse. The last canto of the *Mahābhārata* (Sanskrit).

1801

Swami Sahajananda of Ayodhya brought the Uddhavi sect (established by Ramanand) in Gujarat which influenced the life and literature of Gujarat.

Est. Hindusthani Press in Calcutta by John Gilchrist.

b. Jaduram Deka Barua (d. 1869), an Assamese lexicographer whose work became the basis of Dr. Miles Bronson's *Assamese-English Dictionary* (1867).

b. Kaviyo Ramnath (d. ? 1879), a Rajasthani poet noted for his poem *Pabuji Rathaud*.

Āngreja Candrikā, a Sanskrit poem on the glory of the British, by Vinayaka Bhatta.

Satbāndhava Rāsa, a long narrative poem in Gujarati written by Mal, a Jaina poet.

Śriyaṅka a Sanskrit epic in sixteen cantos on the early history of the Sikhs, by Krishna Kaur Mishra (b. 1725).

Kathopakathan, a bilingual text (English-Bengali) by William Carey. It contains fascinating dialogues written in various Bengali social dialects.

Rājā Pratāpāditya Caritra, by Ramram Basu. A biography of Pratapaditya, a feudal chieftain in Bengal during the reign of Akbar. First Bengali narrative prose in print.

Totā Kahānī, a collection of *dāstān* (stories) in Urdu, by Haider Bakhsh Haideri.

Ārāish-e-Mahfil (*qissa-e-Hātim Tāī*), tr. by Haider Bakhsh. Urdu. *Qissa-e-Hātim Tāī* (Persian).

New Testament, tr. by William Carey *et al.* Bengali. From the Greek.

1802

Baji Rao II accepts the Subsidiary Alliance and signs the Treaty of Bassein (31 December).

b. Anis, Mir Babar Ali (d. 1874), one of the greatest figures of Urdu poetry, specially noted for his *marsias*.

b. Bhanunath Jha (d. 1872), a Maithili poet who flourished under the patronage of Maharaja Rudra Singh (1839–1850).

b. Dindayal Giri (d. 1865), a Hindi poet belonging to the tradition of *Daśanāmī* saints; known for his moral poems collected in *Anyokti Kalpadrum*.

b. Kadar Yar (d. 1892), a noted Punjabi poet; composed many *Kissās*, including *Vār Pūran Bhagat*, *Vār Rājrisālu*, *Kissā-Sohnī Mahīwāl* and *Merajnāmā*.

b. Maqbul Shah Kralawari (d. 1877), a renowned poet of Kashmir. Wrote several *masnavis*, including *Gulrez*, his magnum opus, and also *Wazhuns* and *nats* in Kashmiri. Among his works are *Mansurnāma* (published in 1904), *Pīr Nāmā*, *Babuj Nāmā*, (a masnavi describing the chaotic conditions of his time), *Qisāi Harun Rashid*—all masnavis—and *Bahār nāmā*, a long narrative poem. The dates of composition of these manuscripts are not known. They were collected and published in this century.

b. Nabhulal Dvivedi (d. 1872), wrote *padas* in Gujarati mostly on the child Krishna.

b. Pir Muhammad Ashraf Shah Qureshi (d. ?), a Sufi poet of Sind.

d. Maya Das (b. 1720), a devotional poet of the *Bairāgī* tradition who wrote both in Dogri and Braj.

Daryā-e-Latāfat, a grammar of the Urdu language by Insha Allah Khan.

Aṣṭaprakārī Pūjā by Pandit Viravijaya. A work in Gujarati verse that describes the eightfold Jain worship.

Copāī, a poetical work in Gujarati by Premacharit Harichand, a Jaina poet.

Jayanandakevalī Rās by Muni Padmavijaya. The last work of an eminent Jaina poet of Gujarat.

Kāñcīpura Māhātmyamu by Kavali Venkata Borrayya. A historical treatise on the city of Kanchi written in Telugu verse.

Qisāi Bahrām Gulandām, (Ms.) by Maulvi Siddiqullah. A masnavi in Kashmiri.

Lipimālā, a collection of writings on different subjects presented in the form of letters in Bengali, by Ramram Basu.

Bāgh-e-Urdū, tr. by Afsos, Mir Sher Ali. Urdu. *Gulistan* (Persian).

Batris Sinhāsan, (stories of Vikramaditya and his magic throne) tr. by Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar. Bengali. From the Sanskritoriginal.

Ganj-e-Khūbī, tr. by Mir Amman. Urdu. From the Persian original. Written in 1802 but published in 1846 from Calcutta.

Hitopadeśa, tr. by Golaknath Sharma. Bengali. From the Sanskrit original

Langoi Shagd Thaba, (the *Ashwamedh parva* of the Mahabharat) tr. by Longjam Prashuram. Manipuri. From the Bengali *Mahabharat* of Gangadas. The translation was completed during the reign of the King Madhuchandra (1801–03).

1803

The second Anglo-Maratha War and the success of British arms.

Occupation of Delhi by Lord Lake.

The treaty of Deogaon (17 December): the Bhonsle Raja of Berar cecedes to the English the province of Cuttack including Balasore.

b. Ayodhyaprasad 'Audha' (d. 1885), last noted poet of the *rīti* tradition of Hindi poetry.

b. Dabir, Salamat Ali (d. 1875) of Lucknow; a rival of Anis, noted for his *marsias*; one of the foremost Urdu Poets.

b. Swami Devananda (d. 1848), a Gujarati poet belonging to the Swami Narayana sect; wrote *garabi* and *pada*.

b. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar (d. ?), a noted Tamil poet who wrote several poems in the form of *Kirttana*.

b. Modanatha (d. 1880), a Maithili poet who wrote many *Sohar, Lagani* and *Maheśvāṇī*–all traditional Maithili songs.

b. Ranachodadas Giradharadas Jhaveri (d. 1873), one of the earliest Gujarati prose writers.

b. ? Taskin, Mir Husain, *alias* Miran Sahab of Delhi (d. 1852), a distinguished pupil of Momin, and a fine poet in Urdu.

b. Virsali Pant (d. ?), a Vaishnava mendicant who spent his life at Mathura; author of *Vimal-bodhānunaya*, a poetical work in Nepali on Vedantic doctrines.

d. Golaknath Sharma (b. ?), a Bengali Pandit of the College of Fort William.

d. Kavali Venkata Borrayya (b. 1776). One of the earliest Indo-English writers. His works include *The Fall of Sri Ranga Patnam; Satpuruṣa Varṇaṇamu* (in Sanskrit), *Yādava Rājā Vaṃśāvali*. Assisted Col. Colin Mackenzie in his researches in South Indian history and literature.

Bhīkhū Carita (Ms.), a Rajasthani narrative poem dealing with the life of Acharya Bhikhanji (1726–1803), the founder of the *Terapanth* sect of the Svetambars, by Muni Hemraj, published in 1961.

Dharmaparikṣāno Rās, a Gujarati work by Rup Chand, a Jaina poet.

Dūhā Jaitasī Dūdāvata Rā (Ms.) a Rajasthani poem on Thakur Jaitsing Medatiya (Rathore) of Bedala (Mewar), by Bankidas Asiyo.

Rohinī Stavana, a poem in Gujarati in praise of Rohini, by Dipavijaya, a Jaina poet.

Tañcai Marāṭṭiya Mannar Varalāṟu by Nijacevakan. A history of the Marhatta

kings who ruled over Tanjore. Written in Tamil during the rule of Raja Serfoji II.

Tuhfāh-al-muwahhiddin by Rammohan Ray. An essay in Persian in defence of monotheism with a preface in Arabic. Translated into English by Maulavi Obaidullah el Obeide, Dacca, under the title *A Gift to Deist* (1884).

Nāsiketopākhyān, written in Khariboli prose by Sadal Mishra, a teacher of the College of Fort William. It is a collection of stories based on the Upanisads and puranas.

Śaṅkha-Cūḍa-Vadha, a play in Sanskrit by Dinadvija, a poet born in Assam. It describes the fight between Shiva and Shankha Chuda. Published by the Asama Sahitya Sabha in 1962.

Akhlāq-e-Hindī, (diadectic tales) tr. by Mir Bahadur Ali Hussaini. Urdu. From Persian (which were adaptations from Sanskrit).

Nasr-e-Nazīr, tr. by Mir Bahadur Ali Husaini, Urdu. Prose adaptation of the masnavi *Sihrul-Bayan* (Persian).

The Oriental Fabulist, translation of Aesop's Fables and other ancient tales in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu in roman script.

Prem Sāgar, tr. by Lallujilal. Hindi. Prose rendering of certain parts of the *Śrīmadbhāgavatam* (Sanskrit)

Rājnīti, tr. by Lallujilal. Hindi. *Hitopadeśa* (Sanskrit).

1804

Hostilities between Holkar and the English.

Est. Bombay branch of Royal Asiatic Society under the name Bombay Literary Society (26 November).

b. Hari Keshavji Pathare (d. 1858), a noted Marathi text-book writer.

b. Kevalram Salamatrai (d. 1879), a noted Sindhi prose writer, many of whose works were written between 1864 and 1871 although published only in this century.

b. Rochiram Gajumal (d. 1901), the author of *Handbook of Sindhi Proverbs with English Equivalents.*

b. Shahid, Maulavi Ghulam Imam of Amethi (d. 1876), an Urdu prose-writer, and a poet who wrote mostly *nats* poems in praise of the prophet.

d. Khaliq, Mir Mohammad Mustahsan (b. 1774 ?), one of the earliest elegiac writers; father of famous Anis (1802–74).

Naṇṇāvūr Caṅnkamēcura Cuvāmi Viṟaliviṭu Tūtu by Varata Parati Muttaiya. A

Tamil poem belonging to the *viṟaliviṭu tūtu* form.

Papparattiyār Ammānai by Ceyitu Mirap Pulavar. A Tamil Muslim work in *ammanai* form describing the adventures of Hazarath Aliyullah into the nether world and his marriage with Papparattiyar.

Bagh-e-Bahār tr. by Mir Amman. Urdu. From *Chahar-Darwesh* (Persian).

Gul-e-Bakāwali, tr. by Nihal Chand. Revised by Sher Ali Afsos Urdu. From the Persian original. (tr. into French by M. Garcin de Tassey, Paris, 1935).

1805

The siege of the fortress of Bharatpur: the defenders of Bharatpur fought valiantly and the British soldiers were repulsed in four successive attempts. The Raja of Bharatpur concludes a treaty with the English on 10 April 1805.

b. Babujana Jha (d. 1865), a Maithili poet. Wrote many *Devīgītas*, a particular type of religious songs.

b. Datta Ganaka (d. 1855), a Maithili poet; wrote many *Turhuti* and *Maheśavāṇis*.

b. Goya, Faqir Muhammad Khan Malihabadi (d. 1849), pupil of Nasikh; an officer in the army of the Nawab of Oudh; wrote a *diwān* (published posthumously), tr. of *Būstān-e-Hikmat* into Urdu.

b. ? Kunnunni Nampiyar (d. 1875), a Malayalam author of two *tuḷḷal* poems, one based on *aṣṭapadi* in *pāṭṭu* (song).

b. Rohinidatta Gosain (d. 1886), a Maithili poet who wrote many *Viṣṇupadas*, a particular kind of religious songs.

b. Sahbai, Shaikh Imam Bakhsh (d. 1857), a prose writer in Urdu. A teacher of Persian at Delhi College. Shot dead on the bank of the Yamuna by the British army during the mutiny. Author of *Nataij-ul-Afkar* (1880).

b. Vatapalli Bhaskaram Muttat (d. 1875), wrote several works in Sanskrit including *Vāsudeva Carita* (1865).

A Grammar of the Mahratta Language by William Carey published by the Serampore Mission Press.

Daṇḍaka Bhāṣā Garbhitą Stavana, verse in Gujarati on religious themes, by Jnansagara.

Hīr-Hāmid—A *kissā* in Punjabi by Hamid, in which the legend of Hir and Ranjha is retold.

Mahārājā Kṛṣṇacandra Rāyasya Caritam, a biography of Krishnachandra Ray by Rajib Lochan Mukhopadhyay in Bengali.

Aeneid (Canto I), by J. Sergent. Bengali. From the Latin original.

Mathewce Shubhavartamāna by William Carey. Marathi. Gospel according to Mathew.

Tārikh-e-Āsām tr. by Mir Bahadur Ali Husaini. Urdu. An account of the expedition of Mir Jumla into Assam. Originally written in Persian by Wali Ahmad Shahabuddin Talib.

Totā Itihās tr. by Chandi Charan Mitra. Bengali. *Tuti Nameh* (Persian).

1806

The Vellore Mutiny: the Indian Sepoys captured the fort of Vellore and elected an imprisoned son of Tipu Sultan as their leader. The revolt was crushed by the British army.

b. Dasharathi Ray (d 1857), an extremely popular poet of Bengal belonging to the pācālī tradition.

b. Dutiram Hazarika (d. 1901) An Assamese historian. His historical work *Kali Bhārat* (1862) deals with the reign and downfall of Ahom Kings of Assam.

b. Nawab Muhammad Mustafa Khan, Hasrati Shefta (d. 1869), a celebrated poet both in Persian and Urdu. His Persian works include a dīwān, *Lahn-e-Iraq*; a collection of letters, *Gulshan-e-Bekhar*; and a *tazkira* of Urdu poets. His father was in the army of Maharaja Jaswant Rao Holkar. He was born and brought up in Delhi.

b. Muhammad Qasim N'Amatullah (d. ?) a Sindhi poet, the author of *Dīwān-i-Qāsim*, posthumously published in 1936.

b. Vidyaranya Kesari (d. ?), the author of two works in Nepali: *Yugalgīt* and *Gopikāstuti* (both written in verse) composed at Banaras.

d. Muni Padmavijaya (b. 1736), a Gujarati Jaina poet.

d. Rev. Paulinos (b. 1748), the first European missionary—he was an Austrian by birth—to write books in Malayalam.

d. Sanvat Ramji (b. 1733), a saint poet of Rajasthan who composed devotional verses.

Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français by C. J. Beschi. The first lithographic edition of the Tamil-French dictionary printed in Paris. It was compiled by Father Beschi in 1774, Second ed. 1845, Paris.

Andhra Dīpikā by Mamidi Venkayya the earliest Telugu-Telugu dictionary, in alphabetical order. Though consulted by many scholar including C. P. Brown, it was not published till 1965. Chunduri Range Nayakulu compiled and published a dictionary under the same title in 1848.

Majmu'a-e-Naghz, (Ms.) by Hakim Qudratullah 'Qasim' Qadiri (1750–1830). A Persian *tazkirah* of seven hundred Urdu poets.

Bālabodh-Muktāvalī tr. by Sakhkhan Pandit sponsored by Sarphoji Raje of Tanjore. Marathi. Aesop's Fables (English).

Janam Sākhī tr. by Khawaja Abdul Hakim Khan (Ms. no. 32 at Aligarh University Library). Persian. From the Punjabi original.

Rāmcaritnāmā, tr. by Sadal Mishra. Hindi. *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* (Sanskrit).

1807

Baburam, a Brahmin from Mirzapur, established a printing press in Devanagri—it was known as *Sanskrita Yantra*—at Khidirpur in Calcutta. This is the first printing press started by an Indian in the city.

b. Caiman Kaci Cetti (d 1861), normally spelt as Simon Casie Chetty. First Tamil scholar to write a history of the Tamil poets. His *Tamil Plutarch* (1859), a work in English, is considered to be his significant contribution to the Tamil studies.

b. Gul Muhammad 'Gul' (d. 1855), the first Sindhi poet to produce a *dīvān*. He is also regarded as the inaugurator of the 'Persian modes of poetry' in Sindhi.

b. Hakam Jatta (d. 1907), a popular Dogri poet.

b. Shardha Ram Phiłori (d. 1881), a noted Punjabi prose writer, who also wrote in Sanskrit and Persian. *Sikhān de Rāj dī Vithiā* and *Punjabi Batchit* are his most important books. These books were originally meant for the Englishmen interested in learning the Punjabi language and culture.

d. Hari Deva Dasaji (b. 1778), a Saint poet of Rajasthan.

A Vocabulary of English and Tamil Words by Innocent Nicholas. The first English-Tamil dictionary.

Irājanāyakam by Vannakkalanciyap Pulavar. A Muslim epic in Tamil dealing with the holy exploits of Nabi Sulaiman.

Tabaqat-e-Sukhan (Ms.) by Khalifa Ghulam Muhiyuddin Quraishi 'Ishq'. A Persian tazkirah of Urdu and Persian poets.

Tārikh-e-Coorg (Ms.) by Husain Luhani. An important historical work in Persian based on Persian and Kannada sources.

Tazkirah-Tul Mashā Hīr by Sada Sukh Lal. Biographical sketches of celebrated men in ancient and modern history written in Urdu.

Būstān-e-Sukhan tr. by Imam. (Ms). in the National Museum (New Delhi, Tonk Collection 3085). Persian. *Padmavat*. (Hindi).

The Bible (Serampore Mission Press). Marathi. From the Hebrew and Greek.

The New Testament (Serampore Mission Press). Oriya. From the Greek. One of the earliest specimens of modern Oriya Prose.

1808

The Despatch of the Court of Directors (7 September 1808) declares "their policy of strict neutrality in all matters of religions."

The people of Travancore rises in a revolt against the British under the leadership of the Dewan Velu Thampi

b. Lassi Dar (d. 1910), a noted Kashmiri poet. Exact dates of composition of his poems are not known. His collection of poems *Kalāmi Lassi Dār*, was edited and published in 1972

b. Nilmani Basak (d. 1864), a prose writer and translator of *Arabian Nights* in Bengali (1834)

d. Gawari Bai (b. 1758), a saint poetess of Rajasthan

Citpureśastuti, a Sanskrit *stotra* (hymn) on the deity of the temple at Chittur near Ernakulam by Krishnan Karta (1765–1845).

Tulasīdūta, a *sandeśa Kāvya* in Sanskrit by Trilochana Sharma

Rājābali, a history of Indian kings in Bengali by Mrityunjay Vidyalankar.

Hitopadeś tr. by Mrityunjay Vidyalankar. Bengali. From the Sanskrit original.

Hitopadeś tr. by Ram Kishor Tarkachuramani Bengali. From the Sanskrit original.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (Īśvarasya Sarvavākyani) tr. by the missionaries at Serampore in three volumes, 1808–1811. Sanskrit. From the Greek.

1809

Ranjit Singh signs a treaty of "perpetual friendship" with the British at Amritsar (25 April 1809).

b. Durgaram Mancharam Dave (d. 1878), a social reformer and religious thinker of Gujarat; one of the founders of *Mānavadharma Sabhā*; (1844) made pioneering

efforts to the development of prose in Gujarati. Started *Pustak Prasārat Mandal*, a society for the propagation of books.

b. Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (d. 1831). A Calcutta Eurasian of Portuguese-Indian ancestry; a remarkable teacher, the first Indian to write poetry in English; author of the poem *The Fakir of Jungheera* (1828).

b. Hammal Laghari (d. 1875), a Sindhi poet whose *Kulliyāt-i-Hammal* was posthumously published in 1953. His narrative *Heer Ranjo* was extremely popular.

b Kashi Prasad Ghosh (d. 1873). One of the first Indians to write English verse. His first volume of verse: *The Shair* or *Minstrel and other Poems* (1830). Also wrote in Bengali.

b. Paravastu Chinnaya Suri (d. 1862), author of the well-known Telugu work *Nīti Candrikā* (1853) and *Bālavyākaranamu*. (1858). President of the Vernacular Text Books Society, set up by the Government of Madras. Editor of the earliest Telugu literary monthly *Sujanarañjani*.

b. Ramarupa Das (d. 1873), a noted Maithili poet; the renowned author of *Gopāla Sāgara*, a collection of songs.

d. Gavaribai (b 1759), a *jñānamārgī* poet of Gujarat who wrote *padas* on the child Krishna.

Dīna Prakāsa (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on *Jñān* (knowledge) and *Bhakti* (devotion), by Dina Darvesha.

Dharma Mańgal Gān, one of earliest specimens of Christian literature available in Oriya.

'Accounts of the Jains', *Asiatic Researches* (vol. IX, London, 1809), by Cavelley Venkata Boriah. This article has been claimed by some scholars as the 'first published composition in English' by an Indian.

Dabistān-e-Madhaihib attributed to Fani. An account of Eastern religions and sects in Persian. Ed. by Nazr Ahraf, Calcutta.

Dharma Pustak, (The Bible) tr. William Carey and others. Bengali. From the original Hebrew and Greek.

1810

Malayalam foundry was cast at Bombay to print the Bible in Malayalam which appeared next year. This was done at the instance of the Syrian Church.

Col. Colin Mackenzie (1754–1821) assumed charge as Surveyor General of the Madras Region.

b. Kashiram Tamuli Phukan (d. 1880), an Assamese historian, well-known for

his *Asom Buranjī Puthi* (1844) written jointly with Radhanath Barbarua.

b. Kavikkunjara Bharathi (d 1896), a noted Tamil poet. His best work *Kantāpurāṇak Kīrtanai* (1865) is a rendering of the twelfth-century work *Kantāpurāṇam* into *Kīrtan* and *viruttās*.

b. Kocchugovinda Variyar Arippad (d. 1855), a Malayalam author; wrote an *āṭṭakkatha*.

b. ? Shaikh Bahr Imdad Ali of Lucknow (d. 1878), an Urdu poet, one of the pupils of Nasikh.

d. Jurat, Shaikh Qalandar Bakhsh (b. ?), a popular Urdu ghazal writer

d. Mir Taqi Mir (b. ? 1722), one of the greatest Urdu poets, best known for his ghazals.

d. Ramjani Laddha (b. 1738), a saint poet of Rajasthan.

d. Thabit Ali Shah (b. 1740), the first major poet of Sindh who wrote poems according to Perso-Arabic prosody.

A vocabulary of Bengalee and English by Mohan Prasad Thakur.

Dictionary of Marathi. English parallels to Marathi words, prepared by William Carey with the help of Pandit Vaidyanath or Vaijanath Sharma, the Chief Marathi Pandit of Fort William College.

Jagadvinod, a Hindi work on *alamkāra* by Padmakara.

Sarf-e-Urdu by Amanat Ullah Shaida, an Urdu grammar in Verse.

Kutpu Nāyakam Allatu Mukaiyatin Purāṇam by Shaikh Abdul Qadir. A Tamil epic on the Islamic spiritual leader Abdul Qadir Jeelani.

Kaifiyat-e-Makanat-e-Qila-e-Gourh (Ms.) by Shyam Prasad Munshi. A history of Gaurh (Lakshanavati), the capital of Bengal, in Persian.

Māsir-i-Tālībī-fī-Bilad Afrauj by Mirza Abu Talib (1752–1806). A travelogue in Persian containing his experience during his stay in England (1799–1804). The English translation by Charles Stewart was published from London in 1810; the Persian Original was published by Talib's son, Mirza Husain Ali in 1812 from Calcutta.

1811

Lord Minto's Minute on Education (6 March). The Governor-General suggested a scheme for promoting and maintaining learning among the Hindus and Muslims.

b. Mirza Mir (d. 1901), a noted masnavi writer in Kashmiri. Author of a masnavi

Mukkadam Nāmā (date of composition not known).

b. Syed Murtaza Binish (d. 1849), a writer in Persian; author of *Ishārāt-e-Binish* (date of composition, 1848), a *tazkirah* containing the lives of 70 poets at the court of Nawbab Azam, with fine critical comments. The book was publised in 1973 from Delhi.

b. Nasim, Pandit Daya Shankar (d. 1844), a noted Urdu poet; his masnavi *Gulzār-e-Nasīm* (1838) is considered a master piece.

b. Salik, Mirza Qurban Ali Beg of Delhi (d. 1879), a noted Urdu poet.

d. Devi Ditta also known as Dattu and Datta Kavi (b. 1723). Wrote in Dogri and Braja-bhasa. All his writings were available in Ms. in the latter half of the 18th century.

d. Jivan Dasaji (b. 1754), a saint poet of Rajasthan.

A Latin-Sanskrit-Tamil Dictionary by V. T Manfred.

Oriya-English Dictionary by Mohan Prasad Thakur. The earliest printed dictionary in Oriya.

Kulliyāt-e-Mīr, ed. by Mirza Kazim Ali and others. Hindustani Press, Calcutta. Complete poetic works in Urdu by Mir.

? Nātha Carita (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem relating to the Natha Sect, by Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur.

Prahlāda Ciran (*Prahlāda Cirata Ākhyān*) (Ms.), a narrative poem in Rajasthani on Prahlad, by Udoji Adinga. First published in 1947.

Futility of the Worship of Lord Jagannath, an Oriya tract published by the Christian missionaries.

Usul-ul-Maqsud (Ms.) by Shah Turab Ali 'Turab'; contains biographies of the Shaikhs and the Sufis of the Qalanderi order. Written in Persian.

Akhwānus-Safā, tr. by Maulavi Ikram Ali. Urdu. From the Arabic. An edition by D. Forbes and C. Rieu, London, 1861. A philosophical work.

Navā Karār (The New Testament) tr. by Serampore Mission. Marathi. From the original Greek.

Parmesur De Shubh Bacan, first translation of the *New Testament* in Punjabi. It came out in three parts, third part being published in 1814. This is the first printed work in Punjabi.

1812

Est. The College of Fort St. George in Madras. This college was founded by F. W. Ellis and Col. Mackenzie and supported by the Government of Madras; noted scholars like Tandavarya Kudaliyar served the institution. Many ancient texts were published by the college. Closed on 21 July 1854.

Est. *Madras Literary Society*. The oldest society of its kind in Tamil Nadu. It had branches in almost all the districts.

Est. Gujarati Printing Press by Pharadunaji Marjhaban.

End of Inquisition in Goa.

Archbishop Manuel de San Godinho forbids children to speak Konkani in schools.

b Ampadi Kunnukrishna Putuval (d. 1881), author of several *āṭṭakhatha* and *tuḷḷal* in Malayalam.

b. Bala Shastri Jambhekar (d. 1846), a distinguished Marathi writer of text books and a journalist. Editor *Darpaṇ* (1832–40), the first Marathi newspaper; and *Digdarśaṇ* (1840–45), the first Marathi magazine.

b. Ishvar Chandra Gupta (d. 1859), a noted Bengali poet and journalist; editor of *Sambād Prabhākar* (1830).

b. Kilimanur Rajaraja Varma (d. 1846), a Keral prince, known by the title 'Koyittampuran'. Author of the āṭṭakkatha known as *Rāvana Vijayam*, and a *tuḷḷal* entitled *Saptanāgopalam*.

b. Lachman Raina Bulbul (d. 1884), a Kashmiri poet who wrote masnavis: including *Nal-o-Daman*, *Rādhā Svayamvar* and a large number of *līlās* and *wazhun* in simple diction and pure Kashmiri, mostly devoted to Lord Krishna. A disciple of Parmanand and a friend of Wahab Paray.

b. Nasharavanji Tehamulji (pseud. *Durabin*) (d. 1847), last of the medieval Parsi poets who wrote in Gujarati. Set up the Durbin Printing Press (1836).

A Grammar of the Punjabee Language, first book of Punjabi grammar in English, by William Carey.

Bāra Māsā (Dastūr-e-Hindi), Urdu poem on seasons, by Kazim Ali Jawah.

Hīr-wa-Ranjhā (Ms.) by Nawab Wali Mohammed Khan Wali Leghari (b. 1751). A masnavi in Persian containing 2000 couplets. Published from Karachi in 1957.

Rāsabhūṣaṇ, a work in Hindi on *alamkāra* by Shivaprasad. :

Tirukkāraṇap Purāṇ by Sheikh Abdul Qadir, an epic on Islamic theme in Tamil dealing with the life of Shahul Hameed.

Itihāsmālā, a collection of Bengali stories and anecdotes compiled by William Carey.

Tamiḻariyum Maṭantai Katai by Tamilarivan. A romantic story written in Tamil prose interspersed with songs. The story of a Chola princess who sacrificed her life in search of a husband who should be a scholar in Tamil.

Devuni Yokka Suvartalu, translation of the gospels of Mathew, Luke and Mark from Greek into Telugu by A. D. Granzes.

Tirukkural on Virtue by F. W. Ellis. A commentary on *Tirukkural* with an English translation.

1813

Renewal of the Charter of the East India Company.

Est. American Marathi Mission at Bombay.

b. Dinanath Bezbarua (d. 1895). Father of the famous Assamese writer Lakshminath Bezbarua. He translated a *purāṇ* known as *Utkal Khaṇḍa*.

b. Krishnamohan Bandyopadhyay (d. 1885), a distinguished Bengali scholar and the first Indian to write a play in English.

b. Qutb Shah (d. 1910), a sufi poet of Sindh.

b. Sanaullah Kreri (d. 1884), a Kashmiri poet. Wrote *ghazals, nats, manajat* and also a *masnavi*. Among his works are *Qisāi Yahud-o-Qatrus* (a masnavi), *Tobatun Nasūh* (a collection of *nats*), *Tarifī Mahī Ramzān (manajat)*. Dates of composition not known. First two works were printed in 1922.

b. Svatitirunnal Rama Varma (d. 1847), ruler of Travancore State. Wrote poems in Sanskrit and Malayalam. Regarded as one of the greatest exponents of South Indian music along with saint Tyagaraja. A patron of scholars, poets and musicians.

d. Ramram Basu (b. 1757), one of the early Bengali prose writers. Author of *Rājā Pratāpāditya Caritra* (1801).

Ratanā Hamīr rī Vārtā (Ms.), a Rajasthani love story in prose and verse by Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur. Some scholars attribute the authorship to Uttamchand Bhandari. First published in 1903.

Riyaz-ul-Wifaq (Ms.) by Zulfiqar Ali Mast. A Persian *tazkirah* of poets in Persian and Urdu who flourished in Benaras and Calcutta.

Prabodh Candrikā, a collection of Bengali tales and didactic essays by Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, published in 1833.

Dharmapustak Antabhāg, (The New Testament) tr. by the Serampore Missionaries with the help of Atmaram Sharma. Assamese. From the original Greek.

1814

Anglo-Nepal War: the war started in May 1814 and ended in 1816 following a treaty ceding to the British the districts of Garhwal and Kumayun.

b. Abdul Qadir Bedil (d. 1872), a sufi poet of Sind, a polyglot; wrote poems in Sindhi, Urdu, Persian and Hindi; a disciple and follower of the great Sindhi poet Sachal Sarmast.

b. Bhanubhakta Acharya (d. 1869), the greatest Nepali poet. He deeply influenced the cultural life and literary activities of the Nepalis in India. His magnum opus the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a classic of Nepali literature.

b. Dadoba Panduranga (d. 1882), founder-member of *Mānavadharma sabhā* (1844), a grammanian and author of several books in Marathi.

b. Pacchu Muttalu (d. 1882), a Malayalam poet and scholar. Author of *Keralabhāṣā Vyākaranam*, the first grammar of Malayalam written by a native speaker, also the author of *Ātmakathāsaṃkṣepam* (1871–72), the first autobiography in Malayalam.

b. Pyari Chand Mitra (d. 1883), the author of *Ālāler Gharer Dulāl* (1858), claimed as the first novel in Bengali.

b. Utram Tirunal Martanda Varma (d. 1861), Maharaja of Travancore State. Author of *Simhadhvaja Caritam*, an āṭṭakkatha. Patron of scholars and Kathakali.

d. Govindarama (b. 1781), a Gujarati poet who wrote satirical verses. Author of *Kalijugano Mahimāya*.

The Telinga Grammar by William Carey.

? *Kulliyāt-e-Aishi* (Ms.) contains Persian qasidas, ghazals, rubais and masnavis of Aishi. Also contains his prose work *Khizan-va-Bahar*.

Kutpu Nāyakam by Vannakkalanciyap Pulavar. A Tamil epic on the life of the saint Abdul Khadi Jeelani.

Kāyara Bavani (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on the traits of cowards and hyprocrites by Bankidasa Asiya. First published in 1938.

Marsiya (Ms.), an elegiac poem in Rajasthani on the death of Maharaja Bakhtavarsingh of Alwar and his queen Musi who became a *sati* with him. By Barhath Ummedram.

Dharma Pustaka, (the Bible) tr. by the Serampore Mission Press. Oriya. From the original Hebrew and Greek.

Rājāvalī (Ms.) tr. by Tehala Dasa. A prose work in Dogri. From a Persian text by Bali Rama, (Edited and published in 1972, revised edition in 1983).

Simhāsanabattishī tr. by W. Carey, with the help of Pandit Vaijanathshastri. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original.

1815

Est. *Ātmīya Sabhā*, a society for the worship of one formless God, founded by Rammohan Roy.

Est. Bombay Education Society, an institution founded for the propagation of English education with the encouragement from Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

American-Marathi-Mission opened one English school and a printing press at Bombay, also some schools to give education in Marathi.

b. ? Amanat, Syed Agha Hasan of Lucknow (d. 1858), a distinguished Urdu poet, noted for his *Indar Sabhā* (1853) the first play in Urdu, and his Wasokht.

b. Bishvambhar Vidyabhushan (d. 1897), a text-book writer in Oriya; author of *Oḍiyā Byākaraṇ* (1841).

b. ? Kaviyo Gopal (Gopal Dan) (d. 1885?), wrote historical narrative poems in Pingal.

b. Harakanta Barua (d. 1900), an Assamese writer known for his autobiography *Harkānta Baruār Sadarminar Ātmajīvanī*, published years after his death. His *Asom Burañjī* (1930, ed. Surya Kumar Bhuyan) is an account of many important events of the 600 years rule of Ahoms in Assam.

b. Mahavidvan Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai (d. 1876), one of the greatest Tamil poets and scholars of the nineteenth century. Has written more than seventy-five works.

b. Sadchidananda Swamigal (d. 1889), noted for his scholarly commentaries on Tamil and Sanskrit texts includeing, *Pirapuliṅka Līlai and Bhagavatgīta*.

b. Sevak (d. 1881), a poet of modern Braja Bhasa.

b. Surya Malla Mishrana (d. 1868), a Rajasthani poet who wrote heroic poems.

d. Mukta Ram (b. 1740 ?), a Rajasthani saint poet.

d. Shau (b. 1747), a Vedantist/Jnan-margi poet of Sindh.

Bāṅglā-Iṅgrājī Abhidhān (vol. I), a Bengali-English dictionary by William Carey, vol. II, 1825.

Bhāṣā Cāṇakya (Ms.), a poem in Rajasthani dealing with *nīti* (ethics) by Barhath Ummedram. The Ms. is in Pingal i.e. Braj mixed with Rajasthani.

? *Dūhā Āyasajī Mahārāja Devanātha Rā* (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on the spiritual teacher of Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur. By Bankidas Asiyo. Ms. composed between 1810 and 1815.

? *Jhamāla Thākurān Rūpsinghjī Rā* (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on Rup Singh, the son of Arjun Singh Udawata by Bankidas Asiyo.

Tulasī Vivāha, a Gujarati poem on mythological theme, by Giridhara.

Tazkirah-e-Sarwar (Ms.), a Persian tazkirah of 996 Urdu poets by Mir Mohammad Khan Sarwar (1766–1836).

Khirad-Afroz, tr. by Hafizuddin Ahmad. Urdu. Abdul Fazal's *Ayyar-e-Danish* (which is a simpler Persian version of Husain Ibn Ali-al-Kashifi's *Anwar Sohaili* containing fables).

Pañcatantra and *Hitopadeśá* tr. by W. Carey, with the help of Pandit Vaijanathashastri. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original.

Purusa Parīkṣa. tr. by Haraprasad Ray. Bengali. Vidyapati's *Purusa Parīkṣā (Sanskrit)*.

Rāmāyaṇattutra Kāṇṭak Kaṭai tr. by Tirucchirrambala Desikar. Tamil. Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Sanskrit).

Vedānta Grantha, tr. by Rammohan Ray. Bengali. From Sanskrit.

Vedānta Sār, tr. by Rammohan Ray. Bengali. From Sanskrit.

1816

Garhwal in the west and Darjeeling region in the east became parts of British territory resulting Nepali speaking areas becoming part of India.

Introduction of English education in Kerala through the Church Mission Society's Seminary at Kottayam.

Arrival of Benjamin Bailey (1805–1871), a Christian missionary, in Kerala. Bailey translated the Bible in Malayalam, compiled the first Malayalam-English dictionary and established the first printing press in Malayalam at Kottayam.

Est. Nirnaya-Sagara Press, Bombay.

b. Dasarathi Sarangi (d. 1897), an Oriya scholar of Sanskrit and author of several philosophical works.

b. Dvija Chakauri (d. 1862), a Maithili poet who composed several *Maheśavāṇī* and *Caitabar* (seasonal songs).

b. A. Karutta Muttup Pillai (d. 1890), a prolific Tamil poet.

b. Pir Ali Gauhar Asghar (d. 1847), a Pir Pagaro and a Sindhi poet in the Sufi tradition.

b. Korada Ramachandra Shastri (d. 1900), author of *Manjarī Madhukarīyamu* (1860), the earliest drama in Telugu. He translated a number of Sanskrit plays into Telugu. He wrote in Sanskrit also.

d. Mayilua Kanap Pulavar (b. 1779), author of many Tamil works including *Puliyūr Yamaka Antāti* (a book of poems), *Ñāṉālaṅkāra Rūpa Nāṭakam* (a play) and *Kāci Yāttirai Viḷakam* (a travelogue).

A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language by A. D. Campbell. (1760–1840) Campbell included a section of the book on the Telugu language by F. W. Ellis (1780–1819) in the introductory part.

Tirumaṇimālai by Sheikh Abdul Qadir. A Tamil Muslim epic dealing with the life of Nabi Ibrahim in *viruttam* metre.

Raghūjī Bhosalyācī Vaṃśāvalī, a Marathi work on geneology by Pandit Vaijanathashastri.

Īśopaniṣad, tr. by Rammohan Ray. Bengali and English. From the original Sanskrit.

Kenopaniṣad, tr. by Rammohan Ray. Bengali and English. From the original Sanskrit.

Rājā Pratāpādityāce Caritra tr. by W. Carey, with the help of Pandit Vaijanathashastri. Marathi. From the Bengali work by Ramaram Basu.

Translation of an Abridgment to the Vedanta by Rammohan Ray. This was Ray's first work in English. (Rpt. London, 1817).

1817

The Paik Rebellion broke out in Khurda, Puri and adjoining places. The Khondas of Ghumusar in Ganjam district (Orissa) rose in revolt against the British.

Est. The Hindu College (20th January) an institution mainly responsible for the spread of English education in Bengal. Many of its students played significant roles in the social, religious, political and literary movements in Bengal.

Est. The School Book Society Calcutta. The Society was established with the object of compilation, printing and publication of school books, in Bengali and English.

b. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (d. 1898), a distinguished scholar and writer of Urdu, an educationist, founder of the Aligarh University, a champion of Western education who created a new awareness among the Muslims. Made a strong impact on the contemporary Urdu literature.

b. Debendranath Thakur (d. 1905), a religious leader of the Brahmo Samaj and an important prose writer in Bengali. Father of Rabindranath Thakur.

b. Hara Chandra Ghosh (d. 1884), one of the early translators of Shakespeare's plays into Bengali. His *Bhānumatī Cittabilās*, a translation of *The Merchant of Venice* was published in June 1853.

b. Madan Mohan Tarkalankar (d. 1858), a Bengali poet, and textbook writer; follower of the medieval tradition of poetry

b. ? Nafis, Mir Khurshid Ali of Lucknow (d. 1901), son of Anis and nephew of Munis and a follower of their traditions in Urdu poetry

b. Venmani Acchan Namputirippadu (d. 1890), a renowned Malayalam poet. The venmani school of poetry culminated in his writings.

d. Insha Allah Khan (b ?), son of Syed Mir Mashallah Khan, a prolific poet who wrote many *qasīdas* and *dīwāns*, wrote both in Urdu and Persian; wrote a grammar 'of the Urdu language *(Daryā-e-Latāfat*, 1802), well versed in many Indian languages, also author of *Rānī Ketki Kī Kahānī* (1800)), a work of prose

d. ? Lutf, Mirza Ali (b 1754 ?) an Urdu poet, but more known for his translation of *Tazkira-e-Gulshan-e-Hind*, an anthology of biographical accounts of poets.

d. Shah Rafi-ud-Din Dehlavi (b 1748/9), son of Shah Wallullah Dehlavi, a great Persian scholar and translator of the Quran into Urdu. Has written large number of works in Persian, Urdu and Arabic

A Grammar of the Gentoo Language by William Brown (?–1837) A Grammar of Telugu

A Grammar of the Kanataka Language by W Carey. The first printed book in Kannada. This book was printed at the Serampore Mission Press.

Navarasa Taranga, a work on poetics by Beni Pravina in Hindi verse.

Vidyāmañjarī, a Sanskrit poem on knowledge by Dhireshvara.

Yādavarāghavapāṇḍaviyam, a Sanskrit work known as *tryarthī mahākavya* (i.e. each of its verse has three different meanings) describing the stories of Krishna, Rama and the Pandava brothers simultaneously. Written by Vidvan Anantacharya (1790–1850).

Bhaṭṭācāryer Sahit Bicār, in reply to Mrityunjay Vidyalankar's *Vedānta Candrikā* (1817) by Rammohan Ray in Bengali. A work in religion.

A Defence of Hindoo Theism in reply to the attack of an advocate for Idolatry at Madras, a polemical essay in English. By Rammohan Ray

Vedānta Candrikā, a treatise on Vedic system of worship, written in response to Rammohan Ray's attack on orthodox Hinduism by Mrityunjay Vidyalankar. A specimen of Bengali polemical writing. Its English translation, *An Apology for the Present System of Hindoo Worship* was also published with the Bengali text.

Parts of the Bible translated into Gujarati by Rev. William Fivy and James Skinner.

Kaṭhopaniṣad, tr. by Rammohan Ray Bengali. From the Sanskrit.

Māṇḍukyopaniṣad, tr. by Rammohan Ray. Bengali. From the Sanskrit.

1818

The Fall of Baji Rao and the success of Sir John Malcos to end the last Marhatta war.

Mukunda Dev, the king of Khurda, was imprisoned by the British in Barbati Fort at Cuttack.

Est. Calcutta Library Society. Till 1831 no Indian was included in the Managing Committee.

Est. Madras Religious Tract Society. It published nearly 127 religious tracts.

Est. Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta.

Est. The Serampore College by William Carey and his associates.

b. Janakaraja Kishori Sharma 'Rasika Ali' (d. 1848), a Hindi poet belonging to *Rām Kāvya* tradition.

b. Jan-Sahab, Mir Yar Ali (d. 1897), a poet who lived both in Lucknow and Rampur, known for his *rekhti*, an innovation in Urdu poetry, which reflects the taste of the declining aristocracy.

? b. Shaj Ram Ji, (d. ?) a saint poet of Rajasthan belonging to the Dadu Sect.

Abhidhān, a Bengali dictionary by Ram Chandra Vidyavagis.

Iṟavu Culkūl Paṭaippōr by Kunnu Muculappai Kajiyalim, a Tamil Muslim epic on the exploits of a virtuous woman; written in *viruttam* metre.

? *Jālandhara Candrodaya* (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on 'Nath' religious ideals, by Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur. The Ms. was composed between 1816–1818.

Gosvāmīr Sahit Bicār, a disputative book attacking polytheism and image worship by Rammohan Ray in Bengali.

Sahamaraṇ Biṣaye Prabartak O Nibartak Sambād, a treatise against the practice of *Sati* in the form of dialogues by Rammohan Ray in Bengali.

Lenkarācī Pahilī Pothi by the Rev. Gordon Hall (a missionary from American Mission); stories in Marathi including the story of the birth of Jesus Christ.

Murassakar, a collection of letters written in Persian divided into two parts by Qasim Ali (b. 1780–d. ?)

The Holy Bible tr. by the Serampore Mission. Konkani. From the original Hebrew and Greek.

Nītikathā, (Fables) tr. by Radha Kanta Deb and others for the use of school children. Bengali. From English and Arabic.

Yesu Khṛṣṭu Nūtana Nirṇayamu, a rendering of the Bible into Telugu by William Carey.

Beṅgal Gejeṭi, the first Bengali newspaper ed. by Hara Chandra Ray and Ganga Kishor Bhattacharya.

The Calcutta Journal or Political Commercial and Literary Gazette. Started by James Silk Buckingham. Successor to *Calcutta Gazette* and *Morning Post*.

Digdarśan, the first Bengali journal. Ed. by J. C. Marshman published from Serampore.

The Friend of India, an English monthly; started publishing from April by John Clark Marshman of the Serampore Mission. The monthly continued till the end of 1827 when it was converted into a weekly. First editor: William Carey.

Samācār Darpaṇ, first Bengali newspaper of importance ed. by J. C. Marshman, published from Serampore.

1819

End of Afghan satrapy in Kashmir after 66 years. Beginning of the Sikh rule.

The Paik revolt was suppressed. Mukunda Dev died in prison.

b. Dvarakanath Vidyabhusan (d. 1886), editor of the Bengali journal *Somprakāś* (1858).

b. George Mattan (d. 1870), a native Christian missionary who introduced 'essays' in Malayalam. Wrote several works of prose.

b. Munir, Sayyid Ismail Husain (d. 1880), a typical poet of his time; wrote several odes, *qasīdas* and *ghazals* both in Urdu and in Persian. Author of three *dīwāns*.

b. Prakash Ram (d. 1885), founder of the *līlā* movement in Kashmiri. Wrote the Kashmiri version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some long narrative poems, besides *līllās* and a masnavi *(Akanadun)*. His two other works, *Lav Kuś Carit* and *Kṛṣṇāvatār*, are still unpublished.

b. Shishunala Sarifsas (d. 1889), a noted Muslim mystic poet of Karnataka.

d. Ghulam Jilani Rifat (b. 1741/2), a noted poet in Persian. Was born at Lucknow and educated in Delhi.

d. Gulam Jilani Rohataki (b. 1749), a famous Punjabi sufi poet belonging Chisti-Qadiri Sect. Composed devotional lyrics.

d. Mrityunjay Vidyalankar (b. 1762 ?), a Bengali Pandit in the College of Fort William. One of the early Bengali prose writers.

d Maulavi Sayyid Dildar Ali Mujtahid (b. 1772), a reputed theologian of Shia sect. Wrote several books in Persian on religious topics. Born at Jais, Nasirbad, U. P., died at Lucknow.

Bidyāhārābali, a Bengali encyclopaedia by Felix Carey, son of William Carey.

Marāṭhī Vyākaraṇ by Sakharam Narayan Wagh. First grammar in Marathi. The book was never printed and the manuscript is not available now. Some critics think that the grammar was written in Portuguese, and not in Marathi.

Śabdakalpadrum (vol. I), a Sanskrit lexicon in seven volumes, ed. Radhakanta Dev. Seventh Volume appeared in 1851 and an appendix in 1858.

Masnavi-e-Mirza Saheban, a Persian masnavi by Mir Nasir Khan Jafari (1804–1845).

Lāl Candrikā, commentary in Hindi by Lalluji Lal on Bihari's *Satsai*.

Praśnottarāvalī by Rev Gordon Hall. Information of the Christian Religion in questions-and-answers form in Marathi.

Sahamaraṇ Bisaye Prabartak Nibartak dvitīya Sambād, second treatise against the practice of Sati in the form of dialogues of Rammohan Ray in Bengali.

Manoraṅjanetihās bā Pleasing Tales, a bilingual (Bengali-English) collection of stories by Tara Chand Datta.

Vikramārkuni Kathālu by Ravipati Gurumurthi Shastri (1770–1837). Collection of stories in Telugu; perhaps the earliest work by a Telugu writer to come out in print. It had four reprints: 1828, 1829, 1850 and 1858.

Muṇḍokapaniṣad tr. by Rammohan Ray. Bengali and English. From Sanskrit.

1820

Caracuvati Makal Nulnilaiyam (Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore). Although said to have been established earlier, records show that only Raja Serfoji II (1798–1832), the king of Tanjore, raised its present status by adding 20,000 volumes bought from Banaras in 1820.

Est. The Madras School Text Book and Vernacular Society *(Upayukta Grantha Karana Deśabhāṣā Sabhā)*, by Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, to provide school books in local languages. Chinnaya Suri became its president in 1848.

Est. The Native School and School Book Committee by the Bombay education Society under the direct sponsorship of Mountstuart Elphinston, Governor of Bombay.

Est. Tinnevelly Tract Society at Tirunelveli. Published a large number of Christian tracts.

Est. First Mission Press, Surat by William Fivy and James Skinner.

b. Aksay Kumar Datta (d. 1886), a scholar, text-book writer and an exponent of scientific prose in Bengali. Edited *Tattvabodhinī Patrikā*, a journal published by the *Tattvabodhini Sabha* His most famous work is *Bhāratbarsīya upāsak Sampradāy* (Vol. I, 1870, Vol II. 1883), an account of various religious sects in India.

b. Arnold Sadasivam Pillai (d. 1896), a great scholar in Tamil; editor of the Tamil Journal *Utayatārakai*; written several poetical works: *Illaiya Nondi* (1887), *Vellai Antāli* (1890) Translated Simon Casie Chitty's *Tamil Plutarch* (1886) in Tamil.

b. Dalpatram (Dalpatram Dahyabhai Travadi) (d. 1898). One of the pioneers of modern Gujarati literature and a versatile writer; wrote poems, plays, short-stories and essays.

b. Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar (d 1891), an educationist, social reformer and one of the pioneers of Bengali literary porse.

b. Kuttikkunu Tankacchi (d. 1904), daughter of the famous Malayalam poet Ravivarman Tampi. Wrote a few *āṭṭakkathas* and several poems in classical style

b. Raunaq, Munshi Mahmud Miyan (d. 1886), a popular Urdu playwright.

b. Taslim, Ahmad Husain, alias Muhammad Amirullah of Lucknow (d. 1911), a fine scholar of Arabic and Persian, a calligraphist, wrote several *dīwāns* and excelled in *masnavi*; often described as one of the four pillars of Urdu poetry at the court of Rampur.

b. Vira Raghava (d. 1882), a poet of Tanjore who wrote *Vallīpariṇaya*, a Sanskrit play on the marriage of Shiva with his beloved Valti. The Ms. is preserved in Madras Manuscript Library.

d. Raghabir Dasa (b. ? 1750), a Dogri poet, disciple of Maya Dasa.

d. Vedam Pattabhi Rama Sastry (b. 1760), a scholar of Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil; a Telugu teacher in Fort St. George College; wrote a Telugu grammar.

Grammar of the Karnataka Language (Kannada Grammar); Second grammar published in Kannada, by John M. Kerrell.

Grammar of the Nepalese Language by J. A. Ayton. Published by the College of Fort William, Calcutta. Three stories of 'Munshi' included in the book can be regarded as the first printed stories in Nepali.

Riyāz-ul-Fusaha, a tazkirah of Urdu poets written in Persian by Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi (b. 1748).

?*Javaj-e-Tuhfāt-ul Muawahhidin*, a Persian work published from Calcutta. It is an anonymous defence of Rammohan Ray's *Tufāt* (1803–04) against the attacks of the Zoroastrians. It could be written by Rammohan Ray himself.

The Precepts of Jesus by Rammohan Ray. Selected Extracts from the books of the New Testament excluding the miracles. A serious debate on theological issues between Rammohan and the Christian missionaries started with this publication.

Telugu Jabula Pustakamu 10 volumes of letters of C. P. Brown in Telugu published between 1820 and 1830. They are store-house of information about contemporary life and society in the Telugu speaking areas.

The Holy Bible tr. by the Serampore Missionaries. Gujarati.

The New Testament in Kanarese, vol. I. tr. by J. Heands. Kannada The first available translation of the Bible in Kannada. Published by the Bible Society of India.

1821

Est. The first printing press in Malayalam at Kottayam in central Kerala.

M Elphinston established a Sanskrit College at Pune, on the line of traditional *Pāṭhaśālā*, to please the Brahmins who were upset due to the fall of Peshwa Regime.

The Church Mission at Madras starts a school for the education of Indian girls (17 October).

Piramji, a Rajasthani saint poet—his biographical details are not known—was initiated in 1821.

b. Puntottattu Acchan Namputiri (d. ?), pioneer of a new movement in Malayalam poetry which later came to be known as *Venmani Prasthānam* (Venmani Movement) after the most famous poet of that school.

b. Sankara Panditar (d. 1891), a great Tamil scholar of Sanskrit and Saiva Siddhanta. His commentaries on *Civapūcaiyantāti Caṭculōki* and *Civanñāṉapōtam* contributed to the development of Tamil prose.

d. Barhath Ummedram (b. 1743), a Rajasthani poet.

d. Hasham (b. 1752), a noted Pujabi poet. Wrote several *Kissas* including Sassī-Punnū, Sohanī-Mahīwāl, Shīrīn Farhād, and also short poems under the names of Dohare and Deodhan.

d. Col. Colin Mackenzie (b. 1753), one of the founders of the College of Fort St. George (1812). Collected large number of Tamil Ms. He was an engineer from Scotland.

Telugu Nighanṭuvu by A. D. Campbell, a Telugu-English dictionary.

Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, a Sanskrit poem on the *Bhāgavata* by Raghuvaradasa.

Masnavi-e-Chandrārānī or *Bahr-e-Visal* (Ms.), a Persian poem by Mirza Mohammad Khan Nasibi (? 1845).

Nīti Mañjarī (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on *nīti* (ethics) by Bankidasa Asiyo. First published in 1924.

Santoṣa Bāvani (Ms.), a poem in Rajasthani praising virtues of men and condemning their vices, by Bankidas Asiya. First published in 1938.

? Viṣṇu Carita (Ms.), a devotional poem in Rajasthani exaulting Vishnu, the supreme being, by Udoji Adinga. The poem was composed between 1812 and 1821.

Vinoda Kathālu, stories in Telugu intended for school boys, written by Vennalacunty Soobrow (i. e. Vennelakanti Subba Rao) to inculcate moral conduct among them.

Śṛṅgāralīlātilakabhāṇa, (Ms.) a *Bhana* by Bhaskara (1805–1837), a Kerala born poet. This Sanskrit play describes the separation of the hetaira Saraskia and *Viṭa* Satyaketu and their reunion. Published from Calcutta in 1935.

The Bible tr. by the Serampore Mission. Nepali. First Nepali work printed in Devanagari.

No'v Ahadāma, (a part of the Bible) tr. by Serampore Mission. This was the first prose written in the Kashmiri language. Among the translators were Sulaiman Yar Mohammad Khan and the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles.

Yātrider agresaran bibaran (vol. I), (Vol. II, 1822) tr. by Felix Carey. Bengali. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (English).

Brāhman Sevadhi/Brahmunical Magazine, a bilingual (English and Bengali) periodical started by Rammohan Ray to counteract the propaganda of the Serampore Missionaries.

Gazeta de Goa ed. by Dr. Antonio Lima Leitao. First periodical of Goa in Portuguese. It contained reports of Government deliberations.

John Bull in the East, a daily newspaper in English published from Calcutta ed. by Robert Macnaughten.

Sambād Kaumudī, a Bengali journal ed. by Rammohan Ray.

1822

Devanagari printing started in the printing press established by Bombay Native School Book and School Society at Bombay. The first printed books were *Pañcopākhyān*, the translation of Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* and *Viduranīti*, based on the *Mahābhārata*.

b. Arumuka Navalar (d. 1879), a great Tamil scholar poet; wrote prose commentaries on more than forty ancient and medieval texts and edited many Tamil works from palm-leaf manuscripts. Translated the Bible into Tamil. Often called the father of modern Tamil prose.

b. Bholanath Sarabhai (d. 1886), a social reformer, founder of the Prārthanā Samāj at Ahmedabad (1871); a devotional poet of modern Gujarati literature.

? b. Giani Gian Singh (d. 1923), a renowned Punjabi writer who also wrote in Braj. His writings are concerned with Sikh religion and history.

b. Manishankar Jatashankar Kikani (d. 1884), a scholar and social reformer of Gujarat, who wrote mostly on socio-religious themes.

b. Paravastu Venkata Rangacharyulu (d. 1900) a scholar and poet in Sanskrit and Telugu; translated *Śakuntalam* into Telugu.

b. Rajendralal Mitra (d. 1891), an eminent linguist and antiquarian, editor of *Bibidhārtha-Sangraha* (1851), the first illustrated monthly journal in Bengali.

b. Ramnarayan Tarkaratna (d. 1886), one of the pioneers of the Bengali drama.

? d. Maulvi Siraj-ul-Haq Mujid (b. ?), author of the Persian work *Dīwān-e-Mujid*. Was a Qazi at the *Adālat-e-sadr* in Calcutta.

Ambada Rās, a poetical work by Rup Chand, a Gujarati Jaina poet.

Bhīma Vilāsa (Ms.), a historical poem written in Pingal, its hero being Maharana Bhimsingh of Mewar. By Adho Kisano II.

Mirāt-ul-Bilad, by Hashim Ali Rizvi, a travelogue written in Persian.

? *Vaisaka Vārta* (Ms.), Rajasthani poem condemning prostitution, by Bankidas Asiya. First published in 1931.

Zaib-ut-Tarīkh (Ms.) by Lal Gokal Chand. A versified history of Begum Samroo in Persian.

Jām-e-Jahān-Numā, the first Urdu Weekly.

Mirāt-ul-Akhbār, newspaper in Persian ed. by Rammohan Ray. it closed down on 4 April 1823 in protest against the Press Act of 1823.

Samācār Candrikā, a Bengali journal to propagate traditional Hindu religion, ed. by Bhabani Charan Bandhyopadhyay.

Śri Mumbāina Samācār (later called *Mumbāi Samācār)*, the first Gujarati daily, started by Murjhaban Pharadanji.

1823

Letter of Rammohan Ray to Lord Amherst, the Governor General of India, pleading for the introduction of English education in India.

The English Charity School was established by the Baptist Mission in Cuttack.

A special committee, appointed by The Bombay Native School Book and School Society for the purpose of observing the education of the natives and recommending measures of improvement.

b. Aliya Lingaraja (1874), a Kannada poet related to the Mysore royal family; wrote *Campu Sangatya, Yakṣagān, Śataka, Lavani.* Author of many works.

b. Bholanath Sarabhai (d. 1866), a religious poet of Gujarat. Wrote *abhangas.*

b. Ganga Rama (d 1893), a Dogri poet and a Sanskrit scholar, author of *Ranbir Prāyaścita*, a treatise on astronomy.

b. Ilattur Ramasvami Shastri (d 1887), one of the scholar-poets under the patronage of the kings of Travancore Among his works in Sanskrit are *Surupa Rāghava*, an epic illustrating the grammatical rules of Sanskrit and narrating the story of the Ramayana at the same time; *Pārvatī Parinaya*, short poem describing the story of Shiva and Parvati and the birth of Kumara, and *Kīrti Vilāsa Campu*, a *campu* containing descriptions of the meeting of scholars and poets in royal courts. Also wrote an *āttakatha* in Malayalam.

b. Lokahitavadi *(real name* Gopal Hari Deshamukh), (d. 1892), a Marathi essayist; among his important works are *Śata Patre* (published serially, 1848–1850), *Nibandha Samgraha* (1866) and *Jāti Bhed* (1877).

b. ? Nidhi Levi Farwell (d 1873?). A Hindu converted to Christianity who wrote poems on Jesus Christ in the style of traditional Vaishnavite poetry of Assam. Also translated parts of the Bible. Some of his well-known works are *Padārtha Vidyār Sār* or *Natural Science in Familiar Dialogues*; (1874) translation of *Indian Penal Code: Bhāratīya Daṇḍabidhi Āin* (1865) into Assamese, etc His date of birth is disputed; according to some it is 1827.

b. Pir Hassan Shah Khoyahami (d. 1898), a noted poet of Kashmir; also a historian and geographer.

b. Raghuraj Sharan, the king of Riwa (d. 1879), a noted poet in Hindi belonging to the *riti* tradition.

b. Raja Shivaprasad, *Sitar-e-Hind* (d. 1895), a great champion of the Hindi language and literature, started the periodical *Bawara Akhbar* and wrote *Rājā Bhoj Kā Sapna* (1858), a popular prose narrative.

b. Ramalinga Adikal Vallalar (d. 1874). The Tamil mystic and the author of *Tiruvarutpa*, a religious work.

b. Wajid Ali shah, Akhtar (d. 1887), the last nawab of Oudh (1847–56) who was deposed and transported to Matia Burj in Calcutta in 1856. A patron of poets; he himself wrote qasida, ghazals, masnavi; adopted the non do plume *Akhtār*, meaning 'Star'.

d. Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlvi (b. 1746), son of Shah Waliullah Dehlvi. A celebrated Persian scholar of his time who wrote several books in Persian.

Teloogoo Selections, prepared by J.C. Morris (1798–1858), Deputy Telugu Translator to the Government of Fort St. George. Second ed. Madras, 1845.

Ḍhuṇḍhaka Rāso, a long narrative poem in Gujarati by Hemavilasa.

Gurū Nānak Prakāś, a biographical account of Guru Nanak in Braj verse with an admixture of myth, legend and history. By Giani Santokh Singh.

Kalikātā Kamalālaya, a Bengali prose work about the contemporary society in the form of questions-answers by Bhabani Charan Bandhyopadhyay.

Mudrā Mañjushāvu Embuva Cāndragupta Cānakyara Caritreyu by Kempunarayana. Not only is it regarded as the herald of a new Kannada prose style but also of a new narrative style. Its theme is derived from the Sanskrit play *Mudrārākṣasa*, dealing with the political intrigues of the time involving Chandragupta and Chanakya.

1824

Est. The first girls' school in Bombay by American Mission, in the month of March.

Queen Channamma of Kitoor in Karnataka, who led an anti-British resistance movement, was arrested along with Rayanna, a brave *Chowkidar* of Sangoli in Kitoor.

b. Be-Khabar, Munshi Khwaja Ghulak Ghaus Khan Bahadur (d. 1905), wrote both in urdu and Persian, author of *Fighan-i-Bekhabar* (1891).

b. Swami Dayananda (d. 1885), founder of the Arya Samaj, one of the greatest religious leaders of the nineteenth-century India; author of *Satyārtha Prakāś* (1875), a Hindi work containing his religious and social thoughts.

b. Gaurchandra Gajapati Narayan Dev (d. 1902), an Oriya writer who wrote several poems in the model of medieval Oriya *Kavya*. Among his works are *Dhruba, Padmābatī Sayambara*.

b. Har Bhatt Shastri, (d. ?) great Kashmiri scholar of *Śiv Śāstra*. Wrote *Bodh Pañcadaśikā* and *Paramārth Carcā*.

b. Krishna Shastri Chipalunkar (d. 1878), a distinguished Marathi journalist and essayist. Translated *Meghadūtam* (1865) and *Rasselas* (1873). Editor of *Vicāralaharī*, and *Śālapatrak*, Marathi periodicals.

b. Lal Behari Day (d 1894), a scholar and writer, well-known for his novel *Bengal Peasant Life* or *Govinda Samanta* (1874), depicting the peasant life of Bengal and also for his *Folk Tales of Bengal* (1881), both written in English.

b. Michael Madhusudan Datta (d. 1873), the greatest Bengali poet of the nineteenth century; introduced blank-verse and sonnet in Bengali; wrote *Meghnadbadh Kāhya* (1861), an epic constructed on the model of *Iliad*; several plays including *Ekei ki bale Sabhyatā* and *Buṛo Śāliker ghāde Rō*, both published in 1860, translated parts of *Iliad* in Bengali. One of the earliest Indo-English poets, remembered for his narrative poem *Captive Ladie* (1848).

b. Mir Hasan Ali Khan Hasan (d. 1909), author of *Sindh Jo Shahnamo*, a masnavi or an epical poem, on the troubled times of Sarfarz Khan Kalhoro through Mir Murad Ali Khan, in Sindhi, which earned him title of 'Firdausi of Sindh'.

b. Nakanata Pantitar (d 1884), a great Jaffna scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit. Translated many Sanskrit classic including *Meghadūtam, Gītā, Hitopadeśa*, etc.

b. Shoshee Chunder Dutt (d. 1885) Pseud. J. A G. Barton, one of the earliest verse-writers in Indo-English.

d. Dulhai Ram (b. 1749), a Rajasthani saint poet.

d. Muktananda (b. 1761), a saint poet of Gujarat.

d. Mushafi, Shaikh Ghulam Hamdani (b. 1748), a prolific writer, wrote nine *dīwāns* in Urdu and three in Persian. He was in the court of Nawab Sulaiman Shikoh in Lucknow.

? *Amīr Nāmāh* (Ms.) a masnavi in Persian based on the life of Amir Khan, the Nawab of Tonk, Rajasthan, by Baswan Lal 'Shadan' Bigirami.

Itakumāra Rās, a poetical work by Lalavijaya, a Jaina poet of Gujarat.

Raghu Varajasa Prakāsa (Ms.), a book on Rajasthani prosody illustrating the various meters through the story of Lord Ram, by Adho Kasano II. First published in 1960.

Yamunā Laharī, a poetical work in Hindi by Gwala Kavi dealing with Radha-Krishna theme.

The Bible. tr. by Benjamin Bailey. Malayalam.

Karnāṭaka Guṇamañjari, a Kannada literary periodical published from Belgaum.

1825

Est Delhi College (a descendant of the Madrasa founded by Ghaziud-din Khan Firoz Jang in the first decade of the 18th century. It was taken over by the British administration in December 1824). First Principal M. Felix Boutros. It became a great centre of intellectual activity and contributed significantly to the modernization of Urdu literature.

The Bombay School Books and School Society announced prizes of Rs. 100/- to Rs. 5,000/- to be awarded for translations and original writings in Marathi. The topic metioned: Dictionaries, Grammar, Mathematics, Sculpture, Astrology, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Medicine, Politics, etc.

Est. Asiatic Litho-Graphic Company, Calcutta.

b. Arch Deacon Koshi (d 1900), a native Christian missionary of Kerala. Wrote several prose works and translated from English to Malayalam.

b. Vrajalal Kalidas Shastri (d. 1893), a reputed Gujarati philologist; editor of *Buddhiprakāś*, the journal of Gujarati Vernacular Society.

d. Dayaludasa (b. 1759), a saint poet of Rajasthan

d. Dhiru Bhagat (b. 1753 ?), a noted Gujarati poet known for his *Kafis*, *padas* and *ākhyānas*

d Niranta Bhakta (b 1747), a Gujarati religious poet

A Grammar and a Dictionary of the Maratha language (Ms.) prepared by the Pandits of the Bombay Native School Book Society, later printed by Mumbai Marathi Samsodhan Mandal.

Ram Ranjāta (Ms.), a narrative poem in Rajasthani subject of which is the marriage of Maharav Raja Ramsingh Bundi, and various festivals at the fort of Bundi. By Suryamalla. First published in 1969.

Kitāb-e-Maseer-e-Izzatullah or *Safar Nāmāh-Izzatullah*, a Persian work by Mir Izzatullah (d. 1825). A record of the author's travel in Central Asia. Translated into English by Capt. Henderson under the title *Travels in Central Asia*, (Calcutta, 1872).

Nababābu bilās, a Bengali prose satire ridiculing the education and habits of the newly-rich babus of Calcutta, by Bhabani Charan Bandhyopadhyay, under the pseudonym Pramathanath Sharman.

Pūmpāvaiyar Vilācam by Varakavi Arumuga Mudaliyaar, a Tamil dramatic work that deals with a miracle performed by St. Tirunanacampantar in the seventh century.

Dharma-Pustaka, (The New Testament) tr. by Serampore Mission. Dogri.

Mati, (the Gospel according to St. Mathew), tr. by the Serampore Mission. Sindhi.

Pañcatantirak Katai tr. by Dhandavaraya Mudaliyaar, Tamil. From the Marathi version of *Pañcatantra*.

1826

The Treaty of Yandaboo. Treaty of peace was signed between East India Company and the Ruler of Ava on 24 February 1826. With this treaty, Assam went into the hands of the British.

b. Bahujanap Alli Sitarama Charyulu (d. 1891), prepared the Telugu-Telugu dictionary *Śabdaratanākaramu*.

b. Syed Fazal Shah (d. 1890), a Punjabi poet; well known for his rendering of the legend of Soham–Mahiwal

b. Ganesha Puri (d 1910), a Rajastham saint poet who wrote *Vīramoda* (Karna Parva).

b Ghulam Muhammad Shah Gada (d. 1905), a Sindhi poet, author of *Sikandar Nāmo* (1889) a masnavi, on Alexander the Great

b. Raja Lakshman Singh (d. 1896), one of the patrons of the newly emerging Hindi prose.

b. Rajnarayan Basu (d 1899), a noted Bengali essayist and a leader of the Brahmo Samaj.

b. Vedanayakam Pillai (d. 1889) wrote the first Tamil novel *Piratāpamutaliyar Caritiram* (1879) Also wrote a few books of poems.

d. Abadul Wahab Sachal (b. 1736), a famous sufi poet of Sindh. He wrote religious lyrics in 'Kafi' genre both in Sindhi and Saraiki.

d. Mohammed Rashiduddin Khan (b. 1763), an inhabitant of Delhi. A noted scholar and teacher of Arabic and Persian; wrote both in Arabic and in Persian mostly on religious, themes; wrote a book entitled *Sharah Bar Sharh-e-Hidayatul Hikmat* (Bankipore Ms. No. 1597) on rainbow with graphs and illustrations.

Bengalee Grammar in the English Language by Rammohan Ray.

The Prosody of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages Explained by Charles Philip Brown. A work based on the Telugu work on prosody: *Kavijanaśrayamu* of Bhimana.

Afsāna-e-Bharatpur (Ms.) by Maulavi Fazi-e-Azim (d. 1857 ?), a masnavi in Persian on the operations against Raja Durjan Sal of Bharatpur in 1825–26. The author was an eye-witness to the battle. A vivid description of the seige of the fort by the British army.

Bhakta Māla (Ms.), lives of saints in verse in Rajasthani. By Pyareramji.

Dhavala Paccīsi (Ms.), a poem on heroism in Rajasthani, treating the bull, as the symbol of hero. By Bankidas Asıyo. First published in 1924.

Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Sītā Vanavāsa Copāī, a specimen of the Gujarati Jaina poet's work on the Ramayana theme. By Shivalal. .

Sadevanta Sāvaliṅga Kathā, a tale of love and separation by the Gujarati poet Nityalabha.

Sair-ul-Manazil (Ms.), a topographical account in Persian of the principal buildings of Old Delhi and the suburban areas by Mirza Sangin Beg. Published by the Ghalib Institute, New Delhi, 1982.

Katāmañcari, ed. by Tantavaraya Mutaliyar. First known printed anthology of Tamil stories prevalent in oral traditions

Baıāne Wālā Kokāai, (the Gospel of St. Luke) tr. by Serampore Mission Dogri.

The Bengal Hurkuru (1798), renamed as *The Bengal Hurkuru and Chronicle*, an English daily from Calcutta.

Candrodaya, a Kannada magazine published from Dharwad ed. Gadigeya Huchayya.

Udanta Mārtaṇḍa, the first newspaper in Hindi; published from Calcutta, ed. by Jugalkishor Shukla.

1827

The Bombay Native School Book and School Society was renamed *The Native Education Society*.

Est. The Bombay Auxiliary Religious Tract Society to propagate Christian Religion through books.

b. Bahujana Palli Sitaramacharyulu (d. 1891), a Telugu Scholar; wrote *Prauḍha Vyākaraṇam* (1885), a supplement to Chinnayya Suri's *Bāla Vyākaraṇam*; prepared *Śabdaratnākaramu*, a Telugu-Telugu dictionary.

? b. Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay (d. 1894), an educationist, essayist and also one of the pioneers of Bengali fiction. Author of *Aitihāsik upanyās* (1862).

b. Hanuman Kabichandra Raiguru (d. 1891) an Oriya poet chiefly known for *Koili* type of compositions.

b. H.K. Kirusna Pillai (d. 1900), author of the noted Christian Tamil epic *Iracanya Yāttirikam*.

b. Jotibarav Govindrav Phule (d. 1890), a Marathi writer belonging to one of the

lower castes; a champion of female education and of the oppressed class. A significant writer of Marathi prose, noted for its directness and power. Author of *Gulāmgiri* (1873), a work in dialogue form criticising Brahmanic authority.

b. Mancherji Shapurji Langadana (d. 1902), wrote poem in Parsi dialect of Gujarati

b. Mohsin, Muhammad Mohsin Alvi (d 1905), a religious poet in Urdu.

b. Rangalal Bandyopadhyay (d 1887), a noted Bengali poet, author of *Padmini Upākhyān* (1858) He took great interest in Oriya and wrote many articles on Oriya literature

b. Sankaran Mussat (d 1888), also know as Kunnunni Mussat, was born at Kilakka Pullam in Kerala A noted scholar of Sanskrit grammar and a poet

Tamil Haric Cuvaṭi by Henry H Turai and T. Mutaliyar One of the earlest guides to Tamil grammar

Poems by Henry Louis Vivian Derozio. These poems are the first published work of Indo-English literature Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press.

The Jewel Mine of Salvation, a tract in Oriya to propagate Christianity among the natives

Kujibar Patra, an Oriya hand-written magazine from Kujibar village in Cuttack district ed. by Sadhusubdar Das, who was a monk It published articles on Hinduism and Christianity. Continued till 1838.

1828

Est. Brahmo Samaj by Rammohan Ray (20 August).

Est Matba-e-Tibbi *alias* Medical Press, Calcutta

b. Banshiballabha Goswami (d. ?), known for his contribution to Oriya drama and stage.

b. Bicchanda Charan Pattanayak (d. ?) founder of the institution *Kalinga Bhāratī* which championed the cause of medieval Oriya poetry.

b. Gopishwara Singa (d. 1886), a Maithili poet known for his religious poetical work *Gopīśvara Vinoda*.

b. Govin Chander Dutt (1884), one of the earliest Indian writers of verses in English. Father of Aru and Toru Dutt. His 66 poems were included in *Dutt Family album* (1870).

b. Mufti, Munshi Amir Ahmad (1900), a noted Urdu poet of the Rampur Court.

d. Ram Basu (b. 1736), a Bengali poet belonging to the *Kabiwala* group.

Ouṣadhakalpanāvidhi by Dr. John McLennan. A book containing information of Western and Eastern medicines. The names of medicines given in Latin, English, Prakrit, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic languages.

Dīwān-e-Mīr Karim Ali Khan 'Karam' (Ms.). This Persian *Dīwān* was by Mir Karim Ali Khan (d. ? 1828) who was third among the four Talpur brothers who jointly ruled Hyderabad (Sind).

The Fakeer of Jungheera, a metrical tale and other poems in English by H. L. V. Derozio, Calcutta.

Mahārājā Sūratsinghjī Rā Mārsyā (Ms.), Rajasthani poem on the death of the Maharaja of Bikanir, by Vithu Bhomau.

Rāthā-Mādhav-milan, a poetical work in Hindi by Gwal Kavi on the theme of the love between Radha and Krishna

Rasikavallabha, the major poetical work by Dayaram. A long expositary poem in Gujarati elaborating the principles of the Vishnava Sect, Pusti, to which the poet belonged

? *Siddh Rāj Satsaī* (Ms.), a poem in Rajasthani in honour of Ladu Nath, the son of Ayasa of Devnath of Jodhpur, by Mehadu Rivdan Composed between 1815 and 1828.

Bālamitra Bhāg I. tr. by Sadashiv Kashinath Chatre, Marathi. Berguin's *Children's Friend in French*, (English) a story-book for school.

Isāpnītikathā tr by Sadashiv Kashinath Chatre. Marathi. Croxall's *Aesop's Fables* (English).

1829

Prohibition of *Sati*.

Publication of *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. I by Colonel James Tod (1782–1835). This book had great influence on Indian writers. (vol. II. 1835).

b. Amir Ahmad Minai (d. 1900), a poet of the Rampur Court, and a scholar who compiled the Urdu dictionary *Amīr-ul-Lughat*.

b. Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan (d. 1886), an eminent Assemese writer who helped restoration of Assamese which was replaced by British Government in 1836 in preference to Bengali, from law courts and educational institutions. He wrote *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language and Vernacular Education in Assam* (1855). His another work is *Asamīya Larār Mitra* (1849).

b. Devaji Bimaji (d. 1894), a Gujarati by birth but settled in Cochin; started the

Malayalam journal *Kerala Mitram* (1860) and established a printing press.

b. Francisco Luis Gomes (d. 1869), Goan scholar, patriot and novelist.

b. Gaurahari Paricha (d. ?), an Oriya poet belonging to the medieval tradition.

b. Mahipatarām Ruparam Nilakanth (d. 1891), educationist and social reformer, the author of the first travelogue in Gujarati; ed the journal *Gujarāt Śalāpatra*; text-book writer, also the author of *Sasu Vahuni Ladāi* (1866), the first social novel in Gujarati

b. Munshi Mohammad Ali (d 1902), a *marsia* writer of Kashmir

b. Syed Miran Muhammad Shah (d. 1892), the translator of *Sudhaturo Am Ku Dhaturo* (1860) and *Mufid-As-Sibyan* (1861) into Sindhi.

b. Tarini Devi (d. 1842), an Assamese poetess; cousin of Ananda Ram Dhekiyal Phukan

d. Sachal Sarmast (b 1739), a distinguished Sufi poet of Sindh; he is one of the trio of Sindhi poets, the other two being Shah and Sami He wrote in Sindhi, Urdu and Persian

d. Sadashiv Kashinath Chatre (b 1788), a Marathi writer, author of *Vetāl Pañcaviśī* (1830) and *Simhasana battisī* (1824), both translations from Sanskrit.

Mahārāstra Bhāsecā Kośa, popularly known as *Panditāncā Kośa* (Marathi-Marathi Dictionary). The project began in 1825 Assisted by many pundits. Editor Jagannathshastri Kramavant.

Āsām Buranjī by Hali Dhekiyal Phukan, a work on history in Bengali

Biographical Sketches of the Dekkan Poets by Kavali Venkata Ramaswami (1780–1850). One of the earliest works in English by an Indian author on the life and work of some important Telugu, Tamil, Maharashtra and Sanskrit poets. Reprint Bombay, 1847; Madras 1888; Nellore, 1975, with introduction and notes by C. V. Ramachandra Rao.

? *Kan-e-Jud* (Ms.), a Persian work by Sada Sukh Shaiq based on the story of *Singhasan Battisi*. The Ms. is in Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, Ms. No. 573.

Muzih al-Quran tr. by Aba ab-Kadir. The Arabic text with interlinear translation and marginal commentary in Urdu.

Vidyece Uddeś, Lābh Āni Santoṣa Yā Viṣayānce Saṃvād, tr. by Capt. George Jervice, with the help of Jagannathashastri. Marathi. Lord Brougham's *A Treatise on the Objective, Advantages and Pleasures of Knowledge*. (English). A pioneering work on scientific topics.

Bangadūt, a weekly published from Calcutta in four languages, Persian, Hindi, Bengali and English. Rammohan Ray was one of its directors.

The Bengal Herald, an English weekly from Calcutta ed. by Montogomery Martin and Nilratan Haldar. Owner Dwarakanath Tagore.

1830

Est *Dharma Sabhā*, an organisation for the defence of Hinduism in Calcutta by Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay.

Est. An independent English school in the Budhawarawada of Pune.

Bombay General Library formally opened on 15 November.

Rayanna of Sangoli, who led several attacks on the British camps and disrupted the postal system from Dharwar to Bombay was caught in April and was hanged to death.

b Azad, Mahammad Husain (d. 1910), regarded as one of the greatest Urdu prose writers; he wrote on Persian literature too. He is best remembered for his history of Urdu literature *Ab-e-Hayāt* (1881).

b Baba Padmanji (d 1906), a Maharashtrian Hindu who became a Christian; editor of *Satyadīpikā*, well-known for his work *Yamunā Paryaṭan* (1857), one of the earliest novels in Indian literature He wrote an autobiography entitled *Arunoday* (1879).

b. Bihari Lal Puri (d 1885). Wrote about 30 books in Punjabi, which include *Vidya Ratnākar*, *Caritavali*, *Piṅgal Manjari*, *Punjābī Vyākaran*. He also prepared first Punjabi text books for school level students

b T A Ciruttampi (d 1878), a Tamil scholar; wrote a few books of poems and two plays, established a college in Utuppitti for Tamil learning.

b Dinabandhu Mitra (d. 1873), a major Bengali dramatist, author of *Nīldarpaṇ* (1860), a play about the suffering of peasants and brutal torture on them by British indigo-planters. Wrote several comedies including *Sadhabār Ekādaśī* (1866)

b. Dvijadev (d. 1871), the king of Ayodhya-Raja Mansingh. The last important poet of Braj Bhasha. Author of *Śṛṅgār Battīsī* and *Śṛṅgāra Latikā*.

b. Kovunni Nedunnadi (d. 1899), author of *Kerala Kaumudī* a noted grammar of Malayalam. Also wrote an autobiography in Malayalam.

b. Muhammad Bakhash (d. 1904), famous Punjabi poet; wrote several *Kissās* which include *Kissā Mirzā Sāhibān*, *Kissā Sohinī Mahiwāl*, *Kissā Shīrīn Farhād*, *Kissā Saiful Muluk*. His *Kissā Saiful Muluk* is one of his better known works.

b. Paramanand Das (d. 1897), a Vaishnava poet well-known for his *Parātī* songs in Maithili.

b. Raghunandan (d. ? 1900), a Maithili devotional poet. Enjoyed the patronage of Maharaja Lakshmishvar Singha (1878–1898).

d. Siva Rama (b. ? 1755), a Dogri and Brajbhasa poet.

d. Karana Jayananda (b. 1760), a Maithili dramatist, author of a play known as *Rukmāṅgadā Nāṭak*.

d. Nazir, Mohammad Wali Akbarabadi (b. 1740), an Urdu poet of singular merit; his poetry is a departure from old conventions

d. Swami Muktananda (b. 1761?), a religious poet of Gujarat.

d Swami Sahajanada (b 1781), who brought the Uddavi sect in Gujarat

Padārtha Vidyāsār, an Oriya textbook on Physics by A. Sutton published by the Calcutta Book Society, Part II was published in 1832.

Diwān-e-Barkat, a dīwān in Persian by Barkakullah Khan Barkat of Kotana (Buhar Library, Ms. no. 424).

Gangālaharī, a Hindi poem by Padmakar. Its theme is detachment from the world and devotion to God

Kavitīrtha Varnaṇa, description of places of importance by the Jaina poet Dipavijaya in Gujarati

Neminatha Vivāhalo, a poem describing the marriage of Neminath, by the Gujarati Jain poet Rishabha Vijay.

The Shair or Minstrel and Other Poems by Kashiprasad Ghosh. The volume consists of a long narrative poem in English entitled *The Shair*, and lyrics on various subjects.

Sīharfi Guru Khalse Shāh Kī, a long narrative poem in Punjabi composed in *Siharfi* genre relating to the battles of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. By Hakam Singh Darvesh.

Uttara Naiṣadham, Sanskrit poem on the story of Naisadha by Arur Madhava Aditire (1765–1836).

Dharma Viṣayare Kathābārtā, Part I, one of the Christian tracts in Oriya on religion published by Serampore Mission. 2nd part, 1831

Kashful-Ghain Min Shama-ul-Ain (Ms.), a Persian work on Sufism by Shah Niyaz Barelavi. Bankipore Ms. no. 1093.

Tazkirāh-tul-Umara by Col. James Skinner. This tazkirah in Persian contains historical notes on some of the princely families of Rajputana and Punjab.

Carapōcika Kuṟavañci by Civakkoluntu Tecikar (Sivakkolundhu Desikar). A Tamil dramatic work in the *Kuravanji* form, named after its patron Raja Serfoji II. Considered to be of great literary and historical value.

Bodh katha tr. by Sadashiv Kashinath Chatre. Marathi. Tarachand Datta's bilingual work *Pleasing tales* or *Manorañjanetihās* (1819) (English, Bengali).

Parthenon, a literary Journal in English ed. by the H. L. V. Derozio published from Calcutta.

1831

British Administration in Karnataka: the British took over the administration of Karnataka on the pretext that Hummadi Krisharaja Odeyar had mismanaged the affairs of the state.

On 14th November Titu Mir, a leader of the Wahabi movement, who established a bamboo fort and declared war against East India Company, was killed in action.

The uprising of the tribal people of Chotanagpur.

b. Chanda Jha (Kavichandra) (d. 1907), a noted poet of Mithila; author of *Mithilā Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa*, an epic; *Ahalyā Carita*, a play. He also composed several religious songs.

b. Dagh, Nawab Mirza Khan (d. 1905), Delhi born Urdu poet who was in Rampur for some time. Distinguished by his elegance and simplicity; author of a masnavi *Faryād-e-Dāgh* (1884) and four *dīwāns*.

b. Hur Chundar Dutt (d. 1901), a poet and contributor to the *Dutt Family Album*. Published a volume of verse *Fugitive Pieces* (1851).

b. Jotindra Mohan Tagore (d. 1908), a poet; author or *Flights of Fancy* (1881), a collection of lyrics in English.

b. Kompi Achan (d. 1914), a Malayalam author, wrote two aṭṭa kathās and one kiḷippāṭṭu.

b. Kotakanallur Sundara Swamigal (d. 1878) a great Tamil philosopher and author of *Cuvānupūti*, a philosophical work. He was the preceptor of the famous dramatist P. Sundaram Pillai who created a character after his name in one of his plays.

b. Lakshmana Shastri (d. 1905), founder of *Candrikā* (1956), A Marathi magazine; a novelist. Author of *Muktā Mālā* (1861), *Ratna Prabhā* (1866), both novels in Marathi.

b. Manomohan Basu (d. 1912), a Bengali dramatist. Author of several plays on mythological themes: *Rāmābhiṣek* (1867), *Satī Nāṭak* (1873), *Hariścandra* (1875).

b. Pandit Mukand Ram (d. 1897), founded the *Akhbar-i-am* and *Mitra Vilas Press*, Lahore. He also brought out the *Paisa Akhbar* from Lahore. These newspapers carried the composition of Kashmiri poets both in Urdu and Kashmiri.

b. Ramgati Nyayratna (d. 1894), a Bengali prose writer; one of the first to write a history of Bengali literature.

d. Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (b. 1809).

Malesworth's *Marathi-English Dictionary* prepared along with *Paṇḍitī Kośa* published by Bombay Education Society.

Supplement of *Paṇḍitī Kośa*, the Marathi lexicon, edited by Jagannathshastri Kramavant.

Uriyā Byākaraṇa Upakramaṇikā, a grammar of Oriya by A. Sutton

? *Granth Adalānanda* (Ms.), a philosophical poem in Rajasthani, by Dina Darvesha. Composed between 1806 and 1831.

? *Īsara-Asatuta* (Ms.), a Rajasthani devotional poem, by Dina Darvesha. Composed between 1806 and 1831. He also wrote *Bharam Toda* (Ms.), a poem on the doctrine of illusion, *Harjasa* (Ms.), a collection of songs, *Gaggad Nisani* (Ms.), a philosophical poem.

Miraj-Nāmā, a Punjabi poem on the story of Muhammad's Ascent to Heaven by Qadar Yar, a court poet of Ranjit Singh.

Rājasūya Yajña, a long Gujarati poem by Giridhara, a poet of the Bhakti tradition.

? *Ayaur-Ush-Shu'ara*, an account of 1500 Urdu poets by Khub Chand 'Zaka' (d. 1846). Written in Persian.

Istilahat-ut-Taqwim (Ms.), a Persian work on astronomy and criticism of the attitude towards this subject by Ghulam Husain Karbalai Jaupuri (Bankipore Ms. no. 1062).

? *Aijaz-ul-Mohabbat* by Ibrati. A Persian work on the story of Nala and Damayanti. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Ms. no. 259).

The Persecuted, a play by Krishnamohan Banerjee. This is the first play in English written by an Indian.

Nītikathā tr. by Balashastri Jambhekar. Marathi. From Bengali.

The East India, a magazine in English. Editor as well as owner: H. L. V. Derozio.

The Enquirer, a literary magazine in English published from Calcutta ed. by K. M. Banerji, one of the leading Derozians.

The Indian Register, a journal in English published and ed. by K. M. Banerji.

Prabhākar, a Marathi weekly started by Bhau Mahajan.

Reformer, an English magazine published from Calcutta founded by Prasanna Kumar Tagore.

Saṅghād Prabhākar, the first daily newspaper in Bengali, though started as a weekly, ed. by Ishvar Chandra Gupta.

Tamil Magazine, the first monthly journal in Tamil published by the Madras Christian Religious Society.

1832

The Bombay Auxiliary Religious Tract Society renamed The Bombay Tract and Book Society.

The Bombay Government received a letter from the Managing Committee of the East India Company, expressing displeasure regarding the modes of expenditure by the former on regional languages in the province of Bombay.

b. Ayilam Tirunal Ramavarma (d. 1883), ruler of Travancore State. Author of two of the earliest works of modern Malayalam prose: *Mīnaketana Caritam* and *Bhāṣā Śakuntalam* (1881), a prose translation of Kalidasa's play.

b. C. W. Damodaran Pillai (d. 1901) a great scholar of Tamil and Saiva Siddhanta.

b. Hafiz Haji Hamid (also called Tikhrai) (d. 1897), a blind Sindhi poet of the 'Ilm Arud' (Persian prosody) tradition, known for his *Khutbas*, or addresses, a Persian genre.

b. Karasanadas Mulaji (d. 1871), a social reformer of Gujarat; wrote on socio-religious subjects and a travelogue on his journey to England.

b. Mohammad Zakaullah (d. 1910), an edcucationist, an associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and author of text-books and historical works in Urdu.

b. Nanabhai Rustamji Ranınana (d. 1901), ed. of *Satyadīpikā* and of *Rāstagophiar*.

b. Ponnambala Swamigal (d. 1904), a great Tamil scholar who wrote commentaries on the *Gītā* and *Vedānta Cūḍāmaṇi* and translated a Hindi work *Vicār Sāgar* into Tamil.

b. Rama Variyar (d. 1896), wrote commentaries in Malayalam on many Sanskrit texts. Also wrote *Vāgānanda Laharī*, a Sanskrit poem in praise of the goddess of speech (Vāk) on the model of Shankara's *Saundarya Laharī*.

b. Raqim, Khaja Qamruddin Khan (d. 1909), translated *Būstān-e-khayāl* into Urdu.

b. Surat Singh (d. 1897), the author of *Dīwān Sūrat Bahār*, a collection of poems in Sindhi, Urdu, Hindi and Persian.

b. Toluvur Velayuta Mudaliyar (d. 1889), a Tamil scholar and essayist who rendered several ancient Tamil works into modern Tamil.

b. Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastrulu (d. 1891), a renowned printer and publisher of many works in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu.

d. Nawab Wali Muhammad Khan (b. ?), composed poems in Urdu as well as in Persian. Was an adviser of the Talpur government, Sind. Wrote a *dīwān* in 1807 which included two *Saqi Namas* and the well known romance of *Hir-wa-Ranjha*.

Masakin-e-Falsafi by Raja Kundanlal 'Ashki'. An encyclopaedia in Persian dealing with the Hindu, Greek, Arab and modern (Western) philosophy and science. Aligarh University Ms. no. 91.

Oṛiyā Stotra Pustak by A. Sutton. A book of Christian hymns in Oriya.

Rahasya Pañcādhyāyī, a Sanskrit poem on the *Bhāgavata* by Gangodaka Narottama.

Shurish-e-Ishq by Imami. A masnavi written in Persian describing the love between a trader and a girl.

Guldastah-e-Karnāṭak by Hakim Ghulam Ali Musa Reza 'Raiq' (1766–1833). A tazkirah of poets living in Karanataka during the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries. Written in Persian.

Hasmat-e-Kashmīr by Abdul Qadir Khan. A history of Kashmir written in Persian. It contains brief accounts of Tibet and Badakhshan.

Bhūgol Ani Khagol Ityadiviṣayak Samvād (a text-book on Geography and Astronomy) tr. by Meanwearing with the help of Ramchandra Shastri Jambhekar. Marathi. *Bhūgol Evaṃ Jyotiṣ Ityādiviṣayak Kathopakathan* (Bengali)

Calcutta Gazette, an English weekly published by G.A. Prinsep from Calcutta.

Darpaṇ, a bilingual Marathi newspaper founded by Balashastri Jambhekar, Bombay. English title: 'The Bombay Durpan'. The title *Darpaṇ* matched Bengali weekly *Samacār-darpaṇ* and Gujarati weekly of the same title.

Jāme Jamashed, a Gujarati weekly, which became a bi-weekly and finally a daily. Published stories and novels, and special features for women and children.

The Philanthropist, an English weekly published by G.H. Hough.

1833

The appeal against the abolition of *Sati* rejected by the British Parliament (11 July). Rammohan Ray was present when the decision was announced.

b. Bichitrananda Das (d. 1875) established the Cuttack Printing Press and published the Oriya periodical *Utkal Dīpikā* (1866); was the main organizer of the Oriya language agitation; wrote a few text-books in Oriya.

b. Gopalachandra (d. 1860) also known as Giridhar Das, is the author of *Nahuṣ Nāṭak* (1857), the first play in Hindi. He is the father of Bharatendu Harishchandra.

b. Greece Chunder Dutt (d. 1892), a poet of Dutt family, author of *Cherry Blossoms* (1887), a collection of poems in English.

b. Gulam Qadir Navalar (d. 1908) one of the greatest Muslim poets of Tamilnadu. Has written more than twenty poetical works besides compiling an Arabic-Tamil dictionary.

b. Ishvar Kaul (d. 1894), prepared the basic manuscript of the first dictionary in Kashmiri. (His manuscript was acquired by Sir George Abraham Grireson and published by him in 1924).

b. Maheshvar Kabichandra (d. 1882), author of *Kīrtisāra Grantha*, an Oriya poem.

b. Mandapka Parvatishvara Sastri (d. 1897), a scholar of Sanskrit and Telugu, wrote twenty-three *śatakas*. Court poet of Bobbili estate.

b. Narmad (Narmada Shankar Lalshankar Dave) (d. 1886), a versatile writer and forerunner of modernity in Gujarati literature, who experimented with various literary forms. One of the makers of modern Gujarati prose and a poet of considerable merit.

b. Shradharam Phullauri (d. 1881), one of the noted writers of early Hindi prose. Author of *Bhāgyavatī* (1877), a narrative.

b. Udaram Thanvarias Mirchandani (d. 1883), an early prose writer of modern Sindhi.

b. Venkata Rango Katti (d. 1909), one of the important writers of Kannada; wrote a Kannada grammar and translated the *Arabian Nights*.

d. Bankidas Asiya (b. 1781), the renowned Rajasthani poet and a scholar. According to some he was born in 1771 (1828 Vikram Samvat). His manuscripts are not precisely dated. They could have been composed any time between 1803 and 1833. In addition to the manuscripts mentioned before, he also composed *Moha Mardana*, a didactic poem; *Anyokti Pañcāśikā*, an allegorical poem on morality, *Krpaṇa Darpaṇa* (The Miser Mirror), ridiculing the misers; *Māvadiyā Mijāja*, criticising the effeminate persons, *Cugala Mukha Capeṭika*, a poem against sycophants; *Vaisa Vārtā*, a poem describing the manners of the traders, *Vidura Battisī*, on problems of illegitimate sons of maid-servants and slaves etc. A poet of religious temperament and of acute social consciousness.

d. Dina Darvesha, alias *Saim dina*; (b. 1753), a saint poet of Rajasthan.

d. Kriparam Khidiyo (b. 1743), a Rajasthani poet who wrote several poems on *nīti* (ethics).

d. Mamcha Kavi (Manasaram) (b. 1770), a Rajasthani poet who wrote a work on prosody illustrating through the story of Lord Ram.

d. Murari Ram (b. 1760), a Rajasthani saint poet of the *Khedapa* branch.

d. Padmakar (b. 1753), an Andhra Pradesh born Hindi poet.

d. Rammohan Ray (b. 1774), the renowned social reformer and religious leader of the last century. A polyglot, who wrote in Arabic, Bengali, English, Hindi, Persian and Sanskrit.

Gauḍīya Byākaraṇ, a grammar of the Bengali language by Rammohan Ray.

? *Diṅgal Gītā* (Ms.), about 300 *diṅgal* songs on various historical persons by Bankidas Asiya. Composed between 1800 and 1833. First published in 1838.

Dīwān-e-Ghulam-Mohiuddin 'Shaiq' by Shaiq Ali Khan (1787/7–1833/4). A *diwan* in Persian.

Mahārājā Ratansiṅghjī Ro Rupag (Ms.), a narrative poem in Rajasthani describing the festivities connected with the accession of the Maharaja, by Vithu Bhomau.

Rasa Alamkāra (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on *rasa* and figures of speech by Bankidas Asiya. Composed between 1803 and 1833.

Gul-e-Rahmat by Mohammad Saadat Yar Khan. An account in Persian of Hafiz Rehmat Khan, the Rhoilla, who played an important role in Indian history. Written in 1833 and published in 1836 from Agra.

Jām-e-Jām (Ms) by Rup Kishor 'Saqi'. A Persion commentary on Husain Mohammed's treatise on riddles. (Bankipore Ms. no 897.)

Mulānsāthi Bodhācyā Goṣṭi by Mrs. Candy. Christian Philosophy through collection of tales in Marathi.

Dharmapustak Ādibhāg, (The old Testament) tr by William Carey with the help of Atmaram Sharma. Assamese.

Siddhapadārtha Vijñānaśāstra Viṣayak Samvād tr. by Hari Keshavji Pathare. Marathi. Mrs. Marset's *Conversations in Natural Philosophy*.

Calcutta Literary Gazette, an journal in English edited by H. L. V. Derozio.

Gyan Auneshun, a weekly journal in English and Bengali published from Calcutta. First editor Dakshinaranjan Mukherji. Founded by Rasik Krishna Mallick. Continued up to 1841.

Madras Journal of Literature and Science, an English language quarterly published by the Madras Literary Society, auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vijñānsār Sangraha, a fortnightly magazine in Bengali on science and morals published from Serampore; became a monthly from 1834.

Zubdatul-Akhbār, Agra, an Urdu weekly, ed. Munshi Wajid Ali Khan, continued till 1854.

1834

The Presbytarian Church of USA establishes first mission in Punjab at Ludhiana (November 5). This mission contributed greatly to the development of the Punjabı language and literature in later half of the ninteenth century.

Establishment of the Basel Mission Press at Mangalore. Dr. Hermann Gundert joined the press in 1838.

b. Adıbhatta Narayana Dasu (d. 1945), a noted Telugu Scholar, remembered as the father of *Hari Katha* tradition; translated the Rubbayits of Omar Khayyam into Telugu.

b. Ashob, Piyare Lal (d. 1914), an Urdu prose writer known for his *Qisas-e-Hind*, a detailed account of the customs of Hindus and Muslims, and his *Tārīkh-e-Inglistān* about the social life of the Englishmen.

b. Avishananda (d. 1883), Gujarati poet belonging to the Swaminarayan Sect, who wrote innumerable songs.

b. Biharilal Chakrabartı (d. 1894), exponent of romantic poetry in Bengali. *Sāradāmaṅgal* (1879) is his best known poem.

b. Deputy Chennabasappa (d. 1881), noted for his activities for the promotion of Kannada; translated Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* and *Macbeth*.

b. Gulam Nabi (d. 1929) – a Punjabı poet, wrote a long poem *Kash Kaul Kalandari* in *Sihārfi* genre and short lyrical poems of devotional nature.

b. Jadechi Prata Bala (d. 1917), a poetess who composed devotional *Padas* (songs) in Rajasthani.

b. Jalal, Syed Zamın Ali (d. 1909), an Urdu poet, grammarian and lexicographer.

b. Jivit Singh (d. 1891) a Vedantist poet of Sindh.

b. Kapileshwar Vidyabhushan (d. 1902), an Oriya writer of text books.

b. Karanata Vishvanath (d. 1909), a Maithili poet.

b. Mahamahopadhyay Chandrashekhar Singha Samanta (d. 1904), an Oriya scholar remembered for his erudite work on astronomy, *Siddhānta Darpaṇa*, written in Sanskrit.

b. Ramkamal Bhattacharya (d. 1860), a scholar, translated the essays of Bacon into Bengali under the title *Bacon-er Sandarbha* (1861).

b. Sanjib Chandra Chattopadhyay (d. 1889), a writer of Bengali fiction and travelogue entitled *Pālāmau* (1882).

d. Mirza Kak (b. 1749), wrote *vāks* in Kashmiri which were published posthumously in 1960 under the title *Mirza Kak*.

d. William Carey (b. 1761), the distinguished British missionary associated with the Serampore Mission Press and the College of Fort William; translated the Bible into many Indian languages and wrote grammars of several Indian languages.

A Compendium of the Andhra Vyākaranam or a Catechism of Telugu Grammar by William Howell.

Gītāmāhātmya, the poetic work dealing with the significance of the *Gītā* by the Gujarati poet Dayarama.

Qisai Hazrat Sabir (Ms.), a masnavi written in Kashmiri by Maqbul Shah Kralwari (1802–77); [Year of publication not known.]

Uddhava Dūta, a Sanskrit poem on the Krishna-Gopi theme by Raja Vallabha Mitra.

? *Afsāna-e-Mohabbat* (Ms.), Tales in Persian by Mulla Shukri. Buhar collection Ms. no. 428.

Pañcatantra Kathālu by Ravipati Gurumurti Shastri (1770–1837). *Pañcatantra* into colloquial Telugu. It had four editions in 1834, 1848, 1861 and 1869.

Pārasya Itihās, tr. by Nilmani Basak. Bengali. *The Arabian Nights*, (English).

Madras Literary Gazette, Journal of belles-lettres, science and the arts in the English language. Published from Athenaeum Press, Madras.

1835

T.B. Macaulay's Minute on English Education (February 2, 1835). Lord Bentinck accepts the Minute on 7 March. The Council decided that henceforth the available funds should be spent on English education.

Repeal of the Press Act by Charles Metcalfe. It opened the floodgates of printing for "native printers".

Est. Elphinstone Institute, Bombay.

The first English School, the *Gauhati School*, in Assam was established. This came to be known as *Cotton Collegiate School*.

Est. an English School at Puri. The school was closed in 1840 owing to the dearth of students.

Est. Mohammadi Press at Lucknow.

Darjeeling ceded to the British by Sikkim. It slowly becomes an important centre of Nepali literary activity.

1834

The Presbytarian Church of USA establishes first mission in Punjab at Ludhiana (November 5). This mission contributed greatly to the development of the Punjabi language and literature in later half of the ninteenth century.

Establishment of the Basel Mission Press at Mangalore. Dr. Hermann Gundert joined the press in 1838.

b. Adibhatta Narayana Dasu (d. 1945), a noted Telugu Scholar, remembered as the father of *Hari Katha* tradition; translated the Rubbayits of Omar Khayyam into Telugu.

b. Ashob, Piyare Lal (d. 1914), an Urdu prose writer known for his *Qisas-e-Hind*, a detailed account of the customs of Hindus and Muslims, and his *Tārīkh-e-Inglistān* about the social life of the Englishmen.

b. Avishananda (d. 1883), Gujarati poet belonging to the Swaminarayan Sect, who wrote innumerable songs.

b. Biharilal Chakrabarti (d. 1894), exponent of romantic poetry in Bengali. *Sāradāmaṅgal* (1879) is his best known poem.

b. Deputy Chennabasappa (d. 1881), noted for his activities for the promotion of Kannada; translated Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* and *Macbeth*.

b. Gulam Nabi (d. 1929) – a Punjabi poet, wrote a long poem *Kash Kaul Kalandari* in *Sitharfi* genre and short lyrical poems of devotional nature.

b. Jadechi Prata Bala (d. 1917), a poetess who composed devotional *Padas* (songs) in Rajasthani.

b. Jalal, Syed Zamin Ali (d. 1909), an Urdu poet, grammarian and lexicographer.

b. Jivit Singh (d. 1891) a Vedantist poet of Sindh.

b. Kapileshwar Vidyabhushan (d. 1902), an Oriya writer of text books.

b. Karanata Vishvanath (d. 1909), a Maithili poet.

b. Mahamahopadhyay Chandrashekhar Singha Samanta (d. 1904), an Oriya scholar remembered for his erudite work on astronomy, *Siddhānta Darpaṇa*, written in Sanskrit.

b. Ramkamal Bhattacharya (d. 1860), a scholar, translated the essays of Bacon into Bengali under the title *Bacon-er Sandarbha* (1861).

b. Sanjib Chandra Chattopadhyay (d. 1889), a writer of Bengali fiction and travelogue entitled *Pālāmau* (1882).

d. Mirza Kak (b. 1749), wrote *vāks* in Kashmiri which were published posthumously in 1960 under the title *Mirza Kak*.

d. William Carey (b. 1761), the distinguished British missionary associated with the Serampore Mission Press and the College of Fort William; translated the Bible into many Indian languages and wrote grammars of several Indian languages.

A Compendium of the Andhra Vyākaranam or a Catechism of Telugu Grammar by William Howell.

Gītāmāhātmya, the poetic work dealing with the significance of the *Gītā* by the Gujarati poet Dayarama.

Qisai Hazrat Sahir (Ms.), a masnavi written in Kashmiri by Maqbul Shah Kralwari (1802–77); [Year of publication not known.]

Uddhava Dūta, a Sanskrit poem on the Krishna-Gopi theme by Raja Vallabha Mitra.

? *Afsāna-e-Mohabbat* (Ms.), Tales in Persian by Mulla Shukri. Buhar collection Ms. no. 428.

Pañcatantra Kathālu by Ravipati Gurumurti Shastri (1770–1837). *Pañcatantra* into colloquial Telugu. It had four editions in 1834, 1848, 1861 and 1869.

Pārasya Itihās, tr. by Nilmani Basak. Bengali. *The Arabian Nights*, (English).

Madras Literary Gazette, Journal of belles-lettres, science and the arts in the English language. Published from Athenaeum Press, Madras.

1835

T.B. Macaulay's Minute on English Education (February 2, 1835). Lord Bentinck accepts the Minute on 7 March. The Council decided that henceforth the available funds should be spent on English education.

Repeal of the Press Act by Charles Metcalfe. It opened the floodgates of printing for "native printers".

Est. Elphinstone Institute, Bombay.

The first English School, the *Gauhati School*, in Assam was established. This came to be known as *Cotton Collegiate School*.

Est. an English School at Puri. The school was closed in 1840 owing to the dearth of students.

Est. Mohammadi Press at Lucknow.

Darjeeling ceded to the British by Sikkim. It slowly becomes an important centre of Nepali literary activity.

b. Ganga Ram (d. 1907), a noted Punjabi poet, well known for his *Kissā Gopī Cand, Kissā Rājā Bharathri, Kissā Rūp Basant, Kissā Haqiqat Rai.*

b. Girish Chandra Sen (d. 1910), a member of the Brahmo Samaj, a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Islamic theology. First to translate the Quran and to write a biography of Muhammad into Bengali.

b. Hemchandra Barua (d. 1896), a well-known lexicographer whose *Hemkoś* (1900) is an etymological dictionary in Assamese. His other works are *Asamīya Vyākaraṇ* (1859); *Ādipāṭh* (1873); *Kaniyār Kīrtan* (1861); *Bāhire Rañ Cañ Bhitare Koṿabhaturi* (1876); etc. The last two works are social satires. An advocate of widow re-marriage. He also wrote *Assamese Marriage System* in English.

b. Jagmohan Jha (d. 1906), a Maithili prose writer. Author of *Cāru Caryā*, a mythological story.

b. Nandashankar Tulajashankar Mehta (d. 1905), the author of the first Gujarati novel *Karan Ghelo* (1866).

b. Shankarsahay Agnihotri (d. 1910), a noted Hindi poet and critic. Author of *Kavitā Maṇḍal*, a work on *alaṃkāra.*

d. Ghulam Ali 'Mail' (b. 1768), a celebrated poet of Sind who was also famous for his Persian *qasīda*. He had a diwan consisting of about 224 poems.

d. Gokulananda (b. 1780), author of the Maithili play *Māngarita Nāṭak.*

d. Kunankuti Mastan Cakip (Saheb) (b. 1788), a Muslim poet of Tamil Nadu who lived like a *Siddhā*. Has composed several works dealing with the Hindu view of life.

d. Purandasa (b. 1771), a Rajasthani saint poet.

d. Rangin, Saadat Yar Khan (b. 1757) a celebrated Urdu poet of Delhi; author of several diwans and masnavis, including *Majālis-e-Rangīn*, a critical review of the contemporary Urdu poets.

? d. Shah Niyaz Ahmad (b. 1759/60), a Sufi scholar who wrote both in Persian and Urdu. His work *Dīwān-e-Niyāz* in Persian was published around 1834–35 which was also the time of his death.

A Grammar of Scindee Language prepared by James Princep, a British officer.

English-Teloogoo Dictionary, pt. I. prepared by J. C. Morris. Pt. II 1899.

? *Kulliyāt-e-Mīr Ghulam Ali*, Persian works of Mir Ghulam Ali "Ma'il" of Thatta, Sindh (1767/8–1835–6).

Sāhitya Mañjuṣā, a Sanskrit poem on the history of Shivaji and the Bhonsales by Sadaji (b. 1775).

Kuṭumbapravartananīti by Mrs. Farar. A long essay in Marathi on domestic duties; the most important amongst seven books written by her. Based on

"Hints for the Improvement of Early Education and Discipline".

Qut-e-Layamut (Ms.) by Syed Fazl Ali 'Shifai Khan'. A Persian work dealing with drinks and eatables. Aligarh University Ms. no. 14 (Farsi Ulum).

"A Journal of Forty-eight hours of the year 1945", (*The Calcutta Literary Gazette*, 6 June 1835) by Kylash Chunder Dutt. A short story, considered to be the first of Indo-English fiction. It predicts a violent uprising of the Westernized Indian middle-class against the British.

Tarjuman-e-Alif Lailān (Ms.) by Auhad Bin Ahmad Bilgirami. A story written in Persian.

? *Kalkī Purāṇ*, tr. by Ghanasyam Khar Ghariya Phukan. Assamese. *Kalkipurāṇa* (Sanskrit).

Pāṇḍavayasendū Candrikā (or *Ukticandrikā*) (Ms.) adapt. by Svarup Dasa. Rajasthani. From the *Mahābhārata* (Sanskrit). First published in 1852.

Friend of India (1818) converted into a daily.

1836

Est. *Baṅgabhāṣā Prakāśikā Sabhā*; president: Gauri Shankar Tarkabagish. The aim of this organization was to foster the growth of the Bengali language.

Calcutta Public Library formally opened to the public (21 March 1836).

Est. *Mumbai Durabin*, a lithopress in Bombay by Nasarvanaji Temulaji, Durabin, who also started a newspaper of the same name.

Gangadhar Shastri Phadake's Marathi grammer printed on lithopress (1 January).

Two Christian missionaries, Rev. Nathan Brown (1807–86) and Dr. Miles Bronson (1812–83) came to Assam.

b. B. L. Rice (d. 1927) born in Bangalore, later studied in England but came back as the Headmaster of the Central High School, Bangalore, is considered as 'the Father of Kannada inscriptions'; wrote the first history of Kannada literature in English.

b. Chakradhara Singh (d. 1883), an Oriya poet. *Gītamālikā* is his only publication of poems.

b. Eduardo José Bruno de Souza (d. 1905), novelist, and journalist; founder of the first Konkani newspaper *Udentechem Sallok* in Roman script.

b. Fredrick Pincot (d. 1896), a British scholar of Sanskrit and Hindi; edited a magazine *Āini-Saudāgiri* and wrote a biography of Queen Victoria in Hindi.

b. Jagannath Pani (d. 1897), a popular Oriya playwright. Among his important writings are *Dhruba Caritra* and *Labakuśa Yuddha*.

b. Jhaverilal Yajnik (d. 1897), a biographer, and the first translator of Kalidasa's *Śakuntalā* (1867) into Gujarati.

b. Krishnarav Bholanath Divetiya (d. 1912), a Gujarati playwright.

b. Kishan Singh Arif (d. 1900), a Punjabi poet; wrote also in Urdu and Hindi. His writings reflect influence of Vedanta and Sufism. His *Kissā Hīr- Rānjhā* written in folk metre 'Kilian' is famous.

b. Mampalak Kaviccinka Navalar (d. 1884), a famous Tamil poet, patronized by Muthuramalinga Sethupathi of Ramanad. His works include *Devāṅka Purāṇam*, *Palaṇittiruvāyiram*, *Geethamrutha Sākaram*.

b. Muhammad Fadil Shah (d. 1900), a Sindhi poet and critic; introduced chronograms based on the *Abjad* system.

b. Navalaram Lakshiram Pandya (d. 1888), a Gujarati poet, playwright, journalist and social reformer and one of the finest critics in Gujarati.

b. Nazir Ahmed (d. 1912), one of the makers of Urdu novel. Author of the novels *Mirat-ul-Urūs* (1869) and *Taubat-un-Nasuh* (1879); also wrote several theological works.

b. Omesh Chunder Dutt (d. 1912), a poet belonging to Dutt family; wrote in English.

? b. Phaturi Lal Jha (d. 1895), a Maithili poet remembered for his descriptive poem *Akāli Kavitā* written on the occasion of the famine of 1874 (1881 Fasli era).

b. Ca. Poonampalam Pillai (d. 1902), a Tamil scholar; has written commentaries on *Villiputtūrār Pāratam* and *Mayūrakirip Purāṇam*. He edited works like *Raghuvamśam*, *Tirukketicura Makimai*, etc.

b. Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa (d. 1886), a saint who made tremendous impact on the religious life of India. His conversations collected in *Rām Kṛṣna Kathāmṛta* (1902–32) is considered a classic in Bengali literature.

b. Roshan Din Roshan (d. 1922), a Punjabi poet known for the poem *Kissā-Dilkhurshid*.

d. Enugula Virasvamayya (b. 1786). Author of *Kāśīyātrā Caritra* (1830–31), the earliest travelogue in Telugu.

d. Ghulam Ali (b. 1750), a Vedantist/*Jñān-mārgī* poet of Sindh.

d. Muttappa Chettiyar (b. 1760), a noted Tamil poet. *Ceyaṅkoṇṭār Catakam* and *Ceyaṅkoṇṭa Coḷiccar Piḷḷaittamil* are his noted poems. His *Ceṭṭimār Varalāṟu*, a short history of the Cettiyars of Tamil Nadu, is a very useful prose work.

Makhzan-ul-Fawaid by Shaikh Hafizuddin Siddiqi of Burdwan. An Encyclopaedia in Persian.

Marāṭhī Bhāṣece Vyākaraṇ by Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadakar. The author known as the Panini of Marathi' took English rather than Sanskrit as his model. This is a description of the Pune dialect, which he considered to be the standard Marathi.

Paṇḍitī Vyākaraṇ (Ms.), first grammar of Marathi. Hand-written copies were used by school teachers all over Maharashtra.

Telugu Vyākaranamu by Ravipati Gurumurti Shastri. A grammar of classical Telugu.

Bāsabdattā, a book of verse in Bengali in the style of medieval Bengali poetry by Madanmohan Tarkalankar.

Gulzāre Naśīhat Nāne Naśīhatand Bāg, a collection of poems in the Parsi dialect of Gujarati, by Nasharavanaji Tehamulaji.

Jāme-ut-Tārīkh by Qazi Faqir Mohammed (1774–1844), a history of the world in Persian published from Calcutta. It had several editions from Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow

Pākaśāstramu by Sarasvatibai. A book on Indian cookery, an example of Telugu prose being utilised for subjects other than literary. Translated into English by Venkata Ramasvami Kavali under the little *Modern Culinary Recipes of the Hindus.*

Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce.

Delhi Urdū Akhbār, the first Urdu newspaper in Delhi.

1837

Est. *Agra School Book Society*, Agra. Although started sometimes before 1835, it started functioning around 1837. 1st Secretary: John James Moore.

Est. *Cuttack Mission Press* by the Christian Missionaries; Mr. Amos Sutton was its first manager.

The Native Education Society renamed as *The Elphinston Native Education Society.*

English classes were attached to Poona College. Major Candy became the chief of Pune Pathasala.

Est. an English school at Trivandrum under the Government of Travancore by Shri Svatitirunal Maharaja.

b. Chandramani Das (d. 1891), author of the Oriya book of verse, *Sudhāsāragīta.*

b. Gunabhiram Barua (d. 1894), an Assamese playwright, biographer, and historian. Advocated widow re-marriage through his drama *Rām Navamī* (1857). Wrote an elaborate biography of Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan in 1880. His another important contribution is *Asom Burañjī* (1884).

b. Hali, Altaf Husain, Khawja, (d. 1914 December), a noted Urdu poet as well as a prose writer. Closely associated with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–98). He wrote several *masnavis*. He is also one of the conscious artist of the genre of biography. Some have described him as "the poet of the Islamic Renaissance in India."

b. Jagamohan Lala (d. 1893), author of the first Oriya drama *Bābāji Nāṭaka* (1877).

b. Kanchipuram Sabapathy Mudaliyar (d. 1898). A scholar and professor of Tamil in Pachaiyappa's College. Wrote *Tirukkalukkunrac Cileṭai*, a poem and a commentary on *Nītineṟi Viḷakkam*.

b. Krishna Chandra Majumdar (d. 1906), Bengali poet; translated Persian sufi poetry into Bengali; author of *Sadbhāb Śatak* (1861).

b. Kuttamattu Cheriya Ramakkurap (d. 1905), Malayalam poet; author of three *āṭṭakkathas* and three *tuḷḷal* poems.

b. Navinchandra Ray (d. 1890), one of the pioneers of modern Hindi prose. A member of the Brahmo Samaj; wrote extensively on socio-political and religious topics.

b. Nobokissen Ghose (d. 1918) *Pseud.* Ram Sharma. A prolific versifier in English; his long poems such as *Shivaratri* and *Bhagavat-Gita* (1903) are full of allusions to Indian thought and legends.

b. Muttakoyittampuran Rajaraja Varma (d. 1913), Malayalam poet and commentator.

b. Ranachodabhai Udayaram Dave (d. 1923), a noted Gujarati playwright, whose play *Hariś Candra* made a lasting impression on Mahatma Gandhi

b. Rustam Gustasp Irani (d 1892), a prolific writer, a Parsi-Gujarati poet and dramatist.

d. Khadgapani Haridas (b. 1795), a Maithili poet; composed many *Caitābar* and *Horī*—traditional songs celebrating seasons.

b. Kalanatha (b. 1790), a Maithili poet, composed many *Maheśa Vāṇī* and *Śivapada*, songs in honour of the Lord Shiva.

d. Ravipati Gurumurti Shastri (b. 1770), A teacher of Telugu at the College of Fort St George. Author of two popular books of tales, *Vikramārkuni Kathalu* (1819) and *Pañcatantra Kathalu* (1834).

d. Tarini Charan Mitra (b. 1772?), a pandit in the Hindustani Department at the College of Fort William; proficient in Urdu and Bengali.

Rasāyanaśāstraviṣayak Saṃvād by Hari Kesavaji, a Marathi work on Chemistry based on Mrs. Marsett's *Conversations on Chemistry*.

Nazm-e-Mubarak by Rashk, Mir Ali Ausat (1799–1867) Ist Diwan compiled in 1837. *Nazm-e-Gramt*, IInd Diwan, compiled in 1845. Both published in 1847 from Lucknow under the supervision of the author.

Siddhānta Śiromaṇi by Allada Ramachandra Shastri. A work on astronomy, written in simple Telugu prose.

Swāneh-e-Mumtaz by Mohammed Khairuddin Hasan (1780–1840). A Persian work containing the accounts of the turbulent period in South India during the late eighteenth century. An authentic source for the political and social history of Karnataka. The work was written in 1837 though published in 1961 by the Government of Madras.

Nītidarpaṇ by Vishnushastri Bapat. A collection of didactic stories in Marathi.

Rāmāyaṇa by Giridhara. An adaptation of the Sanskrit original. One of the noted Gujarati works.

Boletim do Governo do Estado de Iṇdia in Portuguese. A Government official gazette. Renamed *Boletim Official* in 1839.

Sai-Yadul-Akhbar (weekly) Delhi. First editor Syed Mohammad Khan (died 1845), brother of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; second editor Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, continued till 1849 A.D

1838

Robert Caldwell (1814–1891), arrives in India. Robert Caldwell started learning Tamil, Malayalam and other South Indian languages after his arrival in India. He wrote the *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Language* (1856), a milestone in the history Tamil studies. *Bharatakanta Puratanam* is another, though less known, important work of Bishop Caldwell.

The Farazi Movement (1838–48) starts.

b. Amir Shah Kreri (d 1890), a major Kashmiri poet, who wrote *nats* (eulogiums), *masnavis* and *manajat*. Among his *masnavis* are: *Zafar Nāmā*, *Sām Nāmā* (a translation of Firdausi's book of the same name) and *Jangi Khāwār* (incomplete).

b. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (d. 1894), a Bengali novelist and essayist the founder-editor of the journal *Baṅgadarśan* (1872). His first novel *Rajmohan's Wife* (1864) was written in English. But *Durgeśnandinī* (1865), his first Bengali novel, established himself as a novelist of repute. Among his well known works are *Kṛṣṇakānter uil* (1878), *Ānanda Maṭh* (1882), which contains the song 'Vandemātaram', and Kamalākānter Daptar (1875). His *Kṛṣṇa caritra* (1886), and *Dharma Tattva* (1888) are two erudite treatises. He was translated into many Indian languages.

b. Dattadev Goswami (d. 1904), an Assamese writer of puranic narratives. Among his works are *Dakṣa Yajña* (1870?) and *Dhruba Caritra* (1833).

b. Gaurishankar Ray (d. 1917), brother of Ramashankar Ray, the pioneer novelist and dramatist of Orissa; organized a mass movement against the attempts of imposing Bengali in Oriya schools; edited *Utkal Dīpikā*.

b. Gobinda Chandra Ray (d. 1917), a Bengali poet, specially known for his patriotic poems.

b. Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay (d. 1903), a major Bengali poet, known specially for his patriotic poems and the epic *Bṛtra Saṃhār* (1875), vol. II, (1877).

b. Hidayatula (d. 1929), a Punjabi poet. He wrote long poems in 'Siharfi' and 'Baramaha' genres. The main theme of his poetry is sufi mysticism.

b. Jyotishi Vishveshvara (d. 1926), Sanskrit, Hindi and Dogri scholar, author of *Śrī Raṇavīra Vijaya* in Sanskrit and a number of books in Hindi-mixed Dogri

(like *Vyavahāra Gītā*) and translator of the Sanskrit text *Līlāvatī*.
b. Keshab Chandra Sen (d. 1884), an important leader of the Brahmo Samaj, founder of *Bhāratharṣīya Brāhma Samāj*; writer of religious prose.

b. (Mahamahopadhyay) Shrikrishna Singha Thakur (d. 1898), a Maithili prose writer. Author of *Candra Prabhā*, a collection of fables.

b. Surendranath Majumdar (d. 1878), a Bengali lyric poet. His best known poem *Mahilā* (written in 1871) was published posthumously in 1880.

b. Tajwar Shirin, Shahjahan Begam Nawab, Bhopal (d. 1901), an Urdu poetess.

d. Bhai Sukha Singh (b. 1768), has written biographical accounts of the Gurus in Punjabi. His *Gurvilās* is one of the earliest accounts of Guru Gobind Singh's life. He wrote in Braj Bhasha with a sprinkling of Punjabi words and phrases.

d. Maharana Jawan Singh of Mewar (b. 1800), a Rajasthani poet of erotic and devotional verses. A collection of his poems published in 1966.

d. Nasikh, Shaikh Imam Bakhsh (b. 1771), a noted ghazal-poet wrote three Urdu diwans; belonged originally to Faizabad but educated, worked and died in Lucknow. One of the greatest of the Lucknow School.

d. Nasir, Nasiruddin Syed, Shah *alias* Kallu (b. 1760?), Delhi. He gave a new impulse to Urdu poetry, particularly at Hyderabad.

(Aintilakkaṇat) Toṉṉūl Viḷakkam by Vīrama Munivar (1680–1746) ed. by Vedagiri Mudaliyar. A Tamil grammar by Father Beschi on the fivefold divisions, namely, phonology, syntax, poetics, prosody and rhetoric.

? *Jas Ratnākar* (Ms.), a long narrative poem in Rajasthani in honour of Maharaja Ratna Singh of Bikanir. *Anon.*

? *Ratan-Vilās* (or *Gayāprakās*) (Ms.), a poem in Rajasthani commemorating Maharaja Ratna Singh's pilgrimage to Gaya (1836–37), by Vithu Bhomau.

Utsava Prabandha, the major literary work of Shri Svatitirunnal Maharaja in traditional Sanskrit style. This is a devotional poem on the festival at Shri Padmanabhasvami temple at Trivandrum.

Burañjī Bibek Ratna, social and cultural history of Kamrup District of Assam. (Only second part of this book has been discovered so far) by Moniram Barua Dewan.

Jagannāthadhāmaku Tīrthayātrī hoi āsibāre adbhuta Subidhā, (The wonderful advantage of a pilgrimage to Jagannath), an Oriya tract on Christianity published by the Orissa Mission Press.

Kāśī Yātrā Caritra, the earliest travelogue in Telugu comprising letters and diary of Enugula Veeraswamyya (1780–1836), published by K. Srinivasa Pillai.

Sat o Asat Jagannātha, a Christian tract in Oriya against the worship of Jagannatha published by the Baptist Mission Press. Calcutta.

Vāṭasarācī Goṣṭa by Ragho Narayan Devale. A Marathi work exposing the contemporary social evils through stories.

Ārabya Itihās Sangraha, vol. I. tr. by Anon. Bengali. *The Arabian Nights* (English).

Būstān-e-Hikmat, tr. by Goya, Faqir Mohammad Khan. Urdu. *Anwar-Sohaili* (Persian).

Tuti Nāmāh tr. by Nasiri Mohsin Abdul Hamid. Persian. *Śuka-Saptati* (Sanskrit).

Vṛttantini, a Telugu weekly from Madras ed. by Mandıgala Venkataraya Shastri. No copies are located as yet, although there are substantial references to it.

1839

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

A branch of the *Basel Mission* is established at Tellichere in North kerala by Herman Gundert (1814–93) which played an important role in the modernisation of Malayalam.

Est. *Tattva Bodhinī Sabhā* in Calcutta with the object of promoting religious and disseminating the knowledge of the Upanishads. Devendranath Thakur was its chief patron.
Est. the first printing press under the Government of Travancore at Trivandrum by Shri Svatitirunnal Maharaja.

Oriya introduced in courts in place of Persian with effect from January 1, 1839.

b. Meeran Shah Syyad (d. 1925), a Punjabi poet who wrote long narrative poems in 'Kissā' genre and short devotional lyrics of sufi sensibility.

b. Shams Faqir (d. 1903), a Kashmiri sufi poet. His real name was Mohd. Siddique Bhat. Wrote *ghazals* and *nazm* of which only 60 are available. His poems were printed in the twentieth century.

b. Zaki, Syed Zakariya Khan of Delhi (d. 1903), a scholar of Urdu, Persian and Arabic, a pupil of Ghalib, a master of prosody, regarded as one of the able exponents of the old school of poetry.

d. Nadiminti Sarvamangaleswara (b. 1759), an eminant Scholar and writer of Telugu at the Court of Vijayanagaram estate.

d. Parasramji (b. 1767), a Rajasthani saint poet.

d. Ramnidhi Gupta (b. 1742), a popular poet of Bengal, who introduced *Ṭappa* songs into Bengali.

Asamīyā Abhidhān (Ms.) by Yaduram Deka Phukan. The manuscript was never published. It was used by Dr. M. Bronson while compiling his own dictionary.

"*Essays on the Language and Literature of the Telugus*" by C. P. Brown, published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, (1839 July).

A Grammar of the Assamese Language. The first grammar of the Assamese language by William Robinson.

Kṛpārṇava (Ms.), an anthology of poems of the saint-poets of Rajasthan, by Champaramji.

Rasikprakāś Bhaktamālā, biographies of saints written in Hindi verse by Jivaram Yugalpriya.

School Hours or *Poems Composed at School*, a collection of poems in English by Gooru Churun Dutt.

Bahār-e-Danish, tr. by Mirza Md. Ismail Tapish. Urdu. Persian tales of Inayat Allah.

Tārīkh-e-Rasselas Prince of Abyssinia, tr. by Syed Kamaluddin Hyder *alias* Muhammad Mir. Urdu. Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* (English).

1840

The Elphinston Native Education Society was transformed into the Board of Education.

One middle English school is established at Cuttack .

b. Abdul Ahad Nadim (d. 1911), topmost *nat* writer of Kashmir. His works *Nadim* (a collection of *nats*), *Shamāili Sharīf* (also *nats*) including his complete works *Kuliyati Nadim* were published in this century.

b. Dandapani Swamigal (d. 1899) a celebrated Tamil prosodist who wrote several works in *antati malai, Catakam* and *Kovai* forms; also wrote *Pulavar Purāṇam*, a biography of Tamil poets in verse.

b. Dvijendra Nath Thakur (d. 1926), a Bengali writer of philosophical essays, known for his long allegorical narrative poem *Svapna Prayān* (1875).

b. Guman Singh (d. 1914), a *bhakta* poet of Rajasthan.

b. Haji Khanan Chinjini (d. 1915), a Sindhi poet belonging to the folk tradition.

b. Kaliprasanna Singha (d. 1870), a social reformer and promoter of literary activities; he translated the *Mahābhārata* in Bengali prose; wrote satirical sketches in colloquial Bengali.

b. Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya (d. 1932), a Bengali intellectual; translated from French and wrote a historical romance.

b. Manasukharam Suryaram Tripathi (d. 1907), one of the founders of the *Forbes Gujarati Sabha* in Bombay; author of a few biographies and religious works.

b. Murugadasa Swamigal (d. 1899). One of the great traditional Tamil poets. He

composed poems with innovated metres that could be set to music. So he was called 'Vannac Cavapam Dhandapāni Swamikar'.

b. Pratap Chunder Majumdar (d. 1905), a Brahmo leader and essayist in English.

b. Ravinath Jha (d. 1899), author of the Maithili poem *Durbhikṣā Varṇaṇa* (1876), a description of the famine.

b. Saqib, Nawab Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan of Loharu (d. 1869), son of Rakhshan and elder brother of Talib, an Urdu poet.

b. Saurindra Mohan Tagore (d. 1914), author of many collections of poems and songs in English.

b. Sisir Kumar Ghosh (d. 1911), a prose write and biographer, wrote both in Bengali and English; editor of *Amrit Bazar Patrika* which started as a Bengali weekly (1868) and later changed into an English weekly (1878 March) and finally an English daily (February 1891).

b. Vinayak Kondadev Oka (1914), author of many biographies and historical essays in Marathi. Also wrote the novel *Shirastedar* (1881). His *Mahārāṣtra Vāṅgmay* (1906) is a brief survey of Marathi Literature.

d. Adhama Kavi (b. between 1780 and 1790), a Maithili poet known for his musical work *Girijā Sambar* and *Viṣṇupada*.

? d. Adho Kisano II (b. 1785?), composed historical poems and wrote a book on Rajasthani prosody.

d. Lakkhu (b. ? 1775–80), a Dogri poet who also wrote in Braj.

d. Muthuswamy Pillai (b. ?), a scholar of Tamil, English, Latin, Telugu and Sanskrit. Wrote a biography of Viramamunivar (1822); was associated with the College of Fort St. George.

d. Rind, Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan of Rampur (b. 1787), an Urdu poet.

A Grammar of the Telugu Language by Charles Philip Brown (1798–1884)

Nafsul-Lughat by Rashk, Mir Ali Ausat. An Urdu lexicon. Only a part of it was printed.

? *Gham-o-Ishrat* by Amir Chand. A Persian masnavi on the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who died in 1839 and the accession of his son Kharaj Singh.

The first *Mandos* composed in Konkani. Mando is dance song, a blend of Western music and Konkani words, sung to the accompaniment of violin and *ghumotti*. It consists of two parts: Mando-slow and Dulpod-quick.

Sassi-wa-Punnun (Ms.) by Pir Farah Bakhsh 'Farhat' (1772–1840), a Persian Masnavi based on a love story of Sindh.

Kishun Koovur, a tragedy in five acts in English by Soobrow (The Diwan to the Rajah of Travancore) published from Trivandrum, Government Press.

Aesop's Fables tr. by Eliot Walter. Kannada. From English.

Arebiyan Ratrulu. tr. by Ramakrishan Sastrulu. Telugu. *Arabian Nights* (English).

Gītagovinda, Mitralābha and *Batris Sinhāsana* tr. in Oriya. Published by the Cuttack Mission Press.

Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa Vacanamu tr. by Paidi Pati Papayya. Telugu. Gona Buddha Reddi's *Dvipada Rāmāyaṇa* (Sanskrit).

Śukasaptati Kathalu tr. by Paturi Ramasvami Shastri. Telugu. Along with the Sanskrit original. Shastri was a Telugu Munshi at the Fort St. George College.

Bengal Government Gazette, ed. J. C. Marshman.

Akhbār-e-Delhi weekly. Continued from May 10, 1840 to July 12, 1857. Later renamed as *Akhbaruz-Zafar* In the last days it was edited by Azad, Mohammad Husain.

Digdarśan, the first magazine in Marathi, started by Balashastri Jambhekar, who was also the founder of the first Marathi newspaper. The title was inspired by the Bengali magazine of the same name (1818).

Mumbai Akhbār started from 4th July, a shortlived Marathi weekly.

United Service Gazette, an English weekly from Bombay.

1841

b. Ashiq Trali (d. 1907), real name, Aliganai. A renowned Kashmiri poet who wrote several *masnavis* (*Gulzār-i-Husn, Ibrat Nāmā, Nūr-e-Māl*) besides *ghazals* and *nazm*. Dates of their composition are not known. He was the teacher of Mahjur.

b. Harinandana Das (d. 1923), author of the Maithili *Khaṇḍa Kāvya Sudāmā Carita*.

b. Kali Prasanna Ghosh (d. 1910), a Bengali essayist and prose writer, editor of a literary journal *Bāndhab* (1874).

b. Khwaja Gulam Farid (d. 1901), a distinguished sufi poet. He has written many devotional poems in Punjabi.

b. Lachiram Bhatta (d. 1902), a noted poet in Braj.

b. Natuvatt Acchan Nambudiri (d. 1912), a Malayalam poet of the Venmani School. He wrote a play entitled *Bhāgavad dutu*.

b. Pettayil Raman Pilla Asan (d. 1937), a Malayalam poet and journalist. Editor of the monthly magazine *Malayali* (1885) and also of *Kathāvādini* (1886). Wrote several *āṭṭakkathās* and *kiḷipāṭṭu*.

b. Vayaskara Aryan Narayanan Mussatu (d. 1902), a Malayalam poet and scholar and a famous physician. Author of a very popular āṭṭakathā *Duryodhana Vadham* (1872).

d. Bhai Dalpatram Dalpat (b. 1769), a Sufi poet of Shewan, served as a *Kardar* under the Talpurs. Wrote in Sindhi and Persian. His *Jang Namah*, on the martyrdom of Inayat Shah, is a noted Persian work. Dalpatrai was strongly influenced by the Nirguna Bhakti tradition of Hindi literature.

d. Devachandra (b. 1770), a Jain poet of Karnataka who was in the court of Mysore Kings in the later part of the 18th century and in the early part of the 19th. Author of *Rāmakathāvatār*, based on Jain Rāmāyaṇa, and *Rājakathāvali*, a history of the Jain Kings.

d. Gyansar (b. 1744), a Rajasthani Jain poet.

Oḍiyā Bhāṣārthabhidhāna (Part I), Oriya dictionary prepared by A. Sutton and Bhubanananda Nyayalamkar, Orissa Mission Press. Part II, 1843.

Dīwān-e-Ghalib, The first edition of Ghalib's Urdu *Dīwān*.

Gyānasār Granthāvalī (Ms.), collected poems of Gyanasar in Rajasthani. The preparation of this Ms. took about forty years (1801–41). First published in 1953, Calcutta.

Masnavī-e-Sohni Mahiwāl, a masnavi on the popular story of Sohni and Mahiwal, in Persian by Saleh.

Vijayavilāsa Vacanamu by Paturi Ranga Shastrulu (a Telugu Munshi in the Fort St. George College). A prose rendering of the famous Telugu poetical classic *Vijayavilāsam* of Chemakuru Venkata Kavi (17th century).

Baitāl Paccisī, tr. by Maharaja Madhu Kishan. Persian. From Sanskrit. (Ms. in the Patna University Library).

Yātrikakraman, tr. Anon. Marathi. John Bunyon's *The Pilgrims Progress* (English).

Prabhākar, a Marathi newspaper started from 24 October and continued till 1862. ed. by Bhau Mahajan.

Sirājul-Akhbar (Delhi), a newspaper in the Persian language published from the Rala-e-Mualla of Delhi on each Sunday.

Utayatārakai ed. by Henry Morley and Seth Payson. Tamil fortnightly journal. In 1930 it became a weekly. Articles appeared both in English and Tamil.

1842

Pustaka Prasāraka Maṇḍalī was founded by Durgaram Mahetaji, Dalpataram and others for arousing popular interest in books.

A Theatre Hall was built in Bombay at Grant Road.

b. Bhuban Chandra Mukhopadhyay (d. 1916), a Bengali fiction writer. Wrote detective novels also.

b. Harihar Das (d. 1873–4), an Oriya poet; founder of a Sanskrit school at Puri.

b. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai. (d. 1929). One of the earliest historians of Tamil literature.

b. Kekhusharu Navaroji Kabaraji (d. 1904), A Parsi-Gujarati playwright.

b. Kokkonda Venkataratnam (d. 1915), a noted scholar of Sanskrit and Telugu. Author of many works including the incomplete *Mahāsveta* (according to some scholar the first Telugu novel). edited *Andhra Bhāṣā Sanjivani* (1871–91). Known as *Andhra Johnson*.

b. Lutf Allah Akhund (d. 1902), a Sindhi writer, author of *Gul Khandān*, an adaptation from the Urdu work *Fasāna-i-Ajāib*.

b. Nidhirikkhal Manikkattanar (d. 1904), Malayalam prose writer; translated the Bible.

b. Satyendra Nath Thakur (Tagore) (d. 1923), first Indian member of the I. C. S. Wrote number of essays and songs; translated *Meghadūtam* from the Sanskrit and adapted Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* into Bengali.

b. Tomas Mourao Barao de Cumbarjua (d. 1904), a scholar and promoter of Konkani as medium of primary education. Author of the first known Konkani primer: *Konkani Poili Potti* (1896).

b. Vaidhiyalingam Pillai (d. 1900), a great scholar of Tamil and Sanskrit. Edited *Cūṭamaṇi nihaṇtu* (1875) and *Civarāthiripurāṇam* (1881). Also edited and published a journal called *Saivapimāṇi*.

b. Wahab Khar (d. 1914), a renowned Kashmiri poet who composed *ghazals* and *nazm* in the sufian style, besides writing two *masnavis*: *Manch Tulir*, *Qisai Sheikh Sanan*. Among his other works are: *Bayazi Wahab Khār* (a collection of poems), *Guzliyati Wahab Khār*. Dates of composition not known.

d. Kantap Pillai (b. 1766), a scholar in Tamil, English, Portuguese and Dutch. Has written many dramatic works in Tamil. Some of the important dramas are: *Irama Vilācam*, *Erotu Nāṭkam*, *Cantirakāca nāṭakam* and *Irattinavalli Vilācam*.

d. Macchattu Narayanan Ilayatu (b. 1765), author of a number of extremely popular songs in Malayalam.

The Manual Dictionary of the Tamil Language in 4 Vols. by Chandrasekhar

Pantitar; ed. by Rev. Levi Spaulding. Also known as "Jaffna Dictionary". The first and comprehensive Tamil dictionary with 58,500 entries.

Haṃsa Viṃśati by Dhurjati Lakshmipati. A prose rendering of the Telugu poetical work *Haṃsaviṃśati* of Narayana Kavi (18th century).

Jilla-ui-Qulub Bi-Zikril-Mahbub, the life of the Prophet of Islam in Urdu by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

Fasāna-i-Ajāeb by Sarur, Mirza-Rajab Ali Beg (d. 1867), a tale generally known as *dāstān*, in Urdu. According to Ram Babu Saxena it was published in 1824.

Kīra Bahattari or Totīnāmā or Ciluka Kathālu, stories of *Śukasaptati*, written in spoken Telugu by an anonymous author.

Calcutta Literary Gleaner, an English monthly printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Jñānasindhu, a Marathi paper published from Bombay. ed. by Vireshvar Sadashiv Chatre.

Vartamāna Taraṅginī, a well-known Telugu weekly from Madras. Puvvada, Venkata Rao edited till 1858 when it stopped publication.

1843

Sindh annexed to the British India.

Advent of the Marathi stage under the sponsorship of the Sangli State. First play presented by Vishnudas Bhave was *Sītāsvayamvar*.

Est. Vernacular Translation Society (Delhi) under the patronage of Delhi College.

Est. *Afzal-ul-Matabe*, a printing press at Lucknow.

b. Balavant Pandurang (Annasaheb Kirloskar) (d. 1885), a noted Marathi playwright. Established Kirloskar Natak Mandali, a professional drama troupe.

b. Basavappa Shastri (d. 1891), a noted Kannada poet who translated *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* as well as *Uttararāma Carita*, *Vikaramorvaśīya*, *Mālati Mādhava* etc. into Kannada. Was called 'Abhinav Kalidāsa'. Also translated Shakespeare's *Othello* as *Surasena Caritra* (1895). *Sāvitrī Caritre*, *Damayantī Svayamvaram* etc. are some of his original works.

b. Fakirmohan Senapati (d. 1918), the most well-known Oriya novelist and one of the outstanding figures of modern Indian fiction. A versatile writer, poet and translator. His best known work is the novel *Cha Māṇa Āṭha Guṇṭha* (1897).

b. Panappakam Ananta Charyulu (d. 1909), a Telugu essayist and critic; founded a literary journal *Vaijayanti* (1894).

b. Ramachandra Bhikaji Gunjikar (d. 1901), a Marathi writer. His books include—*Mocanagad* (1871), a historical novel, *Abhijñānaśakuntalā* (1870) and *Romaketuvijaya*, (1872)and a translation of *Romeo and Juliet*.

b. Taraknath Gangopadhyay (d. 1891), a Bengali fiction writer, specially known for his novel *Svarṇalatā* (1874).

d. Bapusaheb Gayakavada (b. 1777), a Maharashtrian who wrote many religious poems in Gujarati.

d. Bhai Santokh Singh (b. 1788), a noted Punjabi writer; has written biographical accounts of the Sikh Gurus in Braj. *Gurū Nānak Prakāś* and *Gurpratāp Sūraj* are his famous works. His other important works include *Amar Kosh Atma Purān* and *Balmik Rāmāyana* (a translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Valmiki).

d. Maharaja Mansingh (of Jodhpur) (b. 1783), a noted Rajasthani poet. His collections of songs, such as *Śṛṅgāra pada*, *Nātha pada*, and works on Nath-Cult e. g. *Māna-Paṇḍita Samvāda*, *Nātha Varṇan Grantha* etc. are available. These were composed between 1811 and 1843.

d. Opo Adho (b. 1752 ?), a Rajasthani poet noted for his 'dingal' songs.

d. Prabhakar (b. ?), Marathi Shahir poet; composed *Lavanis* and *Povadas*, depicting the glorious Peshwa rule and the changed situation during the British rule.

Tarjumā-e-Hadaeo-ul Balaghāt, an Urdu work on prosody by Sahbai, Imam Bakhsh.

Tiruṭṭānta Caṅkirakam by Peter Percival. A collection of 2000 Tamil proverbs, along with their English equivalents.

Kṛṣṇa-Vilāsa, (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem based on the tenth canto of the *Bhāgavata*, by Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur. First published in 1922. Composed between 1820 and 1843.

Kulliyāt-e-Nasikh, collection of poems of Nasikh, a noted Urdu poet. Compiled by Rashk, Mir Ali Ausat, Matba-e-Muhammadi, Lucknow.

Gurpratāp Sūraj by Giani Santokh Singh. Hagiographical account of the Sikh Gurus, composed in Punjabi verse.

Dilārāma Kathā, anonymous. A story of love between the daughter of a Delhi-Sultan and a prince of Amaravati written in Telugu.

Nītikathā, a collection of moral tales in Oriya written by A. Sutton.

Crescent, an English weekly, founded by G.L.N. Chetty in Madras. ed. by Harley.

Mangaluru Samācāra, the first newspaper in Kannada.

Oriental Magazine, an English monthly published from Lal Bazar Press, Calcutta.

Tattvabodhinī Patrīka, a Bengali monthly magazine ed. by Akshay Kumar Datta. An organ of the Brahmo Samaj and of its education branch *Tattvabodhinī Sabhā*.

1844

Est. *Mānavadharma Sabhā* at Surat under the guidance of Durgaram Mehtaji with a view to inculcating a rational attitude towards men and society. Its organization *Pustaka Prasāraka Maṇḍali* tried to popularize good works of literature. The Sabha propagated the ideas of unity and equality of mankind. *Paramahamsasabhā* (1848) and *Prārthanāsamāj* (1867) emerged from this institution.

Mir Hasam Press in Lucknow.

b. Ambalal Sakarlal Desai (d. 1914), known for his role in the establishment of *Jñānvardhak Sabhā*; President of the *Gujarat Vernacular Society*, and established *Gujarāt Kelavni Maṇḍal*. His *Śāntidās* (1900) is considered to be the first original short story in Gujarati.

b. Balkrishna Bhatt (d. 1914), one of the pioneers of modern Hindi prose; a noted journalist, editor of *Hindī Pradīp* (1876) and a critic.

b. Bhagirathi Sathia (d. 1922), author of *Bhakti Saṅgīta* (1902), a collection of devotional poems in Oriya.

b. Chandra Nath Basu (d. 1910), a Bengali prose writer and critic.

b. Chiragh Ali, Maulvi, Nawab Azam Yar Jung Bahadur Meerut (d. 1895), a scholar and administrator, wrote both in Urdu and in English; author of several polemical religious tracts mostly directed against the Christian missionaries.

b. Girish Chandra Ghosh (d. 1911), the most well-known Bengali playwright and a great actor; wrote about eighty plays; was associated with the public theatre in Bengal almost from its start in December 1872.

b. Haragovindadas Dvarakadas Kamtavala (d. 1931), a scholar and editor who brought out a series called *Prācīn Kāvyamālā*, collections of old and medieval Gujarati poems.

b. Ismail Merathi, Maulvi Muhammad Ismail of Meerut (d. November 1917), a well-known text-book writer in Urdu; wrote a few poems in blank verse; known for his writings for children.

b. Jose Gerson de Cunha (d. 1900), a Konkani scholar.

b. Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani (d. 1916), a prose writer in Sindhi.

b. Na. Katiraiver Pillai (d. 1907), a Tamil scholar; wrote commentaries on several works like *Kūrmapurāṇam, Paḷaṉit Talapurānam* etc. His best contribution is the dictionary, *Tamiḻ Perakarāti.*

b. Pundi Aranganatha Mudaliyar (d. 1893). A Tamil scholar and a poet; has written a poem called *Kaccikkalampakam* consisting of one hundred stanzas in praise of the greatness of the place Kanchipuram.

b. Sabhapati Navalar (d. 1903), a Tamil writer; wrote *Tirāviṭappira Kācikal* (1899), an account of the lives and works of great Tamil poets.

b. Subhadra (d. 1921), also known as Ikkau Amma, Tampurana, a poetess born in Cochin royal family; wrote in Sanskrit; *Saubhadra Stava* and *Bhāgavatyaṣṭaka*, are her major works.

b. M. Venkata Krishnaiah (d. 1932), a Kannada novelist noted for the detective novel *Coragrahanatantra* (1897), and *Parantapa Vijaya*, an adaptation from the Sanskrit. He edited the Kannada journal *Vṛttānta Cintāmani* (1885). Known as the father of Kannada journalism.

b. Venmani Mahan Nambutirippadu (d. 1892), (son of Venmani Acchan) renowned Malayalam poet of the Venmani school. Wrote more than twenty poetical works noted for their descriptive power and humour. Most famous of his works is *Pūraprabandham* His songs are very popular and often used in *Kaikottikkali*, a folk dance. He dealt with puranic as well as contemporary themes though his forms are traditional, namely, āṭṭakkatha, pāṭṭu, etc.

d. Parasaram (b. ?), Marathi Shahir poet. Composed Lavanis; his early poems are about the happiness of Maratha Rule and the later poems about sorrows caused foreign rule.

d. Viprakavi Bhismana (b. 1791), a Maithili poet known for his religious songs and marriage-songs.

Gulzār-e-Nasīm (Masnavi) or *Qissā-e-Gul-Bakā-Walī* by Nasim, Daya-Shankar Kaul written in 1838. Printed in 1844.

Intakhab-e-Dawanwin-e-Sho-Ara-e-Urdū by Imam Bakhsh Sahbai. Selections from the ghazals of contemporary poets compiled in 1842. Published by the Delhi Translation Society.

Khamsā by Mir Subedar Khan (1802–1845), a collection of five masnavis in Persian.

Neminātha Śaloko, a Gujarati work in praise of Neminath, by a Jaina poet Devachand.

Asam Buraṇjīr Puthi, a work covering the history of Assam from the ancient times to the commencement of British rule, by Kasinath Tamuli Phukan and Radha Nath Barbarua.

Sarud-e-Khusravi (Ms.) by Munshi Ghulam Husain Khan 'Kaukab'. A Persian prose version of Nizami's *Khusrau Shirin*.

The Calcutta Review, a quarterly in English published from Calcutta. First editor Alexander Duff, though Sir John Kaye was its 'actual founder'. First series: 1844–1912; second series: 1913–1920.

Mitrodaya, first Marathi paper from Pune, ed. by Vireshvar Sadashiv Chatre. It continued for one year only.

Updeśacandrikā, third Marathi monthly. Founded by Morabhat Dandekar. First attempt to confront the missionary propagation of Christianity. It contiunued for three years.

1845

Est. *Gujarati Press*, the first Gujarati Press at Surat.

The Council of Education at Calcutta, under the Presidency of Mr. C. H. Cameron prepared a plan for a university at Calcutta. The proposal remained in abeyance till 1853.

b. Ahmed Batwari (d. 1910), a sufi poet of Kashmir. His works include *Naghmai Yendraz* (poems), *Ghazliyat Ahmed Batwari* (a collection of ghazals) and *Shirin Awaz*. Dates of composition not known.

b. Amirtam Pillai (d. 1899), a scholar-poet proficient in Tamil, Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada and English. A reformist in outlook, he wrote on emancipation of women. Author of the Tamil works *Peṇmaineṟi Viḷakkam* and *Tamiḻ Viṭu Tūtu*.

b. Chandi Charan Sen (d. 1906), a Bengali writer of historical fictions; translated *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Bengali.

b. Giriraj Kunwari (d. 1923), a poetess who composed many devotional songs in Pingal.

b. Harshanath Jha (d. 1899), a Maithili poet and dramatist. Author of *Uṣāharaṇa Nāṭaka*. and *Mādhavānanda Nāṭaka*.

b. Kerala Varma, Valiya Koyil Tampuran (d. 1914), member of the Travancore royal family. He translated *Abhijñāna Śakuntalā;* and a novel entitled *Akbar* (1894). He patronised the classical forms of literature, Sanskritized diction and conventional *alamkāra*. One of his famous works in Malayalam is *Mayūra Sandeśam* (1894). Among his Sanskrit works are: *Tirunal Prabandha* (1861), written on the occasion of the first birthday of Ayilam Tirunal Maharaja after the coronation; *Śṛṅgāra Mañjari* (1868), a *bhāṇa*; *Kaṃsa Vadha Campu* (1869), *Victoria Carita Samgraha* (1887), written on the occasion of the golden jubilee of

the coronation of Queen Victoria, and *Viśākha Vijaya* (1900).

b. Lalit Chandra Gosvami (d. 1900?), a translator of 'Pauranic' episodes into Assamese. His book *Kelirahasya* describes the union of Radha and Krishna.

b. Manavikrama Ettan Tampuran, Kolikkad (d. 1915), a member of the Calicut royal family; wrote a campu in Sanskrit, *Dīnadayāl paracampu*, based on a *Hitopadeśa* fable and translated a Malayalam social play written by K. C. Keshava Pillai into Sanskrit. This play *Lakṣmīkalyāṇa* depicts the conflict between the Indian and the European traditions.

b. Sardar Kavi (d. 1883), a poet of Braj Bhasha; a noted annotator of many texts including Bihari's *Satsai*.

b. B. Venkatacharya (d. 1914), edited a monthly *Avakāsatoṣinī*. Translated many novels of Bankim Chandra and Vidyasagar's *Bhrāntibilās* (1876) into Kannada.

b. Yogendra Nath Vidyabhushan (d. 1904), Bengali essayist and biographer; wrote biographies of many political leaders of Europe.

d. Kavisurya Baladev Rath (? b. 1779), the reputed poet of medieval Oriya author of *campus* and various other traditional forms of poetry.

d. Raja Chandulal 'Shadan' (b. 1761/62), born at Hyderabad (Decan); an able administrator and patron of learning. Wrote in Persian and Urdu. His Kulliyat (preserved at Hyderabad Museum) contains three *dīwāns* of Persian ghazals, besides masnavis, qasīdas and other prose works.

d. Krishna Karta (b. 1765), one of the court poets of Vira Kerala Varman, king of Cochin. Author of *Citpureśastuti* (1808), a Sanskrit hymn.

d. Swami Manohara (b. 1780), a Sanskrit and Persian scholar, wrote commentaries on the *Gītā* and *Rāmgītā* in Gujarati.

d. Nayanappa Mudaliyar (b. 1779), one of the chief pandits employed by the Government of Madras to edit and publish ancient Tamil manuscripts. He published several works specially the parts of *Divākaram nihaṇṭu* from the College of Fort St. George. He also published *Tancaivāṇan Kovai* (1834).

d. Swami Premananda (b. 1779), wrote several songs on 'Krishna Lila' in Gujrati.

d. Shadan, Chandu Lal Maharaja of Hyderabad (b. 1762), a scholar and patron of poets, himself a poet of Persian and Urdu. According to Ram Babu Saxena, he lived between 1766–1845.

? d. Shivadatta (b. 1795), a Maithili dramatist who wrote *Pārijātaharaṇa Nāṭaka* and *Gauripariṇaya Nāṭaka*.

Resāla-e-Qawāed-e-Sarf-wa-Nahw-e-Urdū (A Grammar of the Urdu Language in Urdu) by Imam Bakhsh Sahbai, Maulvi. Sayyedul-Akhbar Press, Delhi.

Palañcol mālā, a collection of old sayings in Malayalam compiled by Herman Gunhert.

Bāpanī Pimpara, by Dalapataram. The first specimen of modern Gujarati Poetry.

Dīwān-e-Ātash, collection of Urdu ghazals of Atash; two dīwāns compiled in one.

Hasht Bahisht, collection of eight Urdu poems of Muhammad Bagar Agah.

Bahr-e-Zakhar (Ms.), a voluminous treatise in Persian dealing with various topics by Mahammed Reza 'Najm'.

The Indo-Pantheon: The Sixty Four Teruvelliadels of Siva tr. by E.A. Rodriguez. English. An adaptation of the Tamil *Tiruviḷaiyaṭal Purānam*. It describes the 64 divine sports of Grace by Lord Shiva in Madurai to protect and bless the pious interests of his devotees.

Paradeśi Mokṣa Yātrā, tr. by Arch Decon Koshi. Malayalam. John Bunyon's *Pilgrim's Progress*, (English).

Banāras Akhbār, a Hindi magazine published from Kashi with the patronage of Raja Shivaprasad. Ed. by Govind Raghunandan Thatti. The journal encouraged the use of Hindusthani.

Fawā-e-Dun-Nāzirīn (Delhi), Urdu fortnightly, ed. by Master Ram Chandar. A scientific, historical academic magazine published as an organ of the Delhi College, Delhi.

1846

Kashmir comes under Dogra rule as a result of the Treaty of Lahore. Maharaja Gulab Singh ascends the throne. The Dogra dynasty ruled over the state of Jammu and Kashmir until 1947.

Est. Scientific Society, Ghazipur by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. It started publishing an Urdu journal in 1866.

b. Akbar Allahabadi, Sayyid Akbar Husain Rizvi, (d. 1921), noted Urdu writer, known for his wit and humour. He was highly critical of the Aligarh movement. A pungent satirist and author of many political verses.

b. Brijaraja (d. 1919), author of *Rāma Rasa Laharī* in Brajbhasa mixed with Dogri-Pahari words.

b. Gopal Singh Gopal (d. 1914), a Punjabi poet whose works include *Kissā-Śaha Behrām*, *Sassī Punnū* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

b. Ramakanta Chaudhuri (d. 1889), an Assamese playwright and a poet who popularised *amritrākṣar* metre in Assamese. He wrote *Abhimanyu Vadh* (1875) in the same metre. Also wrote two puranic plays, *Sītā Haraṇ* and *Rāvan Vadh*. Exact dates of composition of these works are not known.

b. ? Sarshar, Pandit Ratan Nath Dar, Lucknow (d. 1902), a Kashmiri scholar and a remarkable figure in Urdu literature. Edited the journal *Awadh Akhbār*. His famous work is the novel *Fasāna-i-Āzād* (1878–1880). Translated *Don Quixote* in Urdu.

b. Shriramulu Dasu (d. 1908), translated a number of Sanskrit works into Telugu, including the *Devī Bhāgavatam*.

b: Somasundara Nayakar (d. 1901), a Tamil prose writer on Saiva Sidhanta; wrote 110 works in all.

b. Subramaniya Pillai (d. 1909), collected and published the poems of St. Arunakirinatar in three volumes which came to be called *Tiruppukaḷ* (praise of the Divine). He rendered into Tamil prose several poetical works including *Piramōttara Kāṇṭam* (1879).

b. Syed Ahmad Dehlavi (d. 1920), well known scholar noted for his Urdu lexicon *Farhang-e-Āsafia* (1898) and several works on Urdu language and style.

b. Wahab Paray (d. 1914), a renowned Kashmiri poet. Besides composing ghazals, he wrote several masnavis: *Haft Qisai Makrizan*, *Bebuj Nāmā*, *Khilāfat Nāmā* (describing the conquest of Islam), *Qisai Chahār Darwes*. Translated Firdausi's *Shāhnāmā* into Kashmiri verse, in four parts, between 1870 and 1890 (published in 1941). Also translated *Naunihal Gulbadan*, a masnavi, from Urdu. The date of composition of all these works are not exactly known.

d. Anantaparati Aiyankar (b. 1786), a prolific writer of dramas and *Kirttanas* in Tamil.

d. Balashastri Jambhekar (b. 1812), a Marathi scholar and text-book writer. Author of *Nītikathā*, *England Deśāci Bakhar Bhāg 1 vā 2*, *Hindusthanāca Itihās*. He also edited *Jñāneśvarī* and the first Marathi Newspaper *Darpaṇ* (1832–1840), the first Marathi magazine *Digdarśan* (1840–1845).

Bidyā Kalpadrum or Encyclopaedia Bengalensis, vol. I published in thirteen volumes on the diglot (English-Bengali) plan, as well as in Bengali only, compiled by Krishna Mohan Bandyopadhyay, with the object to compile and digest exerting knowledge on various subjects. The remaining 12 volumes were published between 1846 and 1851.

Latin-Greek-Tamil Cum Latin-French-Tamil Dictionary by L. Dupuis and L. Mousset. The best known multilingual dictionary with Tamil as the target language. Designed primarily for the use of European evangelists.

Selection of Stories and Revenue Papers in the Karnataka Language with Translation and Grammatical Analysis to which is Added Dialogues in Karnataka and English by Adacki Sooba Row (Adakki Subba Rao) written by a Moonshee in the Canarese translator's office for the use of English officers learning Kannada in College of Fort St. George.

Devī Māhātmyam, a Sanskrit poem on the glory of Mataikunna Bhagavati, a family deity. By Kuttumalu Kunnuni Kurup.

Hamla-e-Husaini (Ms.), a Persian masnavi describing the tragic incident at Karbala, by Ghulam Ali Husain Musavi. Bankipore Ms. no. 439.

Kissā Sohnī Mahīvāl by Fazal Shah Sayyad. A long poem in Punjabi in traditional Kissa genre, theme of which is the love-legend of Sohni and Mahiwal.

Rasika Vinod, a Hindi work on *alamkāra* by Chandrashekhar Upadhyay dealing with *nāyak-nāyikā bhed* (characteristics of the hero and the heroine).

Nīlagiri Yātrā by Kola Seshachala Kavi, a traveloue-diary (1846–7) in Telugu prose narrating the author's journey to Nilagiri (Ooty). Published in 1953.

Oḍiśāra Itihāsa, a history of Orissa for school children written in Oriya by A. Sutton.

Khusrawan-e-Ajam tr. by Mulchand. Urdu. Firdausi's *Shāhnāmā* (Persian).

Śālopayogī Nītigrantha tr. by Hari Kesavaji Pathare. Marathi. Chamber's *Moral Class-Book* (English). References to Christianity are deleted and names of characters Indianised.

The Hindu Intelligencer, a weekly in English, ed. Kashiprasad Ghosh. Continued up to June 1857.

The Lahore Chronicle, an English newspaper published from Lahore. First magazine from the Punjab.

Orunodoi, (Arunodai) the first monthly paper in Assamese started by the American missionaries, including N. Brown (1807–86) and A. K. Gurney (1845–1910?). The journal played a great role in the literary life of Assam and in creating public opinion for the rehabilitation of Assamese to its due place.

1847

Archbishop José Maria de Silva Torres decrees that students should not speak Konkani in seminaries.

Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. The greatest repository of manuscripts in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada and Sanskrit. Col. Mackenzie's manuscripts were also handed over to this Library in 1855.

b. Munshi Deviprasad (d. 1923), a scholar of Hindi. Wrote lives of Mira and Rahim.

b. Hakim Habibullah (d. 1905), a Kashmiri poet who wrote a few masnavis. Also wrote a poem on the devastating flood of 1903.

b. Jahangir Aradeshar Taliyarakhan (d. 1923), a Parsi poet. Translated several poems from English into Gujarati. Wrote novels too.

b. Mir Musarraph Husen (d. 1912), a Bengali writer of novels, essays, plays: known for his book *Biṣādsindhu* (1885) in three volumes that narrates the story of Muharram.

b. Nabin Chandra Sen (d. 1909), a major Bengali poet; author of *Palāśīr Yuddha* (1875) a patriotic poem, and the poetic trilogy–*Raibatak* (1886) *Kurukṣetra* (1893) and *Prabhās* (1896)—giving a new interpretation of the character of Krishna.

b. Oyyarattu Chandu Menon (d. 1890) one of the first two major novelists of Malayalam. Author of *Indulekha* (1889) and *Shārada* (1892).

b. Sibnath Shastri (d. 1919), a leader and historian of Brahmo Samaj, wrote social history and fictions.

b. Tatavellimitthagar Seshagiri Sastry (d. 1901), a philologist who published several works on Telugu and Tamil.

b. Totaram Varma (d. 1902), edited the Hindi journal *Bhārat-Bandhu*, translated Addison's *Cato* into Hindi and wrote the play *Kīrti Ketu*.

b. Trailokyanath Mukhopadhyay (d. 1919), a fiction writer in Bengali, known for his *Kaṅkābatī* (1892), a work of fantasy.

d. Karana Shyam (b. 1778), a Maithili poet who enjoyed the patronage of Maharaja Chatrasingh (1808–1839). Wrote *bhajans*.

d. Tyagaraja Swami (b. 1767), the renowned saint-poet and musician who wrote hundred of *Kritis* and musical plays, including *Prahlada Bhakti Vijayamu* and *Sitārāma Vijayam*.

Bāla Śikṣā popularly known as *Pedda Bala Śikṣā* by Paduri Sita Ram. For more than seven decades this work remained an essential component of early education for children in Andhra Pradesh.

Nannūl-Viruttiyurai by Ramanuja Kavirayar. An edition of the medieval Tamil grammatical work *Nannūl* with an eleborate commentary, called *Viruttiyurai*.

? *Ratan Vilās* (Ms.), a verse treatise in Rajasthani on prosody. Anon. Composed between 1837 and 1847.

Jaṇg-Nāmā Singhan Te Farangiān, a famous poetic composition in Punjabi describing Anglo-Sikh wars of the year 1845–46, written by Shah Muhammad. It employs *baint* metre.

Rāmāvatār Carit, the Kashmiri version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* written by Prakash Ram (1819–1885) in the *masnavi* style. This is the first *razmia* (war) *masnavi* written in Kashmiri. First published by Sir George Grierson in the Roman script in 1930.

? *Ratan-Rūpag* (alias *Ratan Jas Prakās*) (Ms.) a Rajasthani narrative poem dealing with the life of Maharaja Ratan Singh of Bikanir and the city of Bikanir by

Kaviyo Sogaroan Karanidanaut. Composed between 1840 and 1847.

Wasokht-e-Qalaq by (Aftab-Uddaula Khwaja) Arshad Ali Khan Qalaq of Lucknow. Collection of Urdu poems.

Āsārus-Sanādīd by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Sayyedul-Akhbar Press, Delhi), revised edition Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876. An account of the remains, antiquities and monuments of Delhi.

Asl-ul-Usul (Ms.), a treatise in Persian on the theory of music by Mir Muhammad Nasir Mohammadi Rao.

Tarkaśāstra by Rev. Abett. A Marathi work comparing Krishna and Jesus to prove the superiority of the latter.

Katā Cintāmani by Virapatra Chettiyar. One of the earliest anthologies of legends and traditional stories in Tamil. This collection represents the prose style of the period.

Adiparvamu-Vacanamu by Vaiyakaranam Ramanuja Haryulu. One of the earliest prose renderings of the famous *Andhra Mahābhārata* of Nannaya Bhatta in colloquial Telugu.

Battīsu Putri Kathalu tr. by Vadrevu Venkayya. Telugu. From Sanskrit.

Betāl Pañcabiṃśati tr. by Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar. Bengali. From a Hindi version.

Talimun-Nafs, tr. by Munshi Chiranjilal. Urdu. J. Todd's *Students Manual Hints on Self Improvement*. (English) 2nd ed. 1859.

Yātrikana Sancār tr. by R. Viegal. Kannada. John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. (English).

Paścimodayam, a Malayalam journal ed. by Rev. Miller.

Rājya Samācāram, a religious journal and the first periodical in Malayalam published under the patronage of Dr. Gunhert.

1848

Est. Gujarati Vernacular Society in Ahmedabad with the efforts of Sir Alexander Kinloch Forbes (1821–1865), a civil servant of the East India Company. The Society played a great role in promoting the cause of Gujarati literature through its various activities including its weekly journal *Vartamān*. The society is now known as Gujarat Vidya Sabha.

Est. *Marāṭhi Jñānprasārak Maṇḍaṭī*, a wing of Students' Literary Association, Bombay.

Est. *Matba-e-Ahmadi*, a printing press in Delhi.

b. Anwar, Sayyed Shuja-Uddin *alias* Umrao Mirza of Delhi (d. 1884), a talented Urdu poet remembered specially for his treatment of love themes.

b. Biharilal Chaube (d. 1915), a translator and prose writer in Hindi.

b. Caturatna Carkuru (d. 1901), edited the Tamil journal *Ācaṉappiriyaṉ*; established the famous printing house called "Rippan Accukkutam". Also wrote books on Vedanta and other systems of philosophy in prose.

b. Dhondo Narasimha Mulabagilu (d. 1898), a scholar of Sanskrit and Kannada. He adapted several Sanskrit works, e.g. *Uttararāma Caritra*, *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Veṇīsaṃhāra* in Kannada.

b. Gadhadhar Singh (d. 1898), a close associate of Bharatendu Harishchandra, known for his translations from English and Bengali into Hindi.

b. Ganapatram Rajaram Bhatta (d. 1920), a popular Gujarati playwright.

b. Gobinda Rath (d. 1919), an Oriya poet who wrote about two hundred short books of verse including *Mukuṭa Darśaṇa* (1903), *Phul Cāngudi* (1904), *Śītalā Stotram* (1908). Also wrote a prose work, *Satyeśvar* (1872).

b. Govind Gillabhai (d. 1906), a poet of brajabhasha poetic tradition. A Gujarati by birth, well-known for his *samasyāpūrti* (solution of riddles) style of poetry.

b. Jahangir Marjhaban (d. 1920), a Gujarati-Parsi novelist known for his humorous writings and his contribution to journalism.

b. Jivan Jha (d. 1912), author of several Maithili plays, *Sundar Sanyoga*, *Sāmavatī Punarjanma*, *Narmadā Sāgar Saṭṭaka* and an epic in Sanskrit: *Prabhucarita Mahākāvya*. His patron was Maharaja Prabhunarayan Singh of Benaras.

b. Madhusudan Das (d. 1934), a political leader of Orissa; patron of modern Oriya stage; founder of the *Utkala Sabhā* (1882).

b. A. Muthuttambi Pillai (d. 1917), a traditional Tamil poet and lexicographer; translated Swami Vivekananda's speeches in 1897; compiled the first Tamil Encyclopedia, *Apitāṉakōcam* (1902) and also wrote a history of the Tamil language.

b. Shriman Nrisimhacharya (d. 1898), a religious teacher of Gujarat.

b. Radhanath Ray (d. 1908), an outstanding Oriya poet noted for his nature-poems and narrative verses. He was also a fine prose writer. His best known works are *Candrabhāgā* (1886), *Cilikā* (1892) and *Mahāyātrā* (1893).

b. Ramesh Chandra Datta (R.C. Dutt) (d. 1909), wrote historical and social novels in Bengali, translated *Ṛgveda* into Bengali. Wrote extensively in English, remembered mainly for his English translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1900) and the *Mahābhārata* (1899); and *The Economic History of India* (1902).

b. Sadhu Naval Rai (d. 1893), a essayist in Sindhi.

b. Surendra Nath Banerji (d. 1925), a political leader and a noted writer in English.

b. Triloka (d. ?), a Gujarati Jaina poet, wrote both on religious and secular themes.

b. Upendra Nath Das (d. 1895), a Bengali playwright, and actor, the director of Great National Theatre (1875–76); author of the play *Surendra Binodinī* (1875) enactment of which prompted the legislation of the Dramatic Performances Control Act (1876).

b. Kandukuri Vireshalingam (d. 1919), one of the most prolific and versatile writers in Telugu; a poet, novelist, dramatist and essayist; a great social reformer and thinker; one of the makers of modern Telugu literature. The author of *Rāja Śekhara Caritra* (1880), the first novel in Telugu.

d. Ahmad Yar (b 1768), a noted Punjabi poet; composed many *kissās*, including the famous *Kissā-Ahsanulkasis* relating the story of Yusaf Zulaikha.

d. Atish Khwaja Hyder Ali (b. 1778) of Luckonow, a pupil of Mushafi, recognized as a poet of importance; wrote many ghazals in Urdu.

d. Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay (b 1787), a Bengali prose writer; editor of the Bengali weekly *Samācār Candrikā*.

d. Cekanap Pulauar alias Cekana Leppai (b. ?), a great Muslim poet in Tamil; has written about ten poetical works including *Kutpu Nāyakam* and *Makkāk Kalampakam*.

d. Kevalpuri (b. 1754), a religious poet of Gujarat, author of *Kevalpurikṛt Kavitā*.

d. Swami Niskulananda (b. 1766), a religious poet of Gujarat.

Grammatical Notice of the Assamese Language by Rev. Dr N. Brown (1807–86).

Dīwān-e-Dard, poems of Dard in Urdu corrected and compiled by Imam Bakhsh Sahbai.

Miscellaneous Verses, a collection of poems in English by Shoshee Chunder Dutt.

? *Gulistān-e-Bekhizān*, notices of about 600 Hindustani poets, compiled by Batin Qutbuddin in 1845, printed in 1848–49, reprinted in 1875.

Kitāb-i-Ajaib-i-Rozgar (wonders of the world) scientific essays in Urdu by Ram Chandra.

Tārikh-e-Mumālik-e-Chīn, a history of the Chinese empire in two volumes written in Urdu by James Corcoran, Padri Press, Calcutta.

Betal Pañcavimśati Katnālu. Anon. Popular book of tales written in spoken Telugu.

Āmār Trānkartā Yicukhrīṣṭar Nūtan Niyam, (The New Testament) tr. by Rev. Dr. N. Brown (1807–86). Assamese.

Āṭṭicūṭi tr. and ed. by Rev. J. Sugden. An edition of the famous Tamil ethical work by Auvaiyar (10th or 11th century). English. This edition was responsible for the publication of several poems which took it as their model.

Romeo Ebang Julieṭer Manohar Upākhyān, tr. by Gurudas Hajra. Bengali. *Romeo and Juliet*. (English).

Tārikh-e-Bengal, tr. by Munshi Mur Muhammad. Urdu. From a history of Bengal originaly written in English.

As-Adul-Akhbār, Agra Urdu Weekly, ed. Qamruddın Khan, continued till 1854.

Hitavādī, a Telugu monthly from Machılipatnam, ed. J. E. Sharkey. Some think the periodical started in 1862.

Jñānaprasārikā, the first Gujaratı monthly magazine.

Jñāna Nikṣepam, a religious monthly journal in Malayalam published from C. M. S. Press, Kottayam.

Khair-Khan-e-Hind, Delhı, an Urdu monthly, ed. Master Ram Chandra. Later the name was changed to *Muhib-Be-Hind*.

Narpōtakam ed. L. Vetanayakam Pıllaı. A monthly journal in Tamil from Tırunelveli (up to 1861) and Palayankottai (from 1861). The articles were mostly on Christian themes.

Vartamān Patar, the first Gujaratı weekly. It came to be known as *Budhavārunū* since it was published every Wednesday. Later renamed *Amadavād Samācār* (1860).

1849

Punjab was annexed by the British. This event has been recognized as the beginning of modern era in Punjabi literature.

The Britısh took over the state of Satara.

Est. Deccan Vernacular Translation Society, Bombay.

Est. The Hindu Female School (*Hindu Bālikā Bidyālaya*) 7th May by J. E. D. Bethune.

Est. *Ichalakaranjikar Nāṭak Maṇḍalī* to follow the tradition set by Vishnudas Bhave.

b. Dukhabhanjana Kavi (d. ?), a poet from Uttar Pradesh, wrote in Sanskrit; author of a poem on Shiva, *Candraśekhara Caritram*.

b. P. Govinda Pillai (d. 1897), author of the first history of Malayalam literature: *Malayāḷa Bhāṣā Caritram* (1881).

b. Maulavi Gulam Rasul (d. 1892), a distinguished Punjabi poet who wrote several kissās including *Kissā Sassī Punnū*.

b. Gurmukh Singh (d. 1898), the pioneer of Punjabi journalism. First editor of *Gurmukhī Akhbār* published at Lahore; and one of the founders of Singh Sabha movement.

b. Indranath Bandyopadhyay (d. 1911), a Bengali writer of humorous and satirical verse and prose.

b. Jyotirindra Nath Thakur (Tagore) (d. 1925), a prolific writer in Bengali; dramatist, essayist, translator; translated a number of books from Sanskrit, English, French and Marathi.

b. Kashinath Khatri (d. 1891), one of the makers of early Hindi prose, a playwright; known particularly for his able translations of Lamb's *Tales From Shakespeare*.

b. Narasingh Nath (d. 1919), an Oriya poet; wrote mostly devotional poetry.

b. Rajani Kanta Gupta (d. 1900), Bengali prose writer, specially known for his five-volume history of the Sepoy Rebellion in Bengali.

b. Rajkrishna Ray (d. 1894), a prolific writer in Bengali; wrote nearly seventy works, including many plays.

b. Ramnarayan Dugada (d. 1931), a Rajasthani historian.

b. Syed Amir Ali (d. 1909), a judge of the Calcutta High Court, author of *The Spirit of Islam* (1890).

d. Swami Brahmananda (b. 1772), a religious poet of Gujarat, who wrote in Hindi under the name 'Shriranga', and in *Gharani* (a dialect of Gujarati) under the name 'Ladu'.

Asamīya Larār Mitra, an Assamese text-book on the model of books used in English schools, by Ananda Ram Dhekiyal.

Lakṣmījñān by Lokahitavadi. The first Marathi book on economics. Based on an English work.

The Captive Ladie: An Indian Tale in Verse, an English work by Michael Madhusudan Dutt.

Farhād Shīrīn by Wahshi. A romance in Persian verse. The work was completed by Mahammed Rafi Shirazi.

Qissā-e-Kāmrup by Kura Mal Jain (d. 1848), a story in Persian. It is based on a love-theme popular among the Indian writers of Persian. The first Persian version of this theme appeared in the fifteenth century in Md. Kazim Husain's work which was printed in 1849. Several other writers wrote on this theme which remained popular till the ninteenth century.

Uṣā Haraṇa Kathā: Aniruddha Vilāsa by Pranesha. A Kannada poem on a mythological theme.

Bhūta Nibandh, one of the first experiments in literary essay in Gujarati, by Dalapataram.

Nizām-ul-Haq by Rev. Carl Gottlieb Pfandar. A Persian work on Christianity published from Agra.

Tazkirat-ul-Kamilan, an Urdu work by Ram Chandra. Lives of famous men, celebrities of Greece and Rome and great personalities of England and Persia.

Gulrez (Ms.), tr. by Maqbul Shah Kralawari (1802–77). Kashmiri. From Ziai Nakshabi's Persian masnavi of the same name. It is a touching love story (in verse) of Ajab Malik, an ordinary mortal, and Noshe Lal, a honey-lipped fairy.

Masihi Musafir Di Yātrā, tr. Anon. Punjabi. John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (English).

Ratnābalī Nāṭak, tr. by Nilmani Pal. Bengali. From Sanskrit. Translated in a mixture of prose and verse.

Amadāvād Vartamān, a weekly published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society.

Bengal Recorder, an English newspaper founded by Girish Chandra Ghosh.

Jñānaprakāśa, a Marathi paper started from Pune. Founder editor: Krishnaji Trimbali Ranade.

Jñānāruna, a short-lived periodical published by the Cuttack Mission Press ed. by the Rev. Charles Lacey.

Subuddhi Prakāśa, one of the early newspapers promoting the cause of Kannada published from Belgaum.

1850

Anyonya Buddhivardhaka Sabhā, started at Bombay as an offshoot of the Students Society established by Prof. Paton of the Elphinstone Institute.

Est. *Baṅga Bhāṣānubād Samāj*, with the object of enriching the Bengali language by translating English works into Bengali, mainly by the initiative of Jaya-Krishna Mukhopadhyay of Uttarpara. It was also known as Vernacular Literature Committee or Vernacular Translation Society.

The Madras School Book and Vernacular Society started under the patronage of the Government of Madras Presidency, published a large number of porse works in Tamil, including translations from English.

The Surat Literary Society sets up its own printing press.

b. Achyudananda Swami (d. 1902), a Tamil poet and dramatist. Wrote three poetical works. *Nicánantar Patikam*, *Canmārkka Tarppaṇam* and *Atvaita Kīrttānanta Lakari*, and dramas *Prakalāta Carittiram*, *Turuva Caritttiram* and *Cakkupāy Carittiram*.

b. Akattuttu Damodaran Karttavu (d. 1921), a Malayalam author of an āṭṭakkatha, two kiḷippāṭṭus and one tuḷḷal poem

b. Akshay Chandra Chaudhuri (d. 1898), a Bengali poet; wrote *Udāsini* (1874), a long romantic poem.

b. Arjun Bhagat (d. 1900), a Gujarati poet. Wrote devotional songs mostly on philosophical themes

b. Baladev Mahanta (d. 1895), an Assamese poet, author of *Uju Pāṭh* (1874), poems for children.

b. Basudev Sudhaldev (d. 1903), the ruler of the native state, Bamanda in West Orissa; author of *Alamkāra Bodhadaya* (1886) a book on rhetoric, *Citrotpala* (1892), a collection of poems, and *Kiskindhyā Bibarana* (1893), a prose work.

b. Bhadradri Ramashastri Sonthi (d 1915), a Telugu poet.

b. Bhagwan Singh (d 1902), a Punjabi poet He wrote *Kissas* of *Hir*, *Sohni-Mahiwal* and *Mirzā Sahibān*

b. Bharatendu Harishchandra (d. 1885), precursor of modern Hindi literature, a distinguished dramatist, poet, essayist, translator and journalist. Founder of *Kavitā Vardhani* (1870), a society of poets. One of the most renowned writers and personalities of the nineteenth-century India

b. Hafiz Kashmiri (d. 1909), original name: Abdul Ghani Andrabi. A Kashmiri poet who wrote three masnavis: *Himāl Nagri*, *Candra Badan* and *Reshi Nāmā* (about the life of *Sheikh-ul-Alam-Nund Reshi*) besides ghazals.

b. Krishna Razdan (d. 1925), a major Kashmiri bhakti poet. Wrote *bhajans* and *līlās*. His works included *Śiva Pariṇaya* (collection of devotional songs) with Sanskrit rendering by Mukund Raṃ Shastri, and *Śiv-Lagan*. His complete work was published in 1984. The exact dates of composition of his works are not known.

b. Kumara Guruparadasa Swamigal (d. 1929), one of the prolific Tamil writers on religious themes. Renouncing family life at the age of 45, he started writing devotional poems, almost all of them are on Lord Muruga or about Saivism.

b. Rahim Sahab (b. 1785), a prominent Kashmiri sufi poet, author of *Bayāzi Rahīm Sāhab* (date of composition not known).

b. Rodda Shrinivasa Rao (d. 1929), a great educationist of Karnataka.

b. Sadhu Ishar Das (d. 1936), a Punjabi poet. Wrote short lyrical poems in the *Kafi* genre.

b. Shamshad Mohammad Abdul-Ahad Firangi-Mahal, Lucknow (d. 1915), a noted Urdu poet of Lucknow.

b. Shrinivas Das (d. 1887), a writer of Hindi prose, author of *Parīkṣā Guru* (1882), the first Hindi novel.

b. Shrinivasa Shastri (d. ?), born at Shajapuri on the bank of the Kaveri; popularly known as Tiruvasalura Pandita; author of the Sanskrit play *Upahāravarmā Carita* (1888).

b. Sunnagam Kumara Swami Pulavar (d. 1922), a great Tamil scholar who translated *Meghadūtam* from Sanskrit to Tamil. His *Tamilppulavar Caritam* (?) is his best known works.

b. Syed Afzal Qadiri (d. 1922), a famous Kashmiri *nat* writer, author of *Karāmati Shāhi Baghdād* (date of composition not exactly known, published in 1946).

b. Tarachand Shavqiram Advani (d. 1938), a Sindhi essayist, and editor of *Shah Jo Risalo*.

b. Thakur Manavoti (d. 1923), a Kashmiri poet. Wrote *bhajans* and *līlās* in Kashmiri as well as in Urdu. Author of *Amrit Sāgar* (date of composition not known).

b. Vaghaji Ashram Ojha (d. 1896), a Gujarati dramatist Wrote many mythological and historical plays.

b Vishnushastri Chipalunkar (d. 1882), the great Maharashtrian scholar who established the New English School at Pune (1880) with the help of Tilak and Agarkar, edited two newspapers, *Kesari* in Marathi, and *Maratha* in English. He wrote a few books of essays in Marathi.

b. Vitthal Bhagawant Lembhe (d. 1920), a Marathi poet belonging to the older tradition.

d. Bhojo Bhagat (b. 1785), the Gujarati religious poet whose long narrative poem *Salaiya Ākhyāna* was very popular. He is best known for his *Cābukhas* (lashes), a type of caustic verses.

d. Chainrai Bachomal Sami (b. 1743), the eminent Vedantist poet of Sindh; a towering personality who along with Sachal and Shah is known as the trio of Sindhi poetry.

d. Dariyakhan (b. 1775), a Vedantist poet of Sindh.

d. Dhandavaraya Mudaliyar (b. ?), the Chief Tamil Pandit of the College of Fort St. George till 1839. He was instrumental for the publication of several Tamil manuscripts, especially *Nālatiyār* and *Tivākaram*.

d. Kavali Venkata Ramaswami (b. 1780), one of the earliest Indo-English writers, author of *Biographical Sketches of the Dekkan poets* (1829).

Yadgir (*Resala-e-Arōz*), a work on Urdu prosody, by Zaki, Mehdi Ali Khan.

Bāra Mahā Siri Rāmji Ka, devotional poetry in Punjabi written by Gurdas Singh.

Dīwān-e-Zāfar, the collection of Urdu poems written by Bahadur-Shah, Zafar the Mughal Emperor. Matba-e-Delhi, Delhi.

Hunnarakhanani Hind Par Caḍhāī, a Gujarat verse about the beginning of the industrial age in India, by Dalapataram.

? *Pābu Prakāsa* (Ms.), a narrative poem in Rajasthani celebrating the works of Punjabi Rathaud deemed as a folkgod, by Asiya Modji. Composed around 1850, published in 1932.

Bhāratbarṣiya Strīganer Vidyā Śikṣā, a Bengali essay on education of Indian women, by Tarashankar Tarkaratna.

Aesop's Fables, tr. by Munshi Nizamuddin. Urdu. With original English text.

The Bible tr. by Peter Percival with the help of Arumuganvalar. The first known complete translation of the Bible into Tamil.

Genesis Utapatti, tr Anon Punjabi. Parts of the *Old Testament*.

Laksmī, adapted by Dalapataram Gujarati. A comedy based on the English translation of the Greek play *Plutus* of Aristophanes.

Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review, published by Bombay Education Society.

Koh-i-Nūr, Urdu weekly from Lahore started by Munshi Harsukh Rae, continued till 1904.

Marāṭhi Jñānaprasārak, a monthly magazine founded by Upayukta Jñāna-prasārak Sabhā.

Sāmyadanta Mārtaṇḍa, a Hindi magazine published from Calcutta by Jugalkishor Shukla.

Sudhākar, a magazine published from Kashi by Taramohan Mitra initially in Bengali and Hindi, and later only in Hindi.

1851

Origin of Nirankari movement in Punjab. It was started as a reform movement within Sikh religion.

August 12. Establishment of the *Bethune Society* in memory of J. E. D. Bethune for the consideration and discussion of questions connected with literature and science. Questions on religion and politics were forbidden.

Urdu was made official language of Punjab. This had far reaching effect on the development of Punjabi literature.

First Girl's School started at Pune.

First Cotton Mill started in Bombay.

Est. *Daksina Prize Committee*. It decided to spend some amount from the funds of Bajirao II (originally meant to distribute amongst Brahmins annually in the month of śrāvana) for encouragement of production of books in Marathi.

Svadeśa Hitecchu Maṇḍali established by Narmad. It published a Gujarati weekly *Jñānasāgara*.

Vishnudas Bhave started touring with his troupe to present performances.

b. Amuluka Shenoi (d. 1902), a poetess from Kerala who wrote in Konkani.

b. Bhimarao Bholanath Divetiya (d. 1890), the author of *Pṛthu Rāja Rāso*, a long narrative poem in Gujarati.

b. Brajaraj Singhadeo (d. 1907), a Raja of Kharia, a native state in Orissa, and poet of some distinction; author of *Rūpamañjarī* and *Brajabandhu* both poetical works of traditional nature.

b. Gurajada Sri Rama Murthy (d. 1899), author of several works including the biography *Kavijīvitamulu* (1876), the first of its kind in Telugu.

b. Kattullil Achyuta Menon (d. 1909), a Malayalam poet belonging to the Venmani school of poetry; author of a number of kāvyas and kiḷippāṭṭus.

b. Keshavaram Hariram Bhatta (d. 1896), a Gujarati poet known for his *bhajans* collected in *Keśavakṛti*.

b. Kunnukuliyil Kocchu Tomman (d. 1913), one of the earliest novelists in Malayalam; author of the novel *Pariṣkārappāti*. Advocated the cause of modern education.

b. Maula Bakhash Kushta (d. ?), one of the pioneers of Punjabi literary criticism. Author of *Punjāb de Hīre* (1939), biographical sketches of some of the Punjabi writers.

b. Mir Abdul Husain Sangi (d. 1924), a Sindhi poet of the *Ilm Arud* (Persian prosody) tradition. His *Dīwān* was published in 1902.

b. Muhamad Buta Gujerati (d. 1919), a Punjabi poet; wrote many *Kissās* including *Shirin Farhad*, *Mirzā Sahibān*, and *Sultan Mehmud*.

b. Pahalanji Barajoraji Deshai (d. 1934), a Parsi-Gujarati poet and playwright.

b. Pyarimohan Acharya (d. 1881), editor of the Oriya journal *Utkala Putra* (1873) and author of *Oḍisāra Itihās* (1879).

b. Rajaramashastri Bhagavat (d. 1908), a well known Maharashtrian scholar, polygot and essayist.

b. Umar Dan Lalas (d. 1903), a Rajasthani poet who wrote mostly on social problems.

b. Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri (d. 1897), author of the earliest social play in Telugu, *Nandaka Rājyamu* (1880), and first to translate an English play (*Julius Caeser* by Shakespeare) into Telugu (1876).

d. Capt. George Risto Jervice (b. 1794), a member of the Board of Education who took interest in the Marathi language, known for his role in the preparation of *Marāthice Vyākaraṇ* by four Shastris.

d. Karana Kanharama (b. 1792), author of the Maithili play *Gaurī Svayamvara* (1842).

? d. Momin, Mohammad Momin Khan (b. 1800), the noted Urdu poet.

A Grammar of the Punjabi Language by John Newton.

Malayālabhāṣā Vykaranam, Part I, first grammar of Malayalam prepared by Herman Gundert.

Fugitive Pieces, poems in English by Hur Chander Dutt.

Rūpa Mañjari (Ms.), a collection of Rajasthani songs on Ram and Krishna, by Rupa Devi.

Bhikhu Jaśa Rasāyana (Ms.), the life of Acharya Bhikhanji, the founder of Terapanth sect. First published in 1961.

Sharaī-i-Ishāq, a tale by the Urdu writer Sarur, Mirza Rajab Ali Beg.

Ārabya Upanyās, vol. I, tr. by Nilmani Basak. Bengali. From English.

Bāhya Bastur Sahit Mānab Prakṛtir Sambandha, vol. I, adapt. by Akshay Kumar Datta. Bengali. George Comb's *The Constitution of Man* (English). Vol. II. 1852.

Prabodhacandrodaya tr. by Amarapurkar and Bapat. Marathi. From the Sanskrit play of Shrikrishnamishra.

Vyavahāra Darpaṇam, a digest of the *Dharma Śāstra*; Sanskrit original with Telugu commentary compiled by Vathyam Vasudeva Parabrahma Sastry.

Bibidhārtha Sangraha, the first illustrated monthly journal in Bengali, ed. Rajendralal Mitra; it published many informative articles on the Bengali language and literature.

Kheda Vartamān, the oldest weekly in Gujarati started by Panachand Shethi and Kahandas.

Rāstogoftar, a Gujarati fortnightly started by Dadabhai Navaroji. Later it became a weekly.

1852

The Bombay Association was founded by prominent citizens of Bombay to protect public rights.

Parsi Theatre starts functioning in Bombay. The play *Sohrab-Rustom* is staged.

Poets convention at Idar organized by A. K. Forbes, with the help of the Gujarati poet Dalapatarami.

Est. of a printing press and publishing house—*Keralavilasam*—at Trivandrum on the advice of Utrai Tirunul Maharaja. First collection of songs of Shri Svatitirunal Maharaja and Ravivarman Tampi was published from this press.

b. Bulakhiram Chaturvedi Desai (d. 1886), a Gujarati poet with strong nationalistic spirit.

b. C. Vasudevayya (d. 1943). He brought out the Kannada prose versions of *Ārya Kīrthi* and *Bhīṣma Carite* (1852–1953) which gave him the title 'architect of modern Kannada prose'.

b. Chiranjiva Kavi (d. 1905), a Maithili poet who composed many *Maheśa Vāṇi*.

b. Dadi Edalji Taraporvala (d. 1914), a popular Gujarati novelist.

b. Kartikprasad Khatri (d. 1905), an eminent Hindi journalist, editor of *Hindī Dīpti Prakāś* (1872); one of the founders of Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha. Also known for his translations from Bengali to Hindi.

b. Kondubhatla Subrahmanya Sastri (d. 1897), a Telugu playwright. Except *Draupadī Vastrapaharanamu* (? 1885), the texts of his all other plays are lost.

b. Munshi Muhammad Ali Kidwai of Lucknow, Shauq (d. 1925), an Urdu ghazal writer, and a dramatist.

b. M. L. Sri Kanthesha Gouda (d. 1926), wrote many works including *Kanyā Vitantu* (1895), *Camanrupa*, *Candra Prabhe* etc. He translated Shakespeare's *Othello*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet* into Kannada. Was the editor of the magazine *Surabhi*.

b. Ramaswamy Raju (d. 1897), author of the first Tamil Play *Pratāpacandra Vilāsam* (1877); wrote also in Telugu and English.

b. Talib, Nawab Saiduddin Ahmad Khan alias Ahmad Said Khan of Delhi (d. September 1925), son of Nawab Ziyauddin Ahmad Khan; an Urdu poet of merit.

d. Dayarama (b. 1772), last of the great medieval *bhakta* poets of Gujarat.

d. Giridhar (b. 1787), a popular religious poet of Gujarat.

? d. Momin Khan (b. 1800), the celebrated Urdu poet.

? d. Maulavi Mahammed Qudratulla 'Qudrat' (b. 1785) wrote two *dīwāns* in

Persian (none of them are extant), compiled a *tazkirah*, *Nalaij-ul-Afkar*, and a book on Bahadur Shah, *Zafar Namah-e-Badshah*.

d. Mulugu Papayacharyulu (b. ?), a poet in the court of Raja Venkatadri Naidu of Amaravati, remembered for his Telugu translation of *Devī Bhāgavatam*.

d. Vedagiri Mudaliyar (b. 1795), a Tamil scholar and poet; composed several poetical works like *Manunīti Catakam*, *Canmārkka Catakam*; compiled two volumes of anthologies of medieval texts.

d. Pandit Virajiaya (b. 1767), a Jaina poet who wrote many religious works and hundreds of lyrics in Gujarati.

Inglisu-Telugu Nighantu, English-Telugu dictionary by C. P. Brown.

Grist Nāmā (Ms.) a masnavi written by Maqbul Shah Kralawari (1802–1877). This is the first *Hazlia* (satirical) masnavi written in Kashmiri. Year of publication not known

Multan Di Vār, a Punjabi *Vār* (heroic ballad) narrating the battle of Multan during the rise of the Sikh, by Sobha.

Qisāi Zam-ul-Arab (Ms.) a masnavi written in Kashimri by Abdulahad Nazim (d. 1865). Year of publication not known.

Padārthavijñānaśāstratil Kitīek Viṣayanvar Vyākhāne by Kero Lakshman Chatre. Essays on Physics in Marathi.

Nabanārī by Nilmani Basak. Biographies of nine celebrated women written in Bengali in defence of women's education.

Sākretisācā Itihās by Krishnashastri Chipalunkar. A biography of Socrates in Marathi.

Phulmani O Karunār Bibaran, a prose narrative by Hannah Katharine Mullens. Considered by some as the first novel in Bengali.

Bhadrārjun, by Tara Chand Shikdar. One of the first two Bengali plays based on an episode from the *Mahābhārata*

Kīrti Bilās, by G. C. Gupta. One of the first two Bengali plays; a five-act tragedy.

Amerikkā Kaṇṭa Varalāṟu tr. by Vijayaranka Mutaliyar. Tamil. Robertson's *The Discovery of America*. (English) Written in a lucid style, the work has few rivals in Tamil secular prose literature.

Pakavat Kītai tr. by Betakiri Mutaliyar. Tamil. From the *Bhāgavad Gītā* (Sanskrit).

Robinson Crusoe, tr. by John Robinson. Bengali. From the English original.

Buddhi Prakāś, a Hindi magazine published from Agra, ed. by Munshi Sadasukhlal.

Vicāralaharī, a Marathi paper founded by Krishnashastri Chipalunkar to confront the Christian missionary movement.

1853

A Report to A.J. Moffat Mills. This report prepared by Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan and submitted to A.J. Moffat Mills deals with the education and administration in Assam under British administration. This helped to restore the legitimate position of Assamese in academic institutions, and in the courts, which had been replaced by Bengali. The complete text, along with his other works, *Plea for Assam and Assamese*, and *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language and Vernacular Education in Assam*, has been compiled by the Assam Sahitya Sabha in 1977.

The Perso-Arabic script adopted for Sindhi. Several printing presses were established at Karachi, Bombay, Sukkur and Hyderabad. The first book *Babnamo* was printed in litho, in Karachi, this year.

Est. *Vidyotsāhinī Sabhā* by Kaliprasanna Singha for the cultivation of the Bengali language and to encourage young writers.

English Farces began to be performed at Grant Road Bombay Theatre.

First Railway opened from Bombay to Thana.

Telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra.

b. Amrita Lal Basu (d. 1929), an eminent Bengali playwright, and a well-known actor. Wrote a large number of satirical plays and farces.

b. Sir Arunachalam Ponnamopalam (d. 1924), a great statesman of Ceylon; translated *Tirumurukarruppatai*, a Sangam work, and several poems from *Purananuri Tiru Vacakam* and *Kallatam* into English.

b. Asumal, or Master Asumal (d. ?), a Sindhi poet who is both a sufi and a vedantist.

b. Auj, Mirza Muhammad Jafar (d. 1917), son of Mirza Dabir, a fine scholar and authority on Urdu prosody.

b. Behramji Mehrwanji Malabari (d. 1912), a distinguished Gujarati journalist and social reformer. Wrote some memorable poems. Was the first Parsi poet to abandon 'Parsi-Gujarati' in favour of the standard Gujarati. Also a distinguished writer in English. Author of *The Indian Muse in English Garb* (1876).

b. Charan Singh Doctor (d. 1908), a Punjabi writer of repute. He has written two important books, *Bani Beora* and *Śabad Briti Prakāś*, both religious works. His other works include *Mahārāni Śarab Kaur, Jung Maroli, Dasam Guru Charitar*.

b. Damodar Mukhopadhyay (d. 1907), a popular fiction writer in Bengali; wrote sequels to several novels of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

b. Diti Singh Giani (d. 1901), one of the leaders of Singh Sabha Movement in Punjab. Wrote narrative prose as well as essays on religious matters. His books include, *Nīti Prakāś, Dharam Darpan, Gurū Arjun Parabodh, Durgā Prabodh.*

b. Gramattil Ramavarma Koyittampuran (d. 1915), a Malayalam poet and critic. Wrote a treatise on aesthetics entitled *Rasatattva Nirūpaṇam*; translated *Gītagovindam* and completed Ravi Varma's unfinished play *Brasita* based on a Bibical theme.

b. Ghulam Ali Masrur (d. 1893), a gifted Sindhi poet, the author of *Musaddas-i-Masrur* alias *Hirani Jo Haru* (a necklace of diamonds).

b. Haraprasad Shastri (d. 1931), a noted Sanskritist and fine critic. Wrote a few novels in Bengali of which *Bener Meye* (1919) depicting the life in the tenth-century Bengal, won critical attention.

b. Hijr, Pandit Tirubhawan Nath,(d. 1892), an inhabitant of Kashmir, noted poet in Urdu, and a journalist.

b. Icharam Suryaram Desai (d. 1912), a noted Gujarati novelist, biographer and journalist. He prepared the anthology of medeival Gujarati poems, *Brihat Kāvya Dohan*, in eight volumes

b. Lala Tantray (d. 1912), a sufi poet of Kashmir whose poems have been collected in *Kalāmi Lāla Tāntray* (published in 1973).

b. Maulana Anwar Shopiani (d. 1938), a Kashmiri poet. Wrote *ghazals* and *nats*. He also wrote in Urdu and Persian.

b. Madhusudan Rao (d. 1912), a religious poet of Orissa, who along with Fakirmohan Senapati (1843–1918) and Radhanath Ray (1848–1908) inaugurated a new era in Oriya literature. Author of *Basanta Gāthā* (1903) and *Kusumāñjali* (1903); translator of *Uttararāma carita* in Oriya and founder of the *Utkala Sāhitya Samāj*.

b. Mirza Qalich Beg (d. 1929), a powerful and prolific Sindhi writer described by his admirers as 'Aftab Adab' (The Sun of Literature) wrote nearly 300 books. He has left his stamp on every branch of Sindhi literature; he wrote poems collected in two volumes (*Saudai Kham*); translated from Arabic, Persian and English; wrote the first original novel in Sindhi (*Zīnat*, 1890) and excelled as a dramatist.

b. Padmavati Devi Phukanani (d. 1927), first woman novelist of Assam. Wrote the novel *Sudharmār Upākhyan* (1880).

b. Purushottama Mahapatra (d. 1805), an Oriya author, wrote mostly on religious themes, particularly on the significance of the religious festivals such as *Guru Pañcamī, Somanāth Brata, Puṣya Rabibāra* etc.

b. Ennakkattu Rajaraja Varma (d. 1917), a Malayalam dramatist and translator;

translated Bhasa's *Svapna Vāsavadattā* and Kalidasa's *Meghadūtam*.

b. Rama Dhan (d. 1912), a Dogri poet who wrote verses both in Punjabi and Brajbhasa.

b. Ramakrisnamacharyulu Dharmayaram (d. 1912), the famous Telugu playwright who was conferred the title *Andhra Nāṭaka Pitāmaha* (the Grand Old Man of Andhra Drama) in 1910 by the Maharaja of Gadval, in Hyderabad.

b. Shivachandra Bharatiya (d. 1915), a Rajasthani novelist and dramatist.

b. Vedam Venkataraya Shastri (d. 1929), a commentator of Telugu classics, and a translator of many Sanskrit dramas. Author of the play *Pratāparudrīyamu* (1897).

d. Abha Bai (Ambha Bai) (b. 1771), a saint poetess of Rajasthan.

d. Ramanuja Kavirayar (b. ?), a Tamil scholar and poet; wrote poetical works in *Malai* and *Antati* forms, written commentaries on the *Kural*, *Nannul*, *Konrai Ventan*; and helped Rev. Drew in translating the *Kural* in English (1840).

Babnamo by Nandiram Mirani, the first text-book in Perso-Arabic script for Sindhi children.

Cāru Pāṭh, (vol. I) a text-book, comprising of Bengali essays on various subjects, literary and scientific, by Akshay Kumar Datta. (vol. II 1854; vol. III 1859).

English Punjabi Dictionary, probably the first English-Punjabi dictionary. Prepared by Captain Starky.

Dīwān-e-Barq, Urdu poems by Barq.

Guldasta-e-Amanat, poetical collection of Amanat, Sayed Agha Hasan (1815–1858), a noted Urdu poet.

Sārarāmayāṇadīpikā, a Sanskrit poem on the story of Rama, by Babu Revaram (1812–1873).

Silsila-Tul-Mulūk, an Urdu work on history by Syed Ahmed Khan compiled in 1852. It was originally a chapter of *Āsārus-Sanādīd*.

Sanam-Kada-e-Cīn, collection of tales and fables in Urdu by Husain Shah Haqiqat. Mustafai Press, Kanpur.

Bhāktmāl, tr. Anon. Persian. Nabhaji's *Bhaktamāl* (Hindi), a biography of Vaishnava saints.

Bhānumatī Cittabilās, tr. by Harachandra Ghosh. Bengali. Shakespear's *The Merchant of Venice* (English).

Icap Kataikal (Aesop's Fables) tr. by A. Tiruvenkatam Pillai. Tamil. From English.

Mahākabi Shakespeare Pranīta Nāṭaker Marmānurup Lambsṭeler Katipoy Ākhyāikā, tr. by E. Roar. Bengali. Lamb's *Tales From Shakespeare* (English).

Nīticandrikā comprising of 'Mitralābham' and 'Mitra Bhedam' (based on the Sanskrit works *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*) by Chinnaya Suri. This book greatly influenced the prose style (classical as opposed to colloquial) for many decades.

Safar-Nāmā Mungo-Park Sahab Kā Bayan Men Mulk Habsh Ke, (The travels of Mungo-Park) tr. Anon. Urdu. From English.

Dhumaketu, a Marathi weekly. ed. Bhau Mahajan.

Hindu Patriot (originally known *Bengal Recorder* founded by Giris Chandra Ghosh in 1849) ed. Harish Chandra Mukerji. Continued as a weekly up to June 1892. Later it became a daily.

1854

The British took over the state of Nagpur.

Richard Collins (d. 1900), a Christian missionary, arrived in Kerala in December. He prepared the first monolingual dictionary of Malayalam.

Sir Charles Wood's Despatch on Education in which importance was given to Vernacular Education.

Adi Sarasvati Nilaya Mudrākṣarasālā, a printing press founded by Ramaswamy Sastrulu (1832–91) to print and publish Telugu and Sanskrit classics.

Ved Samaj established in Madras.

b. Bhimsen Sharma (d. 1920), editor of the Hindi magazine *Ārya Siddhānt*; wrote commentaries on many Sanskrit scriptures. A close associate of Swami Dayananda.

b. Carlos Trindade Dia (d. 1890), a writer in Konkani; author of *S. Jose Bogta Bagivonta.*

b. Govind Ballal Deval (d. 1916), a noted Marathi playwright and director of the Kirloskar Natak Mandali.

b. Homnath Khativada (d. 1927), a Nepali scholar settled permanently in Benaras (from 1881). Established Hitaishi Company for publishing Nepali works.

b. R. Ishvare Pillai (d. 1940), one of the noted essayists in Malayalam.

b. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar (d. 1918), a Tamil scholar, poet and editor of old texts. *Karpaka Vinayakar Paṭikam*, *Kāmāṭiciyamman patikam*, *Tiruvānmiyurppurāṇam* and *Ceukalvapuri mahatmiya caram* are the best of his poetical compositions. He also edited the journal *Siddhantam*.

b. Pir Azizullah Haqqani (d. 1928), a renowned and a prolific writer of masnavis. Written eleven books in Kashmiri and twelve in Persian. Wrote *nats* (eulogiums) and *ghazals*. Author of *Qisāi Mumtaz-o-Benazir*, *Candrabadan*, *Chirag-i-Mehfil Haqqani*, *Ghazliyati Haqqani*, *Guldastāi Benazir* and *Gulzari Haqqani*. Dates of their composition and publication are not known, except that of *Candrabadan*, which was published in 1928.

b. M. S. Puttanna (d. 1930), a noted novelist in the formative period in Kannada; known for his popular novels *Madiddunno Mahārāyam* and *Musukutegeye Māyāngane*. His biography of Kunigalu Rama Shastri is well known.

b. Sosale Ayyashastri (d. 1934), a noted Kannada poet. Translated *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kalidasa. *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa Nāṭakam* (play) is his noted work. Among his other works are *Śeṣa Rāmāyaṇam* (1901), *Damayantī Caritre*, and *Mysore Mahārāja Caritre*.

b. Kolachalam Shrinivasa Rao (d. 1919), a well-known Telugu playwright; founded *Sumanorama Sabhā*, a dramatic society to stage his plays.

b. Vaddadi Subbaraya Kavi (d. 1938), also called Va. Su. Raya Kavi. The first author to translate Bhatta Narayana's Sanskrit play, *Veṇīsaṃhāra* into Telugu.

b. Yogendra Chandra Basu (d. 1905), a Bengali journalist and novelist. His novels *Model Bhaginī* (1886–88) and *Śrī Śrī Rājalakṣmī* (1902) reflect his conservative attitudes towards female education and social changes.

b. Venpappuli Veluccami Pillai (d. 1926), a noted Tamil poet. Wrote *Kanta Purāna Venpa*, a work consisting of 5665 stanzas in *Venpa* metre. His mastery over this metre, considered to be a difficult one, earned him the title 'Veṇpāppuli' (Tiger of *Venpas*).

d. Ratna Pani (b. 1787), a Maithili poet and playwright.

d. Saba, Mir Wazir Ali of Lucknow (b. 1795), a representative of the Lucknow school of Urdu poetry known for his erotic dīwān *Guncha-i-Arzu*.

d. Wazir, Muhammad Wazir of Lucknow (b. ?), a descendant of the saint Khwaja Bahauddin Naqsband. One of the foremost Urdu poets of his time.

d. Zauq, Mohammad Ibrahim (b. 1789), a master of *ghazal* and *qasīda*, a great stylist and one of the greatest of the Urdu poets. He had many pupils, including Mirza Dagh, and Bahadur Shah Zafar.

A Dictionary of the Punjabi Language, compiled by John Newton.

Daftar-e-Fasahat, collection of Ghazals of Wazir (1854), compiled in 1847 (according to Saxena, 1854).

Dīwān-e-Momin, the Persian diwan of Momin (1800–1852).

The Anglo Saxon and the Hindu, a long essay in English by Michael Madhusudan Dutt.

Ruqqat-e-Kuhi-e-Gaṅgā Prasād by Ganga Prasad. A collection of letters written in Persian by the author containing the history of Kangra valley.

Tārīkh-e-Mansuri (Ms.) by Sayyid Ali. A history of Bengal written in Persian.

Strīcaritra by Dr. Ramaji Gonoji. First Marathi book of erotic tales on Persian model, by a doctor in the British army. Published and printed in his own litho press, (4 parts, pages 1200).

Inder Sabhā by Amanat, Sayyid Agha Hasan, often claimed as the first play in Urdu; a musical comedy, written in 1853. Amaṇat was a courtier of Wajid Ali Shah.

Kulīn Kul Sarbasva, a Bengali play against polygamy, by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna.

Civañānapōtam (*Sivajñāna Pōtham*) tr. by Henry R. Hoisington. Perhaps the first English translation of the famous Tamil treatise on Saiva Siddhanta (by Meikanda Thevar of the 13th century). It created an European interest in Saivite philosophy on the one hand, and an awareness among the Tamils in their own heritage, on the other.

Isap Jun Akhānyun (Aesop's Fables) tr. by Nandiram Mirani and Ellis, the Assistant Commissioner of Sindh. Sindhi. From English.

Kādambarī, tr. by Tarashankar Tarkaratna. Bengali. From the Sanskrit original.

? *Khristar Bivaran Aru Subha Bārta*, The New Testament tr. by Rev. Dr. N. Brown. Assamese.

Śakuntalā, tr. by Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar. Bengali. From the original Sanskrit play of Kalidasa. It was recasted into a narrative.

Sukhad Udyanbhraṣṭa Kābya or *Ādinarer Bhoum Svarga Bhraṣṭopākhyān*, (vol. I) tr. by Becharam Ray and Bishvambhar Datta with the help of Padri Denham. Bengali. Milton's *Paradise Lost* (English).

Vikramorvaśī tr. by Bhaskar Damodar Palande. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original published serially in *Marāthi Jñānprasārak*.

Buddhi Prakāś, originally a fortnightly started in 1850 by Buddhiprakash Mandal; re-started as a monthly magazine by Gujarat Vernacular Society.

Dostate Pārasī Bānuān, a Gujarati weekly devoted essentially to problems of Parsi women. Continued for two years. Ed. Master Pestanaji Dhanajibhai.

Māsik Patrikā, a Bengali monthly, especially for women, ed. Radha Nath Shikdar and Pyari Chand Mitra.

Samācār Sudhāvarṣaṇ, a Hindi-Bengali bilingual daily, ed. Shayamsundar Sen.

1855

The Santal Uprising: on 30 June thousands of Santals led by Sidho and Kanu, rose against the oppression of the local landlords and money-lenders and British officers. The revolt was suppressed by the army which killed nearly twenty-five thousand Santals.

Arrival of Dr. Joaquim Heliodore de Cunha Rivara (1800–1879) in Goa as General Secretary to the Governor of Goa.

b. A. Singaravelu Mudaliar (d. 1931), compiled the Tamil encyclopaedia *Apitāṉacintāmaṉi*.

b. Badrinarayan Chaudhuri 'Premghana' (d. 1922), an essayist, playwright and journalist; editor of the Hindi magazine *Ānanda Kādambinī* (1881).

b. Bhima Bhoi (d. 1895), the blind religious poet of Orissa; the exponent of the Mahima cult.

b. Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi (d. 1907), an outstanding novelist, and scholar; known as the father of Gujarati novel. Author of the great novel: *Sarasvatī Candra* (1887–1901).

b. Gobind Chandra Das (d. 1918), a Bengali poet, known for his naturalness and robustness.

b. Kottarathil Shankunni (d. 1937), a Malayalam poet and playwright, known for his eight volume *Aitihyamālā* a collection of legends.

b. Narayana Hemachandra (d. 1909), wrote in Gujarati which was not his mother-tongue. First to translate from Bengali into Gujarati.

b. P. Sundaram Pillai (d. 1897), wrote the poetic drama *Maṉōṉmaṇīyam* (1891), a classic in modern Tamil.

b. Sheshagiri Prabhu (d. 1924), a Malayalam poet; collected Konkani proverbs.

b. Svarnakumari Debi, (d. 1932), a distinguished women novelist in Bengali. Author of *Dīp Nirbāṇ* (1876), *Kāhāke* (1898), *Huglīr Imām Bāri* (1888). Edited the Bengali journal *Bhāratī* (1884–1894).

b. U. Ve. Swaminataiyar (d. 1942), a scholar who discovered and printed many palm-leaf Tamil manuscripts.

b. V. Kanakasabai Pillai (d. 1906), a Tamil scholar, author of *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*; he translated *Kaliṅkattup Parani* and *Vikrama Coḻaṉ ulā* into English.

d. Mahmud Gami (b. 1765), fourth greatest Kashmiri poet after Lalded, Nund Reshi and Habba Khatun, he is called the Nizami of Kashmir. He wrote nine masnavis and over a hundred *ghazals* and *nazms* and *nats* and *marsias*. Among his masnavis are *Yak Hikayat*, *Lailā Majnu*, *Yusuf Zulaikha*, *Qisāi Mahmud Ghaznavi*, *Qisāi Harun Rashid*, *Shirin Khusro*, *Sheikh Mansur* etc. Their dates of composition are not known. His *Pah'ly Nama* is a translation of the Shepherd's episode in Maulana Rumi's Persian Masnavi.

d. Swami Premananda (Pseud. Premasakhi) (b. 1784), a Gujarati religious poet.

? d. Vaidyanath (b. 1780 to 85), a Maithili prose-writer.

d. Zamir, Muzaffar Husain Sayed of Lucknow (b. 1782), a noted Urdu writer of elegies.

A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language and on Vernacular Education in Assamese. By A. Native, (who has been identified as Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan).

Arthaśāstra Paribhāṣā Prakaraṇ Pahile by Krishna Shastri Chipalunkar. A Marathi work on terminology used in Economics.

Dināǰpura Rājavaṃśam, a work in Sanskrit verse on the life of King Girijanatha Bahadur and his ancestors, by Maheschandra Tarkachudamani (1841–1909).

Ghuncha-e-Ārzū (*Dīwān-e-Wazīr Alī Sabā*), collection of Urdu poems by Saba, Mir Wazir Ali (1795–1854), Matba-e-Sadr-e-Majlis, Lucknow.

? *Kuliyati Mahmūd Gāmi*, collected works of the Kashmiri poet Mahmud Gami (1765–1855). The date of composition is not known. Published by the Cultural Academy, Srinagar, in 1978.

Ñānak Kīrttanaikal by Vedanayaka Sastri. A collection of Tamil devotional lyrics set to music by a Christian poet.

Bidhabā Bibāha Pracalita Haowā Ucit Kinā Biṣayak Prabandha, Ist part January; 2nd part October. A Bengali essay on the question of widow remarriage by Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar. (Translated into English in 1856 under the title *Marriage of Hindu Widows*. Translated into Marathi in 1865 by Vishnu Parashuram Shastri.)

Aditi-Kuṇḍalaharaṇa, a play in Sanskrit by Ramakrishna Kadamba describing the episode of an ear-ring of Aditi, the mother of gods, stolen by Narakasura.

Prabhāvatī Haraṇa, a play in Sanskrit by Kavi Bhanu Natha Daivajna, a popular poet of Mithila. It is a story of the marriage between Pradyumna and Prabhavati.

Hatimtai Caritra tr. by Krishnarav Madhavarav Prabu. Marathi. From a Persian work translated into English by Duncun Forbes.

Padārtha Sār, (Natural Science in familiar dialogue) tr. by Nidhi Levi Farwell. Assamese. From Bengali.

Śakuntalā, tr. by Nandakumar Ray. Bengali. From the Sanskrit original.

Bombay Quarterly Review, published by Smith, Taylor and Co.

Dinavartamāni, a daily newspaper in Telugu from Madras ed. by Peter Percival. 1861 volume is preserved in the British Museum Library.

Tiṇavarttamāni, ed. Fr. Percival and C.W. Tamotaram Pillai. A weekly in Tamil from Madras started chiefly for the diffusion of general knowledge among the people.

Jñānadīpikā, a Gujarati monthly started by Rupashanker Ojha 'Sanchit'.

1856

Annexation of Oudh. Wajid Ali Shah deported to Calcutta.

The Paik revolt in Orissa against the British under the leadership of Chakra Bisoi in Ghumsar.

Widow Remarriage Bill was passed on 26th July.

Elphinstone Institute of Bombay was divided into Elphinstone College and Elphinstone High School.

Robert Caldwell publishers his *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (2nd ed. 1875, 3rd ed. 1956).

b. Akbar Bhat (d. 1916), a noted Kashmiri poet; wrote both *ghazals* and *nazm* in the sufiana style. In many of his poems he has referred to the Hindu philosophy of *Yoga* and *Jñāna*.

b. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (d. 1920), one of the greatest political leaders of India. Editor of *Kesari* (1887–1908); author of a few scholarly and philosophical treatises, including *Gītā rahasya*, a voluminous exposition of the *Gītā*, written during his six year-imprisonment (1908–14) at Mandalaya.

b. Balacharya Sakkari (Shanta Kavi) (d. 1920), an eminent scholar of Sanskrit and Kannada. Has written nearly 70 *Yakṣagānas* including *Uṣāharaṇa Nāṭaka*, and *Girijākalyān*.

b. Dolataram Kriparam Pandya (d. 1916), a Gujarati playwright.

b. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (d. 1895), the first editor of the Marathi newspaper *Kesari*. Later he started his own paper *Sudhārak* (1887); translated Shakespeare's *Hamlet* into Marathi (*Vikār Vilasit*, 1883). As an essayist he has left a permanent mark on Marathi literature.

b. Harilal Harshadaray Dhruva (d. 1896), one of the first Gujarati poets whose works reflect a synthesis between Sanskrit and the Western education.

b. Kuttamattu Kunnampu Kurup (d. 1911), a Malayalam poet and playwright.

b. Laldas (d. 1911), a noted Maithili poet and dramatist. Wrote two epics: *Rāmeśvara Carita Mahākāvya* and *Jānakī Mahākāvya* both based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and one play *Sāvitrī-Satyavāna Nāṭaka* on a theme taken from the *Mahābhārata*.

b. Parameshwara Jha (d. 1924), author of *Sīmantinī Ākhyāyikā*, a prose narrative in Maithili (often considered as novel), and *Mithilā Tattva Vimarṣa*, essays on the cultural history of Mithila.

b. Pratapnarayan Mishra (d. 1895), one of the makers of modern Hindi prose; a journalist, translator, poet and essayist. Edited the magazine *Brāhmaṇ* (1884).

b. Sajjad, Muhammad Sajjad Husain of Kakori (d. 1915), distinguished Urdu novelist and editor of the journal *Avadh Punch* (1877).

b. Toru Dutt (d. 1877), one of the talented Indian writers in English. The first Indian woman to write in English and French; author of *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876), *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882), both collection of poems, and *Le Journal de Mlle d'Arvers* (Paris, 1879), a novel in French.

d. Ravivarman Tampi (b. 1782), popularly known as Irayimman Tampi. A friend and adviser of Shri Svatitirunal Maharaja; author of some of the finest āṭṭakkathas. His lullaby commencing with the line *ōmaṉattinkal kiṭāvō* is a household song in Kerala

d. Udoji Adinga (b. 1761), a saint poet of Rajasthan.

? *Darji Māyārām Rī Vāt* (Ms.), a love story in prose and verse in Rajasthani, by Asia Budhaji. Composed between 1840 and 1856. First published in 1966.

Sudharama Vilāsa, a Sanskrit poem based on the *Bhāgavata*, by Raghuraj Singha.

Jānu Banyanu Caritra, a biography of John Bunyan, author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, written in spoken Telugu for the Madras Text Book Vernacular Society of which Chinnaya Suri Paravastu was the president.

Mahammadu Caritra, a biography of the prophet Mahammad, written in spoken Telugu for the Madras Text Book Vernacular Society.

Bidhabā Bibāha, Bengali play on widow-remarriage, by Umesh Chandra Mitra.

Anutāpinī Nabakāminī, tr. by Shyama Chara Das Datta. Bengali. From the English play *The Fair Penitent*.

Kural of Tiruvalluvar tr. by Charles Graul. Paraphrase of the couplets by Tiruvalluvar into colloquial Tamil and then translated into Latin.

Pal O Barjiniā Itihās, tr. by Ram Narayan Vidyaratna. From an English translation of the French work *Paul et Virgine*.

Candrikā, a Marathi magazine started by Lakshmana Shastri Halbe.

Prabodh Candrikā, a short-lived Oriya periodical (1856–58) published by the Christian missionaries, edited by the Rev. Charles Lacey.

1857

The Sepoy Uprising: The first war of Indian Independence.

First signs of unrest appeared early in 1857 at Barrackpore and Behrampore in Bengal; sepoys broke out into open revolt at Meerut on 10 May; Bahadur Shah was proclaimed as the Emperor of Hindustan; the mutiny spread in Delhi, Bihar, Cawnpore, Lucknow and Central Provinces. The first direct challenge to British rule in India. The revolt marks a turning point in the history of India.

A strong resistance against theBritish rule manifested in various parts of Orissa. Surendra Sai of Sambalpur, Chaki Khuntia of Puri and Arjun Singh of Porahat took part in the uprising. Soon after the mutiny Orissa was dismembered; Sambalpur was tagged with Central Provinces, Ganjam, Koraput and few other areas with Madras Presidency.

Accession of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (d. 1885) at Jammu. He established a printing press, (Vidya Vilas Press) at Jammu, got Takari script of Dogri reformed on the pattern of Devanagari script.

Foundations of three universities in Calcutta (January), Bombay (July) and Madras (September).

Matba-e-Sultani, Matya-Burj (Calcutta), a printing press established by Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow

Publication of an anthology of *āṭṭakkathas* by Keralavilasam Press.

b. Amar Nath Munsif (d. 1905). He started the first Punjabi newspaper in Persian script in 1898.

b. Arjundas Kediya (d. 1930), a Hindi poet and scholar, known for his work on 'alamkāra' *Bhāratī Bhuṣaṇ*.

b. Ayodhyaprasad Khatri (d. 1905), a champion of the *Khariboli* prose; author of *Khariboli Kā Andolan* (1888).

b. Champattil Chattukkutti Mannatiyar (d. 1904), author of a *kilippaṭṭu* named *Halasyamāhātmyam*. Translated *Uttararāmacaritam* and *Jānakīpariṇayam* into Malayalam from the Sanskrit.

b. Eruvayil Chakrapani Variyar (d. 1951), a Malayalam poet and playwright.

b. Dayaram Gidumal (d. 1927), a Sindhi scholar and poet.

b. Dahyabhai Pitambara Das Derasari (d. 1937), a noted Gujarati poet and a historian of Gujarati literature.

b. Gangadhar Ramachandra Mogare (d. 1915), a Marathi poet, admired for his treatment of pathos and satirical poems.

b. Garani Krishnacharya (d. 1918), a scholar of Sanskrit and Kannada; Author of *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Viśayavu, Kādambarī Kathe*, and *Nāgānanda Nāṭakam*.

b. Jagmohan Singh Thakur (d. 1899), a Hindi essayist and translator. Wrote poems in Braj.

b. Kamalashankar Pranashankar Trivedi (d. 1925), a Sanskrit scholar and a Gujarati grammarian. Editor of *Śālāpatra*.

b. Manicharan Mahapatra (d. 1920), an Oriya poet, author of *Jayapālara Agniprabeś* and *Brajabandhu Biraha* (1900).

b. Narayana Aiyar (d. 1914), translated Patanjali's Sanskrit work *Yoga Sūtra* into Tamil. His original works are *Canatāna Tarmam, Olukkamurai nul*, and *Caumarkka tipak*. Edited the Tamil monthly *Pūrna Cautirotayam*.

b. Oravankara Nilakantham Nampura (d. 1916), a Malayalam poet; author of a *tuḷḷal* and several devotional poems.

b. Potteri Kunnampu (d. ?), one of the early novelists in Malayalam. Also a noted essayist.

b. Puntottallu Mahan Nambudirippadu (d. 1946), wrote poems in the traditional forms of *tuḷḷal*, āṭṭakkatha and *Kiḷipāṭṭu*.

b Rama Karan Asopa (d ?), a Rajasthani prose writer, lexicographer and historian.

b. Ramashankar Ray (d. 1931), a pioneer of fiction and drama in Oriya. His play *Kāñci Kāberī* (1880) had great impact on the growth of dramatic production in Orissa. His noted plays are *Caitanya Līlā* (1906), *Kalikāla* (1901), *Kāñcanamālī* (1904) and *Yugadharma* (1902).

b. Sadashiba Mishra (d. 1919), an Oriya essayist.

b. Shamsuddin 'Bulbul' (d. 1919), His Urdu *dīwān* appeared in 1891. Known for his digs at the elitist Muslims of his day imitating the English way of life.

b. Shibli, Muhammad Shibli Numani (d. 1914), one of the greatest Urdu prose writers; founded the *Darul Musannifir* or Shibli Academy, its main object being the study of Islamic literature. Wrote biographies, literary histories and also several books of verses. His chief works are *Al-Fārūq* (1899), *Al-Ghazāll* (1902) and *Shir-ul-Ajam* (1908–18).

b. Sorabji Jehangir (d. 1916), prose writer and biographer, author of *Representative Men of India* (1889).

b. Umeshchandra Sarkar (d. ?), a novelist; his *Padmamālī* (1888), a historical romance, is considered as the first novel in Oriya.

b. Ve. Pa. Subramania Mudaliar (d. 1947), a Tamil critic and poet. Wrote a controversial essay on the social and ethical aspects of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; translated Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Books I and II (1895).

d. Mir Shahdad Khan (b. ?), wrote in Persian under the *nom de plume* 'Hyderi'. At

some period of his life he was charged with setting fire to an English factory at Hyderabad (Sind) and was exiled to Surat. He died in Calcutta where he was living with other exiled Mirs. He has left a Persian dīwān.

d. Barq, Mirza Mohammad Raza of Lucknow (b. 1794), a prolific writer in Urdu; a companion of Wajid Ali Shah, accompanied him to Calcutta afrer his dethronement.

d. Rind, Syed Mohammad khan, Nawab of Lucknow (b. 1797), a pupil of Atish, noted Urdu poet who adopted the title Wafa. His first diwan *Guldasta-i-Ishq* was compiled in 1834.

d. Sochi Kral (b. 1777), the Kashmiri sufi poet who gave a new turn to *tasawwuf* (sufi theology). His compositions are full of *irfan* (discerning wisdom) and *tasawwuf*. His poems collected and published under title *Majmuai Ghazliyat*. The date of its publication is not known.

Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani (Historical Essay on the Konkani Language), a work in Portuguese by Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara.

Gramatica da Lingua Concani (a grammar of Konkani), written in Portuguse by Father Thomas Stephens. Ed. Dr. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara.

Grammatica da Lingua Concani, a grammar of Konkani in Portuguese by Saldanha.

Padārthavijñānaśāstra by Kero Laksman Chatre. A Marathi text book on Physics.

Piṅgal Praveśa, a work on prosody by the eminent Gujarati poet Narmad.

Devocionario da Missa, em lingua do Pais (prayers for the Mass in the language of the country), a collection of devotional songs in Konkani by Maximo Roberto de Ataide.

Masnavi Huzn-e-Akhtar, an Urdu poem by Wajid Ali Shah Akhtar written in 1856. Matba-e-Sultani Matya Burj.

? *Vīra Satsaī* (Ms.), Rajasthani poem on heroic theme, by Suryamalla Mishrana. First published in 1972.

Zafar-uz-Zafar (Ms.) by Fransu Godlien (1777–1861), a Persian masnavi on the Sepoy uprising of 1857. Ms. at Bankipore Library, Patna; also at the Aligarh Muslim University Library.

Cittabilāsinī by Krishna Kamini Dasi. A Bengali work against Kulinism by a woman.

Durākāṅkṣer Bṛthā Bhramaṇ, a prose narrative in Bengali by Krishnakamal Bhattacharya.

Aitihāsik Upanyās, contains a story and a short novel in Bengali by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay based on J. H. Caunter's *Romance of History*.

Yamunāparyaṭan by Baba Padamanji. The first Marathi novel; its main theme is widow-remarriage. It was written to meet the expenses of court, as the author's Hindu wife did not agree to live with him, when he became a Christian.

Rām Navamī, a social play in Assamese on widow-remarriage by Gunabhiram Barua.

Tāciltār Nāṭakam by Kashi Visvanatha Mudaliyar. A Tamil play satirising the malpractices in government offices.

Cāru Carit, tr. by Aghornath Tattvanidhi. Bengali. *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (Sanskrit).

Rāselās, tr. by Tarashankar Tarkaratna. Bengali. *Rasselas* (English).

Veṇīsaṃhāra tr. by Parashuramapant Godbole. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original.

Akhbār Urdū-Gāid, an Urdu daily from Calcutta Owner and editor, Maulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad.

Akhbāruz-Zafar, Delhi, previously *Delhi-Uru-Akhbār*, continued from July 12, 1857 to September 13, 1857.

Strībodh, first monthly magazine in Gujarati for women. Initiated by Kekhushru Kabaraji.

Sundarī Subodh, a Gujarati magazine dealing with problems of social reforms, female education and widow remarriage. It published stories on the problems concerning women and had a section exclusively for women writers.

1858

Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775–1862) deported to Rangoon.

Queen's proclamation: India under the Crown.

Government Gazette (Goa) No. 58 provides for the teaching of Konkani in primary schools.

Nawal Kishore Press established by Munshi Nawal Kishore (1836–1895) under the patronage of Sir Robert Montgomery and Colonel Abbott. It printed books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit and Hindi.

The Central College Library (Bangalore), Konnagar Public Library (Bengal), Kottayam Public Library (Kerala) established.

b. Ambika Datt Vyas (d. 1900), a noted Hindi poet and playwright of Bharatendu School.

b. Bala Shanker Umiyashankar Kanthariya (pseud. *Klānta Kavi*) (d. 1898), a noted Gujarati poet and translator. Ed. *Buddhiprakāś* for some time.

b. Bholanath Das (d. 1929), author of *Kavitāmālā* (1882) and *Sītāharaṇ Kābya* (1888), which was inspired by the Bengali work, *Meghnād Badh Kābya*. One of the pioneers of blank verse in Assamese.

b. Bipin Chandra Pal (d. 1932), national leader, and a writer both in Bengali and English. Although he wrote a novel *Śobhanā* (1884) and stories *Satya O Mithyā* (1916) in Bengali, he is better known as an essayist.

b. C. V. Raman Pillai (d. 1922), famous Malayalam novelist and dramatist. Author of three historical novels. His historical novel *Mārtaṇḍa Varmā* (1890) is considered as a landmark in the history of Malayalam fiction. Laid the foundation of prose drama and a new theatre through a series of farces.

b. Cenkalattu Kunnirama Menon, Sr. (d. 1935), editor of the renowned journal *Kerala Patrikā* (1884) published from Calicut.

b. Debendra Nath Sen (d. 1920), a Bengali poet, wrote romantic poems on married and domestic love. Author of many books of poems including *Aśok Guccha* (1900).

? b. Durgadas Lahiri (d. 1932), a Sanskrit scholar; translated the complete text of the *Vedas* in Bengali; author of many historical works.

b. Girindra Mohini Dasi (d. 1924), a Bengali poetess. Author of *Kabitāhār* (1873), *Bhārat Kusum* (1882), *Aśrukaṇā* (1887).

b. Kandattil Varugis Mappila (d. 1904), an outstanding editor and publisher who founded the journal *Malayala Manorama* (1890).

b. Kaykobad (d. 1952), real name: Muhammad Kashim-a-Qureshi, a Bengali poet. Author of *Biraha Bilās* (1870), *Aśrumālā* (1894) and the epic *Mahāśmaśān Kābya* (1964) which takes the third battle of Panipat as its theme.

b. Kilakkeppatt Ramankutty Menon (d. 1894), Malayalam author of a satirical novel *Paraṅṅōṭiparinayam* on the tendency of contemporary writers to write stereo-typed narratives on the model of the famous novel *Indulekha* of Chandu Menon.

b. Koccunnittampuran (d. 1926), Malayalam author of *Mahākāvyas*, a number of *Kilippaṭṭus*, and plays. A member of the Kodunnallur royal family and of the Venmani School of poetry.

b. Lala Sitaram (d. 1938), a well-known translator in Hindi. He translated the *Megahdūtam* from Sanskrit in 1883 which was followed by translations of *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, *Mahāvīra Carit* and *Uttararāmacarita*. He also translated a few plays of Shakespeare.

b. Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi (d. 1893), a leading Gujarati prose writer, a novelist, dramatist and a critic.

b. Mehta Mathara Dasa (d. 1926), a poet who wrote verses in Dogri, Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu and Persian.

b. Navanitlal Chaturvedi (d. 1934), a poet of Brajbhasa tradition.

b. Rajadev Jha (d. 1938), a Maithili poet known for his songs.

b. Ramabai Saraswati (d. 1922), the Marathi scholar and writer; author of *Ramabai: The High Class Hindu Woman* (1890).

b. Rusva, Mohammad Hadi, Mirza of Lucknow (d. 1931), a noted Urdu novelist. His novel *Umrao Jān-Adā* (1899) is a memorable work depicting the life of a courtesan.

b. Subba Rao Nyapati (d. 1941), edited *Cintāmaṇi* the Telugu periodical founded by Viresalingam.

b. Tirumayilal Sanmukam Pillai (d. 1905), a Tamil scholar and poet; first to edit the entire text of the epic, *Maṇimēkalai* in 1894 from palm-leaf manuscripts. Also edited a journal namely *Vittiyā Vinōtiṉi* (1889–1892).

b. Vasudevashastri Khare (d. 1924), a Marathi playwright, poet and historian.

d. Akhtar, Qazi Mohammad Sadiq Khan of Hoogli (b. 1786), a native of Bengal, wrote copiously in Persian and also in Urdu. The title *Malik-ush-shaura* (Prince of Poets) was conferred upon him by Ghaziuddin Haider.

d. Waliullah Mattu (b. ?), a renowned Kashmiri poet. Besides writing ghazals and nazm, he composed some masnavis. His *Hīmal* is the first masnavi in Kashmiri which is based on a local theme. In it, he has satirised the 'bad wife'. His *Cahal Asrār*, a long mystical poem, is a translation from Persian.

Bāla Vyākaranama by Paravastu Chinnayya Suri. A grammar of Telugu in the traditions of Sanskrit grammar. The work had a wide and far-reaching influence for over a hundred years.

A Dictionary, Carnataca and English by Rive William.

Grammatica da Lingua Concani no Dialecto do Norte, a grammar of the Konkani language in the dialect of the north. By Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara.

Sindhi Reading Book prepared by Dr. Ernest Trumpp. For the first time, Sindhi press types were used in London for this book.

Narmakavitā, pts. I–III, collected poems of Narmad, the eminent Gujarati poet. pts. IV–VIII (1859), pts. IX–X (1860).

Padminī Upākhyān, a long verse narrative in Bengali based on the story of Alauddin Khilji's invasion of Chitore, by Rangalal Bandyopadhyay.

Dastanbu by Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib. An account of the Indian mutiny in Persian. Published by Matba-e-Mufid-e-Khalaiq, Agra. Second edition by the

Literary Society, Rohilkhand Bareilly, and the third from the same press in 1871.

Iṅkilāntu Tēca Carittiram by G. U. Pope, a history of England in Tamil; landmark in the history of Tamil prose.

Ālāler Gharer Dulāl, the first novel in Bengali by Pyari Chand Mitra. It portrays the vices and corruption in the life of the middle class gentry in the nineteenth century. It first appeared in the magazine *Māsik Patrikā* in 1855–1857.

Hindu Dharma Śāstra Saṃgrahamu tr. by Paravastu Chinnay Suri. Telugu. A digest of Hindu Law. Thomas Lumsden Strange's *Mannual of Hindu Law*. (English). This is the earliest work on law and polity in Telugu.

Telimekās, (vol. I) tr. by Rajakrishna Bandyopadhyay. Bengali. *Telemachus* (English) which is a translation of *Télémaque* by Fénenlon in French. Vol. II 1860.

Fawāid al-Akhbār, a bilingual weekly in Persian and Sindhi.

The Indian Field, an English weekly founded by James Hume; and ed. by Kishori Chand Mitra. The first novel in English written by an Indian—*Rajmohan's Wife*—was published here.

Somprakāś, a fortnightly journal in Bengali ed. by Dvarakanath Vidyabhushan (1819–1886), political and social reform activities were reported and discussed in the journal.

1859

Revolt of the Indigo growers led by Vishnu Charan Biswas and Digambar Biswas, diwans of indigo factories. The peasants refused to cultivate indigo, even when the planters indulged in various acts of oppression and torture. The Planter's Association appealed to the government and a new act providing summary trial of breaches of contract by the peasants was passed on 31 March 1860. But at the same time a commission was appointed to look into the allegations of the indigo-peasants.

Cuttak Library established at Cuttack.

Madrasa, Moradabad, founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Subsequently it was merged with the School of Mr. Strachy.

Pārasparika Unnati Sabhā, the first cultural association in Orissa established at Cuttack.

Est. The Uttarpara Public Library, Hooghly.

b. Abraham Panditar (d. 1919), author of *Karuṇā Mirta Cākaram* (1907), a treatise on ancient Tamil music; responsible for the renaissance of Tamil music in contrast to the medieval Karnatic music.

b. Arif, Syed Ali Muhammad of Lucknow (d. 1916), acknowledged authority on the Urdu language, excelled in the art of writing *marsias*.

b. Bishan Singh Khatṛi (d. 1917), a minor Punjabi poet who wrote *Kissā-Jahandar Shāh* and *Kissā-Shāh Murad*.

b. Cheriyan Mappila (d. 1937), the first major Malayalam poet belonging to the Christian community. Author of a *mahākāvya* entitled *Śrīveśuvijayam* (1925) widely known by the name of his birth place, Kattakkayam.

b. Durgaprasad Mishra (d. 1910), a well-known Hindi journalist and editor of *Bhārat Mitra* and *Sārsudhānidhi*.

b. Govind Narayan Mishra (d. 1926), an essayist in Hindi.

b. Keshav Harsad Dhruva (pseud. Vanamali) (d. 1938?), a Gujarati scholar and critic.

b. Paravur Keshavan Ashan (d. 1917), a Malayalam poet, who edited the journal *Sujanāndini*. Author of an āṭṭakkatha and a few poetical works in *pāṭṭu* form.

b. Mangesh R. Telang (d 1949), author of Konkani the *Bhāgavat Gītā* in verse.

b. Narasinghrao Bholanath Divetiya (d. 1937), a Gujarati poet, critic and translator.

b. Natesa Sastri (d. 1906), a Tamil novelist and a translator; Has written several novels including *Tīnatayāḷu*, *Kōmalam Kumariyāṉatu*, translated a few Shakespearean dramas including *Twelfth Night* and several Sanskrit works including *Mudrārākṣasam*.

b. Nathuram Sharma Shankar (d. 1935), a noted Hindi poet of the Bharatendu and Dvivedi era.

b. Pandit D. Savarirayan (d. 1923) published and edited the journal *Tamil Antiquary* from 1907.

b. Radhacharan Gosvami (d. 1925), a noted Hindi dramatist who preferred Braj to Khaḍiboli.

b. Ramachandra Birabara Harichandan (d. 1891), an Oriya writer on religious theme; translated the *Gītā* into Oriya.

b. Ramachandra Pandurang Vaidya alias Dada Vaidya (d. 1947), founder of *Prācī Prabham* (1905) Marathi-Konkani periodical.

b. Ramkrishna Varma (d. 1906), a noted Hindi poet, translator and journalist.

b. Ramaprapanna Shastri (d. 1937), a Sanskrit scholar and a Dogri poet; Wrote commentaries on a number of Sanskrit texts including Yaksa's *Nirukta*.

b. Shridhara Pathak (d. 1928), the precursor of romanticism in modern Hindi poetry. His poem 'Ekānt Vāsī Yogī' (1886) marks the beginning of a new era in Hindi. He translated Kalidasa's *Ṛtu Saṃhāra* and Goldsmith's *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village*.

b. Sheth Vallabhadas Popat (d. 1917), a Gujarati poet and essayist.

b. Yogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi (d. 1956), a reputed Bengali scholar; author of *Bāṅgālā Bhāṣā*, vol. I 1907; II, 1910; III, 1912.

d. Ishvar Chandra Gupta (b. 1812), the Bengali poet and journalist.

Asamīyā Byākaran, an Assamese grammar by Hem Chandra Barua.

The Tamil Plutarch by Simon Casie Chitty. The first formal attempt in Tamil literary historiography. Designed in the form of a dictionary, it gives wherever possible the dates of composition of Tamil works and the dates of birth and death of Tamil writers up to 1849.

Dīwān-i-Gul, a book of Sindhi poems written on Persian model by Gul Muhammad 'Gul'.

Tiruvāymoḻi ed. by Rajagopala Pillai. This is an edition, perhaps the earliest, of the hymns of Nammalvar, with a modern commentary on the Tamil text.

Vaṃśa Bhāskara (Ms.), a champu poem in Pingal, its theme being the Chauhans of Royal house of Bundi, by Suryamalla Mishran. Composed between 1840 and 1859. First published in four volumes in 1899.

Resāla-e Asbāb-e-Baghāwat-e-Hind by Sir Syed Ahamad Khan, reprinted at Mufid-e-Am Press, Agra, 1903. Tr. into English by Col. Grahm.

Avaliyā by Vinayak Balakrshna Damale. A social novel in Marathi distinguished by its stress on the pyschological behaviour of the characters.

Śarmiṣṭhā, the first Bengali play by Michael Madhusudan Datta based on an episode from the *Mahābhārata*.

Sermista: A Drama in Five Acts tr. by the author Michael Madhusudan Dutt into English from Bengali.

Uttara Rāmacarita tr. by Parashuramapant Godbole. Marathi. From Sanskrit.

Awadh Akhbār, an Urdu weekly started from Lucknow. It entered the heyday of its fame when Ratan Nath Sarshar was appointed its editor in 1878.

1860

Tattvaśodhaka Sabhā, an organization started by the Gujarati poet Narmad mainly for the discussion of philosophical problems.

Establishment of *Vidya Vilasa Printing Press* at Jammu which printed a number of books in Sanskrit, Hindi and Dogri in *Name Akkhara* (new alphabet), i.e. the reformed *Takari* script.

Vidya Vilasam Press, printing press-cum-publishing house established in Calicut. Published many of the early literary works like those of Ezuttacchan and Kuncan Nampiya.

The Rev James Long, the publisher of the English translation of the Bengali play *Nīl Darpaṇ*, fined and convicted.

b. Akondi Vyasa Murti (d. 1916), translator of a number of Sanskrit plays into Telugu.

b Akshaykumar Baral (d 1919), a Bengali poet, wrote romantic lyrics. Some of his well known books are—*Pradīp* (1884), *Kanakāñjali* (1885) and *Sankha* (1910).

b. Ganapati Shastrikal (d. 1925), discovered the manuscripts of Bhasa's Sanskrit plays and published them in 1912 He wrote several books in Sanskrit including *Śrī Mūlacarita*, a poem dealing with the history of Travancore during the reign of Mulam Tirunal Maharaja, and *Setuyātrānuvarnana*, a travelogue in prose narrating the pilgrimage to Rameshvaram.

b. Ganesh Datta Pathak (d 1918), a Maithili poet and a grammarian.

b. Gopal Ballabh Das (d. 1914), a poet and a novelist: author of the Oriya novel *Bhīma Bhuñyā* (1908), a story of tribal life.

b. Hamid, Hamid Ali Khan of Amroha (d. 1918), a poet and patron of Urdu literature.

b. Imam Bakhsh 'Khadim' (d. 1918), a Sindhi poet; his *Kulliyat-i-Khadim* was posthumously published in 1958.

b. Jaladhar Sen (d. 1939), a prolific Bengali writer of fictions and travelogues.

b Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu (d. 1914) one of the founders of *Andhra Sahitya Parishad* (1911). A defender of the classical traditions of the *granthika* style of writing.

b. Kabaraji Bamanji (d. 1925), a Gujarati novelist and popular playwright.

b. Kishan Singh (d. 1911), a Kissā poet of Punjab. His Kissā *Jeona Maur* is well known.

b. Lambodar Bora (d. 1892), an Assamese prose writer, known for his text books, *Jñānodaya* and *Larābodh*.

b. Mahamahopadhyaya Mukunda Jha Bakhshi (d. 1938), a Maithili scholar and essayist. Author of *Mithilā Bhāṣāmay Itihās*, a work of historical importance.

b. Muhammad Mojammel Haq (d. 1933), a Bengali poet; author of the biographical poem *Hajrat Muhammad* (1903).

b. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai (d. 1920), translated the Tamil work *Sivagnāna Pōtam*

into English (1895) and started *Siddhānta Dipikā* (1897), a monthly in English.

b. H. V. Nanjundaiah (d. 1920), headed Kannada Sahitya Parishat in the early years of its existence. Author of several pedagogical works like *Lekhā Bodhinī* and *Vyāvahāra Dīpike.*

b. R. Narasimhachar (d. 1936), a scholar of Kannada known for his monumental work: *Karṇāṭake Kavi Carite*, (1907–29) in 3 vols., the biography of Kannada poets.

b. Narayana Shastri (d. 1911), born at Kumghakaram; wrote about 96 plays in Sanskrit of which ten have been published. Some of his noted works are *Maithilīya* (1884), *Śarmiṣṭhā Vijaya* (1884) and *Śūra Mayūra* (1888).

b. Pundla Rama Krishnayya (d. 1904), founder and editor of the reputed Telugu magazine *Amudrita Granath Cintāmaṇi.*

b. Raghunananda Das (d. 1945), a Maithili poet and dramatist. Author of *Mithilā Nāṭaka, Dūtāṅgada Vyāyoga*-both plays-and *Vīrabālaka*, a narrative poem.

b. Ramshankar Vyas (d. 1916), a Hindi prose writer, translator and biographer. Wrote a biography of Napoleon.

b. Santa Rama Shastri (d. 1945), a Dogri poet who wrote in Sanskrit and Hindi.

b. Satya Bora (d. 1952), an Assamese poet and critic.

b Sharar, Abdul Halim, Maulvi of Lucknow (d. 1926). One of the makers of Urdu novel. Assistant editor of the *Awadh Akhbār.* In 1887 he started another journal *Dilgudāz.* He also wrote several historical works and translated Bankim Chandra's *Durgeś Nandinī.* Among his main novels are *Flora-Florinda* (1897), *Shauqīn Malka* (1905).

b. Shrishchandra Majumdar (d. 1908), a Bengali prose writer; the subject matter of his novels and prose-sketches is the uneventful day-to-day life of village folk in Bengal and Bihar.

b. Svapneshvar Panigrahi (d. 1953), an Oriya author known mostly for his philosophical works: *Ātma Darśaṇare Viśva Citra Kalpanā.*

b. Yedla Ramadasu (d. 1910), a well known composer of psalms in Telugu, popular all over Andhra Pradesh.

d. ? Bananath (b. 1780), a Rajasthani poet of the Nath tradition.

Bahr-e-Ajam, a Persian lexicon prepared by Maulavi Mohammad Hussain Qadiri 'Raqim' (1808–1855–56). Published from Madras.

Pāṭhamālā compiled by Herman Gundert. The first anthology of literary works in Malayalam for educational purposes—consists of models of literary forms in prose and poetry, both ancient and contemporary.

Vṛttadarpaṇ by Parashuramapant Godbole; a pioneering work on Marathi prosody.

Cennapurī Vilāsamu by Matukupallı Nrisimhakavi (1816–1873). A poetical work in Telugu describing the city of Madras.

Gulzar-e-Khayal by Ahmad Yar Khan Afi. A Persian masnavi on the love of a prince and a begger. Published from Ajmer.

Kāvya Dohana, vol. I, collection of poems of Dalapatram, the celebrated Gujarati poet, vol. II (1863).

Maulud Sharıf Baharia, 4 poems in Urdu by Muhammad Kıfayat Ali Kafi of Muradabad.

Tilottamāsambhab Kābya, a Bengali narrative poem by Michael Madhusudan Datta, written in blank verse.

Ātmacarit, Swami Dayananda's autobiography in Hindi.

Mahārājā Kumār Śrī Cainsınghjī Rī Vārtā (Ms.), a Rajasthani prose work exaulting the prince Chain Singh's patriotism and his role against the British army. By Sinachayacha Budhsingh Published in 1969.

Tenāli Ramakṛṣnuni Kathālu by Shriramamurti Gurajada. Collection of humorous tales of Tenali Ramakrishna, a Telugu poet of the 16th century, who was also probably the jester in the Court of Emperor Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar. Four other versions of these tales; by different authors, published in 1882, 1907 and 1908 respectively

Vahaeń Aiń Valhe Jī Ākhānī, a Sindhi story by Udharam Thanvardas.

Buḍa Śāliker Ghāḍe Rō, a Bengali satirical play on the hypocrisy of a traditional Hindu landlord by Michael Madhusudan Datta.

Draupadī Darśana, a Gujarati play on Draupadi by Narmad.

Ekei Ki Bale Sabhyatā, a Bengali farce exposing the way-wardness of the contemporary Bengali youths by Michael Madhusudan Datta.

Mañjarī Madhukarīyamu by Korada Ramachandra Shastri (1816–1900). It is the earliest drama in Telugu; written in 1860, but published posthumously in 1908.

Nīldarpaṇam Nāṭakam, a Bengali drama depicting the tyranny of the British indigo-planters, by Dinabandhu Mitra. Its English translation was proscribed by the government, and its publisher the Reverend James Long was fined and imprisoned.

Padmābatī Nāṭak, a Bengali play Indianizing the story of the golden apple from Greek mythology, by Michael Madhusudan Datta.

Mahābhārata, tr. by Kali Prasanna Singha and seven other associates. Bengali prose into seventeen volumes in six years (1860–66). (Sanskrit).

Rāmāyan-e-Khushtar tr. by Jagannath Kitushtar (d. 1864). Urdu. Tulsidas's *Ramcarit Manas* (Hindi).

Sitār Banabās, tr. by Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar. Bengali. *Uttararāma Carita* (Sanskrit).

Subuddhi Vyavahār, tr. by Dvarakanth Vidyabhushan. Bengali. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*. (English)

Tōtī Nāmā, tr. by Udharam Thanvardas. Sindhi. *Tutināmā* (Persian).

Āmadāvād Samācār, a Gujarati weekly published from Ahmedabad.

Kerala Mitram, a Malayalam newspaper published from Kochin by a Gujarati industrialist, Devji Bhimji.

The Madras Times, an Anglo-Indian daily.

Mutala-i-Khurshid, a bilingual Persian-Sindhi weekly journal launched by Mirsa Mukhlis Ali.

Sarvasangraha, a magazine devoted to the publication of old Marathi poetry, operated till 1867. ed. Madhav Chandroba Dukale.

1861

Government of Travancore announces award for the best prose work in Malayalam. The first award was won by *Satya Vāda Khetam* of Rev. George Mattan.

The Indian Councils Act (1 August 1861): Legislative Council at the Centre and in the provinces included Indian non-official representatives. The Act marked the beginning of the associations of Indians with the work of government.

b. Aksay Kumar Maitreya (d. 1930), a Bengali historian; wrote several well-researched books on historical characters including *Sirājaddaullā* (1898) and *Mīrkāśim* (1906).

b. Anata Prasad Vaishnava (d. 1917), a religious poet of Gujarat, also a novelist and playwright.

b. Annamalai Reddiar (d. 1890), the celebrated Tamil poet who initiated the new form of poetry, *Kāvaṭic Cintu*, specially composed for the devotees of the Lord Murugan.

b. Bijay Chandra Majumdar (d. 1942), a Bengali poet and scholar; took great interest in the Oriya language and literature; Compiled *Typical Selections from Oriya Literature* (1921–25) in 3 volumes.

b. Bramhabandhab Upadhyay (d. 1910), a Bengali thinker and a follower of 'new nationalism' or extremism; started a journal *Sandhya* (1904), which was repressed by government under the Vernacular Press Act.

b. Chintaman Vinayak Vaidya (d. 1938), a Marathi critic, novelist and dramatist.

b. Devakinandan Khatri (d. 1913), the pioneer of detective and *tilsami* (world of magic) novels in Hindi. Among his most popular works are *Candrakānta* (1888) and *Candrakāntā Santati* (1896).

b. K. Narayana Kurukkal (d. 1946), a Malayalam author of two important political satires in novel form.

b. Kesari Kunniraman Nayanar (d. 1914), editor of the journal *Vidyāvinodhinī*; one of the most renowned Malayalam essayists.

b. Koccippan Tarakan (d. 1940), author of the play *Mariāmma Nāṭakam*, (1903) a landmark in the history of Malayalam drama. He was associated with the journal *Malayala Manoramā*.

b. Kuntur Narayana Menon (d 1936), a poet of the Venmani School, who later shaped the 'Pure Malayalam' school. Poet, translator, critic and scholar. Translated many works from Sanskrit; also Tagore's *Gītāñjali*.

b. M. M. Banaji (d. ?) a blind doctor known for his English novel *Sublime Though Blind: A Tale of Parsi Life, Men and Manners* (1922).

b. Madanmohan Malaviya (d. 1946), a scholar, and educationist. Helped established the *Kāśi Nāgarī Pracarinī Sabhā* and edited the Hindi journal *Abhyuday* (1907).

b. Modsingh Mahiyariya (d 1936), a Rajastham poet of heroic themes

b. Nagendra Nath Gupta (d. 1940), a Bengali short-story writer and novelist. Also wrote in English.

b. Narayan Vaman Tilak (d. 1919), a Marathi Christian poet known for his narrative poem *Khrīṣṭāyan*, a biography of Christ.

b. Praphulla Chandra Ray (d. 1944), a noted chemist; writer in Bengali and English; author of *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist*, 2 vols. (1932–36)

b. Rabindranath Tagore (Thakur) (d. 1941), poet and essayist, novelist and playwright, composer and painter; wrote exclusively in Bengali till 1912 the year he translated some of his poems into English under the title *Gitāñjali* (Song offerings), which made him internationally known. Some of his important works published before 1910 are *Citrāṅgadā* (1891), *Citrā* (1896), *Choṭagalpa* (1894), *Cokher Bāli* (1903), *Gorā* (1910) and *Gitāñjali* (1910). He received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913.

b. Sada Ram (d. 1933), a famous Kissa writer whose Kissa 'Sohni Mahival' is popular in Malwa region.

b. Sharatkumari Chaudhurani (d. 1920), a Bengali woman fiction writer to write on domestic themes in a lucid style. *Śubhabibāha* (1906) is one of her well-known works.

b. Tirunarayanaiyankar (d. 1914), a traditional scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit; editor of *Centamil* (1903), a literary journal;, edited several Tamil works.

Anekavidyāmūlatattva Saṅgraha by Krishnashastri Chipalunkar, containing brief information about Physics, Astrology, Mathematics, Literature, Arts, Ethics, Mechanics, Chemistry, Zoology, Physiology etc. prepared with the help of many works in English.

Tirukkuṟal Mūlamum Parimeḻalakar Uraiyum ed. by Arumuka Navalar. An authoritative edition of the *Kural* and the commentary by Parimelalakar (13th Century A.D.).

Brajāṅganā Kābya. comprises eighteen odes in Bengali describing the longing of Radha for Krishna by Michael Madhusudan Datta.

Kaṃsa Vadha Campu, a campu in Sanskrit on the episode of the slaying of Kamsa, by Vasudeva Girabana Kavi.

Meghnādbadh Kābya, a Bengali literary epic describing the killing of Ravan's son Meghnad by Lakshaman, by Michael Madhusudan Datta. Written in blank verse, the work is modelled on the *Iliad* and *Paradise Lost*.

Rāi D'yāch, a Sindhi poem attributed to Udharam Thanvardas; mostly based on Shah Abdul Latif's *Sur Soraṭh*.

Rām Rāsa (Ms.), a Rajasthani devotional poem on Ram, by Rupa Devi

Garet Barītānā Khātemi Musapharī by Karaka Dosabhoy Pharamji. An account of the author's travels in Great Britain. A travelogue in Gujarati.

Takrim-e-Zahuri by Maulir Karimuddin. A commentary on three panegyrics on Ibrahim Adil Shah by the Persian poet Zuhuri. Government Press, Lahore.

Daśāvatāra Caritra Saṃgrahamu by Karmachi Subbarayalu Nayanivaru. A Telugu prose narrative based on Pauranic stories of the incarnations of Vishnu.

Juthoo and His Sunday School or Child Life in India by a Native Brahmin (Jogunath Chunder Gangooly). A prose narrative in English.

Muktāmālā by Lakshamanashastri Halbe. A pioneering Marathi novel of fantasy.

Kaniyār Kīrtan, a satirical play in Assamese on opium-eaters by Hemchandra Barua.

Kṛṣṇa Kumārī Nāṭak, a Bengali play based on a story from Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, by Michael Madhusudan Datta. First tragedy in Bengali on Shakespearean model.

Thorale Mādhavarāv Peshāve by Vi.Ja. Kirtane. First historical play, and a tragedy in Marathi.

Bekoner Sandarbha, tr. by Ramkamal Bhattacharya. Bengali. From Bacon's Essays (English).

Mālatimādhava, tr. by Krishnashastri Rajawade. Marathi. From Bhavabhuti's play in Sanskrit.

Mṛcchakaṭika, tr. by Parashuramapant Godbole. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original.

Mufīd-As-Sabiyan, tr. by Miran Muhammad Shah. Sindhi. From Hindi. (A book for children).

Qissā-e-Siyāh Posh or Hadya-e-Marghub tr. by Muhammad Inayatullah Khan Qais. Urdu. From a Persian tale.

Rāmāyaṇ of Tulsi Das tr. by Shankar Dayal Farhat. Urdu. From Hindi.

Sadbhābśatak, tr. by Krishna Chandra Majumdar. Bengali. Hafiz's poems (Persian)

Śakuntalā, tr. by Parashuramapant Godbole. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original.

Arunodaya, a short-lived Oriya journal published by the Christian Vernacular Society, Cuttak

Indian Mirror, an English fortnightly founded by Manmohan Ghose. Became a daily under the supervision of Keshab Chandra Sen

Śālāpatrak, a Marathi magazine. Initially titled as *Pune Pāṭhaśālāpatrak*. Originally a magazine of the educational institution, Pune Pathasala. First editor: Srikrishnashastri Talekar.

The Times of India, Bombay. Three papers, *Bombay Times*, *Standard* and *Telegraph* merged together and the new English daily was launched under the editorship of Robert Knight.

1862

The beginnings of the *Namdhari* movement. It was started by Baba Ram Singh (Kuka Guru); its aim was to reawaken the spirit of Sikhism and to bring about certain socio-relegious reforms. It came into conflict with the British Government, as a consequence of which many namdharis had to face terrible sufferings. Baba Ram Singh was sentenced to life imprisonment at Rangoon.

Religious Book Society, Lahore, modelled on 'London Religious Tract Society' was established by the Christian Missionaries. Its main objectives was to publish translations of religious books in Punjabi.

? St. Thomas Press, Cochin. A printing press and publishing house. Brought out literary classics at reduced price.

Railway workers go on strike at Howrah station demanding 8 hours working

day. Dvarakanath Vidyabhushan supports the demand of the strikers in his journal *Somprakāś*.

b Appu Nedungadi (d. 1933) is considered by some critics as the first novelist in Malayalam. Author of the novel *Kunda Latā* (1887).

b. Sir Aurel Stein (d. 1943), a scholar from Budapest, Hungary, who served Kashmiri language in various ways. He recorded *Hatim's Tales* (a collection of Kashmiri folk tales and songs) which were edited and translated by George Grierson in 1923).

b. Asad Paray (d. 1920), a Kashmiri poet who wrote several masnavis, besides ghazals and lyrics in the sufiana style. Among his works are *Qisāi Gul-e-Bakāwali*, *Reshi Nāmā* and *Merāj Nāmā*.

b. C. Antappayi (d. 1936), literary critic essaist. Wrote the first critical work on drama in Malayalam.

b. C.P. Achyuta Menon (d. 1937), Malayalam literary critic and editor of the monthly *Vidyāvinodini*.

b Gangadhar Meher (d. 1924), an Oriya poet belonging to the traditional school of narrative poetry.

b. Gurajada Appa Rao (d. 1915), a trend-setter in Modern Telugu literature. His drama, *Kanyāśulkam* (1892) is the earliest social play in spoken Telugu. His works include lyrics, essays, and short stories. He advocated the blending of old and new values. Influenced writers of successive generations.

b. Hari Sadhan Mukhopadhyay (d. 1938), a prolific fiction writer in Bengali. Many of his works were translated into Hindi. Among his works are: *Pañcapuṣpa* (1892), *Rangmahal* (1901).

b. Kashinathuni Nageshvara Rao (d. 1938), the founder editor of *Āndhra Patrikā* (1908). A philanthropist and national leader. Wrote a commentary on the *Gitā*.

b. Krupabai S. Satthiahandhan (d. 1894), a fiction writer in English; wrote stories about the Hindu and Christian life-styles.

b. Narayanaswami Aiyar (d. 1914), popularly known as Pinnatur Narayanaswami Aiyar, wrote a commentary on *Narriṇai*, a Sangam anthology, and a number of Tamil poetic works.

b. Ravi Varma Koyillampuran of Lakshmipuram palace (d. 1900), a Malayalam poet and dramatist. Author of a number of *campus*, devotional poems and songs.

b. S.G. Narasimhachar (d. 1907), edited many old Kannada works. Edited the journal *Kāvya Mañjarī*, and translated Aesop's *Fables*, and *Gulliver's Travels*.

b. Thakur Bhursingh Shekhawate (d. 1932), a Rajasthani scholar.

d. Akhund Mahammed Bachal 'Anwar' (b. ?), a poet at the court of Talpur 'Sind'. Wrote a diwan in Persian.

d. Ghalib, Hakim Ghulam Muhammad Khan of Rampur (b. 1794), son of Mohammad Azam Khan and pupil of Ghulam Rasul Mustaq, a noted poet of his time. Anis Minai mentions him in his *Intakhab-e-Yādgār*.

d. Zafar, (Abu Zafar Sirajuddin Muhammad), Bahadur Shah II (b. 1775), the last Mughal ruler of Delhi, deposed during 1857 uprising, died in exile in Rangoon. A noted Urdu poet.

Qate-i-Burhan by Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib. The most controversial Persian work of Ghalib in which he criticised *Burhan-e-Qate* by Mohd. Husain. He suggested a new methodology of Persian lexicography which aroused the anger of the traditional scholars. Many books were written in response to this work by Ghalib. The book was reprinted in 1865 under the title *Darfash-i-Kaviani*.

Tamil-English Dictionary by Rev. Miron Winslow.

Birāṅganā Kābya by Michael Madhusudan Datta. A collection of eleven Bengali poems written in the form of epistles (on the model of Ovid's *Heroides*) by famous ancient women characters to their husband or lovers.

Dīwān-e-Zauq, poems of the Urdu poet Zauq compiled by Anwar, Zabir, Wiran. Matba-e-Ahmedi, Delhi.

Kissā Sassī Punnun by Fazal Shah Sayyad. A Punjabi 'Kissā' narrating the story of Sassi and Punnun.

Nigaristan-e-Sukhan, compilation of selected ghazals of Zauq, Ghalib, Moomin and Zahir by Ammal Jan. Matba-ul-ulum Saint Stephens College, Delhi.

Striona Dharma Viśe Subodha, a Gujarati poem on women's duties. By Manamohandas Ranchodlal Jhaveri.

Tanippāṭal Tiraṭṭu ed. by Shantishekhara Kaviraja Pantitar. A collection of Tamil poems by several medieval poets, e.g. Kamban, Ottakkuttar, and Kalamekam with their biographical sketches and other interesting information.

Hitasūcani by Swamineni Muddu Narasimha Naidu. A collection of the essays written in colloquial Telugu on several topics of life such as education, marriage etc. Naidu used the word 'Prameyamu' for the Essay, not the generally known term *Vyāsamu*.

Hutom Pēcār Naksā, satirical sketches in Bengali on the contemporary life of Calcutta by *Hutom* who is generally identified as Kali Prasanna Singha. The writer uses a colloquial variety of Bengali.

? *Kali Bhārat*, a historical account in Assamese of the last part of Ahom period by Duti Ram Hazarika.

Pako Pahu, an essay in Sindhi on women's education by Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani.

Tabyinal-Kalam by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. A religious work revealing the fundamental unity between the Quran and the Bible.

Gulab, the first original play in Gujarati. By Nagindas Maraphatiya.

Bengalee, a journal in English, founded by Girish Chunder Ghosh.

Gujarāt Śālāpatra, a Gujarati literary magazine published from Ahmedabad by the education department of the government. Mahipatram Ruparam Nilakanth was its first editor.

Induprakāśa, an important bilingual journal (Marathi-English) published from Bombay. First editor of Marathi section: Janardan Sakharam Gadgil. Almost all graduates of the first batch of Bombay University including Justice Ranade, Justice Chandavarakar, and Justice Telang, wrote for this journal.

Satya Dīpaka, a Gujarati journal started by Karasandas Mulaji and Raninana Nanabhai Rustamji. It continued till 1864.

1863

Anjuman-e-Islami, Calcutta, founded by Maulvi Abdul-Latif Khan Bahadur for the welfare of the Muslims. It published a monthly magazine named *Resala-e-Anjuman-e-Islami* printed at Baptist Mission Press.

Madrasa, Ghazipur founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. It was re-named as Victoria School.

Dr. Elmasly (d. 1871) of Scotland arrived in Kashmir for work on the Kashmiri language. He compiled a Kashmiri Dictionary.

b. Arnaldo de Menezes (d. 1917) famous Mando Composer of Goa.

b. A. R. Rajaraja Varma Koyittampuram (d. 1918), an eminent Malayalam poet and critic. Translated Kalidasa's poems and plays; laid the foundations of Malayalam literary criticism; wrote the most authentic grammar of Malayalam. Wrote several works in Sanskrit, most important of them are *Gairvaṇivijaya* (1890), *Viṭavibhāvarī* (1894), a short poem on Radha and Krishna, and *Āṅgala Sāmrājya* (1901), a historical epic.

b. Barq, Jwala Parshad Srivastava of Lucknow (d. 1911), noted Urdu poet and novelist from Kashmir. He translated a few plays of Shakespeare and several novels of Bankim Chandra including *Kṛṣṇakānter Uil* (*Rohini*), *Durgeś nandinī* (*Bangal dulhan*), *Candraśekar* (*Pratāp*). Author of *Masnavi-e-Bahār*.

b. Dvijendralal Ray (d. 1913), a well-known Bengali playwright and poet; some of his well-known works are: *Āryagāthā* (1882), *Hāsir Gān* (1900), *Durgādās* (1906), *Mebār Patan* (1908), *Candra Gupta* (1911)—the last three works are plays.

b. Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha (d. 1947), a historian of Rajasthan, and a noted Hindi scholar.

b. Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti (d. 1940), a pioneer and champion of the movement for the use of spoken Telugu. A scholar of repute he prepared a manual of Savara and published a Telugu monthly *Telugu* (1919–20).

b. Gopinath Purohit (d. 1935), translated several plays of Shakespeare including *Romeo and Juliet*, *As You like It* and *The Merchant of Venice* around 1893 in Hindi prose.

b. Hattiyangadi Narayan Rao (d. 1921), a Kannada writer noted for his translations from English. His *Angla Kavitāvali* (1919) contains translations from Milton, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Longfellow and Shakespeare. Also compiled an etymological dictionary of Konkani.

b. Jivacha Mishra (d. 1923). His *Rāmeśvara* is considered as the first novel in Maithili. His essays were collected in a book entitled *Aṅkur*.

b. Karpura Shrinivasa Rao (d. 1932), a scholar of English, Kannada, Marathi and Sanskrit. He is known for his critical work *Sāhityaśāstra* written in Kannada.

b. Kashibhatta Brahmayya Shastri (d. 1940), essayist, biographer and critic in Telugu. A contemporary of Viresalingam, he criticised Viresalingam's *Rājaśekhara Caritra* (1880), the first novel in Telugu.

b. Kedar Nath Bandyopadhyay (d. 1949), a Bengali writer popular for his satirical and humorous writings.

b. Kshirod Prasad Vidyavinod (d. 1927), a prolific writer of plays in Bengali many of them very popular on the stage. Some of his well-known plays are: *Ālibābā* (1897), *Baṅger Pratāpāditya* (1903), *Raghubīr* (1903), *Palāśīr Prāyaścitya* (1907), *Cād Bibi* (1907).

b. Kuttamallu Kunnikkelu Kurup (d. 1915), a Malayalam poet, patron of the performing art of tuḷḷal. Wrote six tuḷḷal poems, predominently humorous.

b. Lajjaram Sharma (d. 1931), one of the early novelists in Hindi.

b. Mankumari Basu (d. 1943), a Bengali poetess: wrote essays and fictions as well. Some of her works are: *Banabāsinī* (1888), *Kanakāñjali* (1896), *Bīrkumar Badh Kābya* (1904).

b. Pantitai Manonmani Ammaiyar (d. 1908), a Tamil poetess. Written a number of works, all of which are hymns to gods.

b. Perunnelli Krishnan Vaidyan (d. 1894), Malayalam author of a number of poetical works including *Manipravala* poems and *Pallus* (songs). Translated part of *Tirukkural* from Tamil. Wrote a play entitled *Subhadrā-haraṇam*.

b. Pichai Ibrahim Pulauar (d. 1908). One of the important Tamil poets who has composed several poems on Islamic themes.

b. Sadhu Hira Nand (d. 1893), an eminent Sindhi prose writer. Edited the Sindhi journal *Sarasvati* (1890).

b. Ti. Ta. Kanaka Sundaram Pillai (d. 1922), edited the old commentaries on *Tolkappiyam* by Naccinarkkinivar and Cenavaraiyar; edited *Tamil Navalar Caritai*, a history of Tamil poets in verse.

b. Upendra Kishor Ray Chaudhury (d. 1915), an outstanding figure in Bengali juvenile literature, known for *Ṭuntunir Boi* (1910) and his adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. He started the famous journal *Sandeś* (1912) for children.

b. Vavilikolanu Subba Rao (d. 1936–1939), popularly known as *Andhra Vālmīki* because of his translation of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* into Telugu. He also wrote a play *Subhadrā Vijayam* and poems.

b. Vishnu Govind Vijapurakar (d. 1926), a Marathi essayist and journalist.

b. Vishvanath Kashinath Rajwade (d. 1926), primarily a historian but wrote essays in Marathi on various subjects including history of literature.

b. Swami Vivekananda (d. 1902), one of the greatest figures of modern India, a powerful orater and writer both in English and Bengali. His Bengali works include *Paribrājak* (1902), a travelogue, and *Bhābbar Kathā* (1905). He wrote several poems in English which can be found in the *Complete works of Swami Vivekananda* in 8 volumes.

d. Aman Bakhash Mian (b. 1778), a well-known Punjabi *Kissa*–poet; author of *Kissā-Shāh Bahrām*.

d. Imam Bakhash (b. 1778), a famous Punjabi poet who wrote many *kissās* including the love-legends of 'Shāh Bahrām', and 'Gul Badan and Laila Majnu'.

d. Svarup Dasa (b. 1801), a poet, religious teacher and reformer of Rajasthan.

Praveśikā—Dogri Dī Paihlī Pothī, a text book for schools and government offices in the reformed or standardised Dogri script.

Malayāṇmayuṭe, one of the first two grammars of Malayalam, written by Rev. George Mattan.

Cennapuri Vilāsamu, a Telugu poem describing Madras as it was seen by its author Matukumalli Nrisimha Kavi (1816–73). The work abounds in English words.

Fighan-e-Dihli (the lament of Delhi), Urdu verses on the destruction caused in Delhi during the rebellion of 1857.

Kulliyāt-e-Nazm-e-Farsi consists of two masnavis and ghazals written in Persian by Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib.

Kumār Bodh Kumārikā Bodh, a Gujarati poetical work mainly for the children, containing diadictic materials. By Hirananda Kanaji.

Prem Sāgār, an Urdu poem by Munshi Shankar Dayal Farmat.

? *Rām Devjī Ro Chanda* (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem in praise of Ram Devji, a folk god of Rajasthan. By Lacchiram Tavaniya.

Mad-Hiya Shamsiya, a biography of a Nawab of Hyderabad in Urdu by Munshi Abdul Qadir, published by Matba-e-Alia Khurshidiya, Hyderabad.

Wāqi-at-e-Hind, also called *Tārīkh-e-Hind*, A History of India in Urdu by Maulvi Kartmuddin, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Ghāśirām Koṭwāl by Moroba Kanhoba. A work of fiction in Marathi, containing historical stories loosly connected together.

Ātinantāvaṉap Piraḷayam adapt. by A. Vetakkan, Tamil. John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (English).

Cār Darvish Kathālu, tr. by Erramilli Mallikarjuna Kavi. Telugu. From an English version (1811). Gode Narayana Gajapati Rayammagaru, a zamindar, got it translated into Telugu.

Gyān Prakāsh, tr. by Munshi Kanahyalal Alakh-dhari. Urdu. *Bhagavat Gītā* (Sanskrit). Another ed. 1877.

Hariścandra, King of Ayodhya tr. by Muttuk Kumaraswami. English. From a Tamil drama on Harish Chandra

Kiriṣṭunātar Anucāram tr. by Jnanaprakasa Nadar. Tamil. Thomas á Kempis, *On the Imitation of Christ* (English translation of the Dutch text: *De Imitatione Christi*).

Qisso Sasuīa Ain Jām Punhūṅ Jo: Saswī and Punhū ed. and tr. by F.J. Goldsmid. English. From Sindhi. The original text is also included.

Śakuntalā Nāṭak, tr. by Raja Lakshman Singh. Hindi. From Kalidasa's Sanskrit play, later included in Raja Shivprasad Sitar-e-Hind's *Gutkā* (1867).

Abodhbandhu, a Bengali monthly magazine, ed. Jogendranath Ghosh.

Bāmābodhinī Patrikā, a Bengali monthly magazine, ed. Umesh Chandra Datta. An organ of the *Bāmābodhinī Sabha*, which did much for women's emancipation.

Rahasya Sandarbha, a Bengali monthly magazine ed. Rajendra Lal Mita, and published by Calcutta School Book Society and the Vernacular Literature Society.

Surata Mitra, a Gujarati weekly started by Taleyarakhan Dinsha Aradeshar. Changed into *Gujarat Mitra* next year.

1864

Est. Allahabad Public Library.

Est. *Anjuman Isah-at-e-Matalib-e-Mufida*, Punjab, Lahore. An association to propagate useful learnings.

A Branch of *Brahmo Samaj* opened at Lahore.

Est. Government College in Bangalore, later called Central College. Played a vital role in promoting higher education and had tremendous influence on younger generation.

Est. Premchand Raychand College at Ahmedabad.

Est. *Cuttack Printing Company* at Cuttack by Gaurishankar Rao, Bichitrananda Das and others.

Est. *The United Press* at Ahmedabad, the first type press in Gujarat. *Buddhiprakāś*, the journal of the Gujarati Vernacular Society was printed in this press.

b. Pandit Bishn Naraen Daro of Lucknow (d. 1916), wrote both in Urdu and English.

b. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyay (d. 1924), a renowned educationist. As the Vice-chancellor of Calcutta University he encouraged the growth of modern Indian litratures as academic disciplines. Author of *Jātīya Sahitya* (1924), a collection of essays on literature.

b. Brajendranath Seal (d. 1938), a well known philospher and writer in English.

b. G. Padmanabha Pillai (d. 1946), generally known as Srikanthesh Varma after the name of the place where he lived. Poet, dramatist, scholar, and lexicographer. Best known as the author of *Śabdatārāvalī*, the most popular dictionary of Malayalam.

b. Hari Narayan Apte (d. 1919), the outstanding Marathi novelist, also a story writer, critic and journalist. Knew French and Bengali. He was aclaimed as the greatest Marathi novelist immediately after the publication of his *Madhalī Sthiti* (1885). Some of his important novels are *Mī* (1893), *Uṣakāl* (1895), *Gaḍ Ala Pan Simha Gelā* (1903), *Candragupta* (1904) and *Paṇ Lakṣāt Koṇ Gheto* (1893).

b. Kamini Ray (d. 1933), a Bengali poetess. Among her publications the most well known are *Ālo O Chāyā* (1889) and *Paurānikī* (1897).

b. Karuppaiyap Pavalar (d. 1907), one of the noted Tamil poets. *Aḷakar Patam*, *Ilakkumi antāti*, *Navarattiṉam*, *Vikṭoriyārāṇi Carittiram* and *Taṉicceyyuḷ Cintāmaṇi* are some of his important works.

b. Kunhikkutan Tampuran (d. 1913), born in the Kodunnallur royal family; son of the poet Venmani Acchan. Represents the Venmani School of Malayalam poetry. An important member of the group of writers known as the 'Kodunnallur Kalari'. Translated the complete text of the *Mahābhārata*, parts of the *Bhāgavata*, number of plays from Sanskrit; and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Othello*.

b. M. A. Ramanuja Iyengar (d. 1937), edited many old Kannada works; started the periodical *Karnāṭaka Kāvyamanjarī* to promote study and research of old Kannada poetry.

b. Manilal Chabaram Bhatta (d. 1947), a Gujarati playwright and novelist.

b. Purohit Harinarayan (d. 1945), a Rajasthani scholar of saint literature.

b. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (d. 1919), a professor of science; one of the best known essayists in Bengali. *Prakṛti* (1896), essays on scientific subjects, and *Jijñāsā* (1903), essays on philosophical enquiries, are his well known works.

b. Ratneshvar Mahanta (d. 1893), a scholar of chronicles and ancient Assamese literature; also a poet and a playwright. His collection of poems, *Kabitā Hār* (?) is well-known; contributed various articles to the periodicals *Asām Bandhu* (1885), and *Jonākī* (1889).

b. Shivaram Mahadev Paranjape (d. 1929), a Marathi novelist and playwright, noted for his satirical writings.

b. Siddhanti Shivashankarashastri (d. 1924), a Kannada poet; wrote *Karṇāṭaka Nalopākhyana*, a narrative poem, and *Abhinava Kādambarī*

b. Sunity Devi (Maharani of Cooch Behar) (d. 1932) Author of *The Beautiful Moghul Princesses* (1918) a collection of stories in English.

b. T. Selvak Kesavaraya Mudaliyar (d. 1921), a Tamil writer, known for his critical works, which include *Kambar* (1902), *Tamil* (1904), *Tiruvalluvar* (1904), *Akbar*, *Robinson Crusoe*. Edited several old texts. Wrote short stories also.

b. T.C. Achyuta Menon (d. 1932), a Malayalam dramatist; author of *āṭṭakkathas;* contributed to the growth of 'Sangita Nataka' movement; wrote the first popular play for it—*Saṅgīta Naiṣadham* (1892). According to some scholars Achyuta Menon was born in 1869 and died in 1942.

b. Ti. Lakshmana Pillai (d. 1950), noted for his Tamil *Kirttanas*. The section *Ñāṉāṉantaṉ Aṭimalai* (garland of poetry at the feet of God) contained in his *Ceyyut Kōvai* bears some resemblance to Tagore's *Gitāñjali*. Has translated several plays of Shakespeare and Sophocles.

b. Tottakkattu Ikkavamma (d. 1916), Malayalam poetess; author of a number of poetical works mostly in *Kilippāṭṭu* forms. Has also written two plays, *Subhadrārjunam* (1902) and *Nalacaritam*.

d. Rev. Miron Winslow (b. 1789), a European lexicographer, whose Tamil-English dictionary was published in 1862.

d. Nasim, Asghar Ali Khan, Nawab of Delhi (b. 1794), an Urdu poet employed at the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, to translate the Arabian Nights into Urdu verse. He continued the tradition of Momin by following the Persianised diction.

Inrājī Asamīyā Śabda Koṣa, an English-Assamese dictionary, by Mrs. S.R. Ward.

Bīrbāhu Kābya by Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay, a narrative poem in Bengali projecting the valiant spirit of the patriotic Hindus in remote past.

Dīwān-e-Goya Urdu poems of the noted Urdu poet Goya. Matba-e-Nizami, Kanpur.

Pāwār Vaṃś Darpaṇa (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on the Rajputs of Panwar branch. By Sindhayacha Dayal Dasa. First published in 1960.

Sahr-i-Hilāl, a masnavi in Kashmiri depicting the story of Himal and Nagrai written by Saifuddin Tarabali (d. 1874). Year of publication not known.

Stray Leaves or Essays, Poems and Tales (contains tales, essays, poems and Indian ballads in English) by Shashee Chunder Dutt.

Imad-us-Sa'dat, a history of the Nawabs of Oudh in simple Persian by Ghulam Ali Khan Naqvi.

Inglāṇḍni Musapharī, a Gujarati travelogue, by Mahipatram Rupram Nilkanth.

Miltoner Jīban Carit, a Bengali biography of John Milton published by I. C. Basu.

Hindusthāna Madhyenū Ek Jhumpadum, a Gujarati novella depicting rural India, by a Parsi writer Sorabsha.

Qissā-e-Punjab Singh, a moral tale in Urdu by Maulvi Karimuddin, Matba-e-Sarkari, Lahore.

Rajmohan's Wife, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's first novel and his only novel in English, originally published serially in 1864 in the weekly *The Indian Field*. Reprinted 1935.

? *Hanumanudbhavam*, a Malayalam *āṭṭakkatha* by Kerala Varma Valiya Koyattapuran.

Jayakumārī Vijay Nāṭak, by Ranchodbhai Udayram Dave. A Gujarati play.

Mithyābhimāna, a humorous Gujarati play by Dalpatram.

Pradyumna Vijay, a play in Braj Bhasha by Ganesh Kavi. The play is based on a mythological theme.

Cārumukh Cittaharā, tr. by Hara Chandra Ghosh. Bengali. *Romeo and Juliet* (English)

Daṇḍiyo, a Gujarati fortnightly started by Narmad to encourage reading of good books. It also insisted the use of a standard style and publishing books in Devanagari script. Merged with *Sunday Review* in 1870.

Manorañjaka Ratnamālā, a Gujarati monthly magazine published from Bhavnagar.

Native Opinion, a paper in English started by Ravasaheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandalik. Later it started publishing articles in Marathi too. Operated till 1906.

Paścima Tārakā, the first Malayalam newspaper published from Cochin, ed. T.J. Pylee and Umman Philipose.

Sujana Manorañjanī, a literary Telugu monthly from Madras, ed. by Paravastu Chinnaya Suri and Bahujanapalli Sitaramacharyulu.

1865

Schism in the *Brahmo Samaj*; Keshabchandra Sen establishes *Bhāratavarṣīya Brāhma Samāj*.

Est. *Anjuman-e-Panjab*, Lahore, with Dr. W.G. Leitner as its patron. The object of this society was the advancement of knowledge through Urdu and to discussion of literary and social issues. In 1874 this Anjuman arranged Mushaira to give a new direction to Urdu poetry.

Samarasa Sutta Sanmarga Sangam, a society founded by Ramalinga Adigalar at Vadalur. Its motto was to foster religious tolerance among people. Several works on religion were published by this society which is still active.

Est. Delhi Society, under the patronage of Colonel George William Hamilton and with Lala Piyare Lal as Secretary. It published a monthly magazine Resala-e-Delhi Society.

Est. *Forbes Gujarati Sabha* in Bombay. The object of this *Sabha* was the advancement of the Gujarati language and literature.

John Murdoch (1819–1904) publishes *Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books*.

b. Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay (d. 1941), a noted Hindi poet, author of the epic *Priya Pravās* (1914) Also wrote novels and plays.

b. Balmukund Gupt (d 1907), an eminent Hindi journalist and essayist His essays distinguished by humour and wit have been collected in *Gupta Nibandhvali*.

b. B'Udhal (d. 1939), a Sindhi Sufi poet, his *Risalo* was posthumously published in 1941.

b. Cunakkara Krisna Variyar (d. 1936), translated many Sanskrit *campus* and other classics in Malayalam.

b. Haji Mohiuddin Miskin (d. 1921), a noted poet. Wrote masnavis: *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* and *Wāmiq Uzra* in Kashmiri and also a history of Kashmir, entitled *Tārīkhi Kaśmīr*, in Persian.

b. Harihar Panda (d. ?), a patron of Oriya literature; actively participated in the agitation for the unification of the Oriya-speaking areas.

b. Kalidas Gujjeranwalia (d. 1944), a Punjabi poet; wrote *Kissās* on traditional love-legends of Punjab as well as on mythological tales, e.g. *Kissā Prahlād Bhagat, Kissā Puran Bhagat, Kissā Rājā Hari Chand, Kissā Rūp Basant*.

b. Karattu Achyuta Menon (d. 1973), a Malayalam writer, author of the popular episodic novel *Virutan Śanku* and *Ammavi Pañcatantram*.

b. Kishoridas Gosvami (d. 1932), a Hindi writer who earned reputation for his social and detective novels.

b. Krishnadev Singh (d. 1911), a Hindi poet and a playwright of Bharatendu period.

b. Krushna Prasad Chaudhury (d. 1927), an Oriya essayist; author of *Hindu Dharamara Punarutthāna*, *Ārya Pratibhā* etc.

b. Panuganti Lakshminarasimha Rao (d. 1940), a Telugu playwright and essayist known for his humour and satire. Wrote thirty plays of which *Rādhākṛṣṇa* (1909), *Kokila* (1909), *Kaṇṭhābharaṇam* (1917) are considered very important. His essays are collected under the title *Sākṣī*. (in 6 vols.).

b. Parmanand Mevaram (d. 1938), a Sindhi essayist; the editor of *Joti*.

b. Radhakrishna Das (d. 1907), Bharatendu's cousin, a noted Hindi novelist and dramatist; the first president of the Kashi Nagri Pracharani Sabha.

b. Rajani Kanta Sen (d. 1910), a Bengali writer of humorous, patriotic and devotional songs.

d. Abdul Ahad Nazim (b. ?), a noted Kashmiri poet. Wrote a masnavi, *nats* (eulogiums) and satires. His collected works were published in 1978.

d. Alexander Kinloch Forbes (b. 1821), the British magistrate of Ahmedabad who took great interest in Gujarati literature; a close friend of Dalpatram; the moving spirit behind the establishment of Gujarat Vernacular Society (1848). Dalpatram wrote a long poem—'Farbāsa Viraha'—after his death.

Dayārāmakṛta Kavitā, an anthology of the eminent Gujarati poet, Dayaram (1776–1852), ed. by Ranachodlal Galuram.

Jang Nāmā Hazrat Āli, a heroic ballad in Punjabi. Its theme is the battle between Muhammad's grandson Ali and his enemies.

Kanta Purāṇak Kīrtanai, by Kavi Kunjara Bharathi. A rendering into modern Tamil of a twelfth-century work into *Kirtan* and *Viruttas*.

Karaṇa Kathā (Ms.), a narrative poem in Rajasthani based on the *Mahābhārata*, by Lecchiram Tavaniya.

Karuṇā Bāvanī (Ms.), couplets in Rajasthani relating to the stripping of Draupadi, by Kaviyo Ramnath. First published in 1953, Calcutta.

Vāsudeva Caritam, a Sanskrit poem on Krishna based on the tenth canto of the *Bhāgavata*, by Vatapalli Bhaskaran Muttat.

Wamiq Uzra a masnavi in Kashmiri by Saifuddin Tarabali (d. 1874). Published in 1948.

Wāsokht-e-Amañat, amatory poems in Urdu, by Amanat, Sayyed Agha Hasan.

Kavi Āne Kavitā, a work on poetry in Gujarati by Narmad.

Narma Gadya, collection of prose writings of Narmad. An important publication in the history of Gujarati prose.

Yaśodā Pāṇḍuraṅgī by Dadoba Panduranga. A pioneering work in Marathi criticism. A critique of Moropant's *Kekavali*.

Kavi Caritra, biographical sketches of several Gujarati poets by Narmad.

Nānaker Jīban Carit, a Bengali biography of Guru Nanak by Ramnarayan Vidyaratna.

Durgeś Nandinī a historical romance by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. The first Bengali novel of the author.

Ārabī Bhāṣetīl Suras Va Camatkārik Goṣṭi, tr. by Krishnashastri Chipalunkar. Marathi. From the English rendering of *The Arabian Nights*. Published serially from 1861 to 1865.

Bhāratīya Daṇḍabidhi Āin, (The Indian Penal Code) tr. by Nidhi Levi Farwell. Assamese. From English.

Nāgānanda, tr. by Parashuramapant Godbole. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original.

Amirta Vacani ed. not known. The first journal in Tamil for the women and by the women.

The Pioneer, a daily English newspaper published from Allahabad. Founded by George Allen; ed. Rev. Julian Robinson.

Saurāṣṭra Darpaṇ, a Gujarati monthly journal, brought out by Kikani Manishankar Jatashankar. Continued till 1890.

1866

A devastating famine in Orissa which caused the death of twenty lakhs of people.

The Kuka rebellion in Punjab, although started around 1857, reaches its peak now and continues till 1872 under the leadership of Guru Ram Singh (1815–1885).

Darul-Ulum of Deo-Band founded by Maulana Mohammad Qasim Naunotvi (1833 to 1879) in the courtyard of a mosque at Deoband (Distt. Saharanpur, U. P.) on May 30, 1866.

East India Association founded by Dadabhai Naorojee in England.

First Textbook Committee constituted in Travancore state by Ayilyaṁ Tirunal Maharaja for producing books required for school education and for spreading knowledge among the people.

Est. *Vidyavilasa Sabha*, a literary society founded by Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Jammu.

b. Cornella Sorabji (d. 1954), Indo-English fiction-writer; author of *Love and Death Behind the Purdah* (1901).

b. Dinesh Chandra Sen (d. 1939), an eminent scholar and writer; author of *Baṅgabhāṣa O Sāhitya* (1896), a history of Bengali literature.

b. Gopalram Gahamari (d. 1946), a detective story writer in Hindi. He has written more than two hundred novels, in addition to a number of plays, poems and essays.

b. Jagannathdas Ratnakar (d. 1932), a Hindi poet and scholar; known for his poetic work *Uddhav Śatak* and for his translation of Pope's *Essay on criticism*.

b. K. Rama Pisharati (d. 1946), Malayalam poet, translator of Sanskrit plays commentator of *Dhvanyāloka*.

b. Keshavasut (Krishnaji Keshav Damle) (d. 1905), a pioneer and trend-setter of modern Marathi poetry. Author of *Keśavasutāncī Kavitā*. The poems of Keshavasut were first collected and published by Hari Narayan Apte in 1917.

b. Keruru Vasudevacharya (d. 1921), associated with the Kannada periodical *Sacitra Māsa Patrike* of Dharwad. Started his own magazine: *Śubhodaya*. *Naladamayanti* is his important play and *Indirā* his noted novel (1908).

b. Kuchi Narasimham (d. 1940), a Telugu poet and playwright. of Author *Gaurāṅga Caritra* (1912), a poem, and two plays, *Vanavāsī* and *Rūpalatā*.

b. Lala Bhagvan Din (d. 1930), a critic of Hindi literature. He wrote some poems also.

b. M.S. Puranalingam Pillai (d. 1947), a noted literary historian; author of *Tamil Literature* (1904) which saw several editions, latest in 1985.

b. Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi (d. 1957), a Telugu scholar and a poet.

b. Motiram Bhatta (d. 1896), the Nepali poet who spent his active life in Banaras from where he published his poems and plays. Among his poetical works are included *Svapnādhyāya* (? 1890), *Prahlādbhakti Kathā* (1890) and *Pañcaka Prapañcak* (1891). His biography of Bhanubhakta was published in 1891.

b. Panchkari Bandyopadhyay (d. 1923), a Bengali essayist. Translated *Āin-i-Ākbarī* (1900), published a collection of short-stories, *Rūpalaharī* (1902), and wrote a history of sepoy rebellion (1909) which was proscribed.

b. Raman Ilayatu (d. 1935), a Malayalam poet generally known as Pettaraliyattu Valiya Raman Ilayatu who belonged to the Venmani School.

b. Rupa Shankar Udayashankar Ojha (d. 1932), edited the Gujarati journal *Jñāndīpikā*. His poetic collections were posthumously published.

b. Shyamsundar Rajguru (d. 1909), an essayist; his *Odiyā Chanda* (1917) is one of the earliest works on Oriya prosody.

b. Yogindra Nath Sarkar (d. 1937), one of the pioneers of Bengali Juvenile literature. His *Hāsi Khusī*, pt. I (1897) is a household name in Bengal.

d. Jadumani Mahapatra (b. 1781), a humorist of Orissa who satirized the feudal aristocracy; author of *Jadumani Rahasya* (1897), *Rāghava Bilās* and *Prabandha Purnacandra*, the last two are based on mythological themes.

d. Mir Wazir Ali Ibrati (b. ?), a prolific writer in Persian. His *M'raj-ul-Khayal*, an account of 205 poets was prepared in 1848.

Caturdaśpadī Kabitābalī, collection of one hundred and two Bengali sonnets on the model of Petrarch and Shakespeare by Michael Madhusudan Datta. First specimen of sonnets in Indian literature.

Kissā Hīr Rāñjhā, by Fazal Shah Sayyad. A Punjabi 'Kissa' on the love-story of Hir and Ranjha.

Kissā Saiful Muluk, a Punjabi Kissa by Muhammad Bakhash (1830–1904). It is based on the legend of Saiful Muluk.

Meghapratisandeśam by Mandikal G. N. Ramaswami. A Sanskrit poem in two cantos distinguished by significant departures from Kalidasa's *Meghadūtam*.

Narmakavitā by Narmad, one of the major works of the poet and a trend setter in Gujarati poetry.

Nestar-e-Gham, a Persian masnavi based on a story current in Benaras, by Muhammed 'Muqum' of Saharanpur. Muqum describes how his friend Ahmad Ali Rasa plagiarised his poem and published it and he chanced to see it after twenty years.

Rāmāyaṇa Samgraha Campu, a *campu* poem in Sanskrit on *Rāmāyaṇa*, by Nitetal Upamak Venkateshvar.

Shāh Jo Risālo (a compendium of Shah Abdul Latif's Sindhi poems) edited by Dr. Ernest Trumpp (1828–85).

Śukravārada Gauri Hāḍu, collection of Kannada songs by Venkatadrisha. These songs are on the goddess Gauri, sung by women on Friday festivals.

Śṛṇgāra Kāvyāni, a collection of erotic poems in Sanskrit, by Mahesh Chandra Tarkachudamani.

Gujarātī Bhāsāno Itihās, by Vrajilal Kalidas Shastri. A work on the history of the Gujarati language.

Nibandhasangraha by Lokahitavadi, *alias* Gopal Hari Deshamukh. A collection of essays in Marathi.

Sikhān de Rāj dī Vithiā, a Punjabi work by Pandit Shardha Ram Philori. An account of the Sikh religion and the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Mārī Hakīkat by Narmad. An autobiography. First published for private circulation. Available to the general public after the author's death.

Inglāndman Pravās by Karasandas Mulaji. A travelogue written in Gujarati narrating the author's visit to England.

Pravāsavarṇaṇa by Shivalal Dhaneshvara. A travelogue in Gujarati.

Jade-e-Taskhir, a tale in Urdu, Nawab Haidar Ali Khan Bahadur, Niwal Kishore Press.

Kapālkuṇḍalā, a Bengali novel by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. It is a tragic tale of a woman brought up in the seclusion of nature.

Karan Ghelo, by Nanda Shankar Tulajashankar Maheta. The first Gujarati novel. It tells the story of Karan Vaghelo the last Rajput King of Gujarat, his infatuation for Rup Sundari and his defeat at the hand of Allauddin Khilji.

Mañjughoṣā by Naro Sadashiv Risbud. A Marathi novel influenced by the *Arabian Nights* and *Gulbakavali*. Many verses are included in it.

Prastāvika Kathāsamāj by Ranachodabhai Udayaram Dave. A compilation of Gujarati tales.

Ratna Prabhā by Laksmanashastri Halbe. A Marathi novel of fantasy, which uses the problem of widow-remarriage as part of its theme.

Sāsuvahuni Ladāi by Mahipataram Ruparam Nilakanth. First humorous fiction in Gujarati, depicting contemporary domestic life.

Lalitā Dukhdarśak nāṭak by Ranachodabhai Udayram Dave. A popular Gujarati play on the suffering of a woman.

Sadhabār Ekādáśī by Dina Bandu Mitra. A popular Bengali tragi-comedy exposing the waywardness of the contemporary youths.

Al Marattam by Umman Philippose (1848–70). Although considered by some as the first novel in Malayalam it is an adpatation of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*.

Prabodhacandrodaya tr. by Acharya Vallabhaji Haridatta. Gujarati. From Krishnamishras play in Sanskrit.

Akhbār Scientific Society, an Urdu weekly. First issue was published on March 30, 1866 from Banaras, ed. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The other name of this paper was *Institute Gazette*. Since 1868 it became a bi-weekly.

Moslem Chronicle and the Muhammadan Observer, Primrose Press, Calcutta.

Sindh Sudhār, the first unilingual Sindhi periodical. To start with it was a fortnightly, subsequently it became a weekly.

Utkala Dīpikā, the first Oriya weekly; ed. Gaurishankar Ray. The weekly continued for seventy years and made a great impact on the life and literature of Orissa.

1867

12 April, *Chaitra Mela* (later known as *Hindu Mela*), an annual gathering of a number of distinguished Bengalis with the object of promoting nationalism. Initiated by Dvijendranath Thakur, Nabagopal Mitra and Ganendranath Thakur.

Prarthana Samaj under the leadership of Atmaram Pandurang is established in Bombay.

Utakala Bhāṣoddīpinī Sabhā, an association formed at Cuttack for the promotion of Oriya.

Utkala Press founded at Balasore by Fakirmohan Senapati.

Press and Registration of Books Act was passed on 22 March. It stipulated that every publication must have printer's name and address, and also that of publisher.

b. Adipudi Somanatha Rao (d. 1941), an essayist, poet and translator in Telugu. He translated several works from Sanskrit and Tamil into Telugu.

b. Bhoj Raj Motvani (d. 1920), a Sindhi Sufi poet.

b. Chandra Kumar Agarvala (d. 1938), a lyricist and the pioneer of romanticism in Assamese literature. Founder-editor of *Jonākī* (1889). *Pratimā* (1944) and *Bin Baragī* (1923) are his two outstanding collections.

b. Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham (d. 1945), although blind he became a prolific writer in Telugu—a playwright, poet, essayist, biographer. He translated several plays of Bhasa. His *Gayopākhyānam* (? 1927) was an immensely popular play. *Ganapati* was one of his popular novels.

b. Chintamani Mahanty (d. 1943), one of the prolific Oriya writers; author of many long and descriptive poems, novels, short stories and travelogues.

b. Dahya Bhai Dholsaji (d. 1902), wrote mythological and historical plays and worked for the advancement of the Gujarati theatre.

b. Hinglajdan Kaviyo (d. 1948), a Rajasthani poet.

b. K. R. Krishna Pillai (d. 1963), one of the earliest essayists and authors of science-literature in Malayalam.

b. Kant (Mani Shankara Ratanji Bhatta), (d. 1923), a noted Gujarati poet known for his *Khaṇḍakāvyas,* particularly, *Vasanta Vijaya*, *Cakravāk Mithuna* and *Devayāni*.

b. Katattanattu Udayavarma Tampuran (d. 1905), a Malayalam poet and translator. Author of books on aesthetics and prosody.

b. Nadir, Munshi Nadir Ali Khan of Kakori (d. 1912), an Urdu poet influenced by the British Romantics. One of his masńavi is called *Lala Rukh*. A patriotic poet.

b. Nilamani Vidyaratna (d. 1924), a patriotic journalist of Orissa; edited *Sambalpur Hitaiṣiṇī* (1889), *Prajā Bandhu* and later in his life *Utkala Madhupa* (1878). He pioneered the movement of the unification of Oriya-speaking areas into one state.

b. Pantitturai Tevar (d. 1911), Zamindar of Palavanatham, founded and patronized the Madurai Tamil Sangam in 1901, published a anthology on 'Caturvarga', called *Paṉṉūl Tiraṭṭu* (1898). He has also authored a few poetical works.

b. Sankardas Swamikal (d. 1922). One of the well known Tamil dramatists. Most of his plays are based on traditional stories. His plays include *Kōvalaṉ, Valli Tirumaṇaṉ* and *Pavalakkoti*.

b. Shrimad Raja Chandra (d. 1901), a Gujarati prose-writer whose writings inspired Mahatma Gandhi.

? b. Rajanikanta Bardoloi (d. 1939), a distinguished Assamese novelist, well known for his historical novels.

b. Vindhyanath Jha (d. 1929), the first graduate from Mithila. He composed many songs known as *Vyāvahārika Gīta* (songs for various religious occasions).

b. Zaki, Nawab Syed Mohammed Khan Rizvi (d. 1903), a scholar of Urdu, Persian, Arabic.

d. Radhakanta Deb (b. 1784), an orthodox Hindu, a patron of learning, compiled the Sanskrit lexican *Śabda Kalpadruma* (1819–1858) and wrote a few text-books in Bengali.

d. Rashk, Ali Ausat Wasiti, Mir, Wala-Jah (b. 1799), chiefly remembered for his Urdu lexicon, *Nafas-ul-Lughat* (compiled in 1840). He also left two *dīwāns*.

d. Zaki, Mehdi Ali Khan (1796–1866), wrote a book on Urdu. Prosody, *Yād Gir* (1848) and short history of Punjab (1850).

Asamīya Inrājīr Abhidhān, a dictionary in Assamese and English, published from the Baptist Mission Press at Sibsagar by Dr. Miles Bronson.

Marāthī Bhāṣece Navīn Vyākaraṇ by Krishnashastri Godbole. A work on the Marathi linguistics; particularly on the relation between Sanskrit and Marathi; and of the place of Perso-Arabic words in Marathi.

Sarala Vyākaraṇa, an Oriya grammar by Fakirmohan Senapati.

Daivasenī by Bajaba Ramachandra Pradhan, a Marathi *khaṇḍakāvya* based on Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*.

Jambhasāra (Ms.), a narrative poem in Rajasthani on the life of Jambhoji, the founder of *Visnoi* sect. By Sahab Ram Rahad. First published in 1921.

Maulaud Shariff (Arza-e-Bahar), a poem on the birth of Muhammad by Mirza Ali, Bahar. Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Rukamanī-Maṅgala (Ms.), a Rajasthani mythological poem, by Rupa Devi. First published in 1971.

Śikhar Vamśotpatti (Ms.) a historical poem in Rajasthani, by Kaviyo Gopal. First published in 1928, Varanasi.

Tiruvarutpā by Ramalinga Adigalar. This is the first printed edition of the devotional lyrics by Saint Ramalinga Adigalar. All the songs profess faith in God and compassion to man and animals. It advocates worship of God in the form of light. First complete edition 1892.

Vivek Sāgar (Ms.), a Rajasthani devotional poem, by Namdev Shri Krishnadas. First published in 1975.

Bālabhūṣanam by Paccu Muttatu. A Malayalam prose work on science written in the form of conversations.

Miftah-ut-Tārīkh, a biographical dictionary in Persian by T.W. Beale.

Napimārkaḷ Varalāṟu by Abdul Rahim. A Tamil work dealing with the biographical history of the Nabis from the earliest times.

Guṭkā, a collection of Hindi works compiled by of Raja Shivaprasad which include *Rājā Bhoj Kā Sapnā*, *Rānī Ketki Kī Kahānī* and *Śakuntalā Nātak* in abridged form.

Mayilrāvaṇaṉ Katai by Arumuga Mudaliyar. A Tamil-folk tale connecting a myth of Mayilravana with the story of Ravana. This story of the netherworld king Mayilravana coming to the succour of Ravana was very popular with the countryside audience in Tamil Nadu.

Purūravā Cakravarti Kathe by J. Sheshagiri Rao and O.Y. Doresvamayya. A prose narrative in Kannada.

Ariccantira Vilācam by Rangapillai Kavirayar. A Tamil play based on the of Harish Chandra, composed in popular metres such as *Kirthanas* and *virutham*. Several reprints in 1876, 1877, 1883, 1887 and 1893.

Ariccantira Vilācam by Venkatarama Upattiyayar. A Tamil drama in *Kirthana* form based on the story of Harishchandra. Meant for popular consumption it has a mixed style of prose and *viruttam*. Several editions in 1874, 1880 and 1885.

Mārkkaṇṭeyar Nāṭakam by Narasimhaiyar. A popular Tamil drama based on the story of Markandeya who defied the god of death by seeking the grace of Lord Shiva through penance.

Matsyavallabhavijayam, an aṭṭakkatha in Malayalam by Kerala Varma.

Athello, tr. by Mahadevashastri Kolhatakar. Marathi. *Othello* (English). First transalation of Shakespeare in Marathi.

Bhaṭanum Bhopalum adapted by Navalaram Lakshmiram Pandya. Gujarati. From Fielding's *The Dumb Lady or the Mock Doctor* (English) which is a translation of Moliérs's *Un Medicine Malgre Lui* (French).

Irāpiṉcaṉ Kurucō Carittiram tr. by V. Vishvanatha Pillai, Tamil. Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (English).

Mahāśvetā tr. by Kokkonda Venkataratnam. Telugu. From *Kadambari* (Sanskrit). A few scholars consider this as the earliest novel in Telugu. But it is a free translation of the Sanskrit work.

Mudrārākṣas, tr. by Krishnashastri Rajawade. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original.

Śakuntalā tr. by Jhaverilal Umiyashankar Yajnik. Gujarati, from the Sanskrit original.

Akhbār Sri Darbār Sāhib, first newspaper to be published in Gurumukhi script. The language used, however, was Braj Bhasha.

Kavi Vacan Sudhā, a Hindi journal published from Kashi ed. Bharatendu Harishchandra. Initially a monthly magazine later it was converted into a fortnightly and in 1875 into a weekly.

Vividhajñānavistāra, a Marathi literary magazine. Founder editor Ramachandra Bhikaji Gunjikar.

1868

Language agitation in Orissa began against the attempt to replace Oriya by Bengali. John Beams and Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay sharply criticised the views of Rajendralal Mitra and Kantichandra Bhattacharya who claimed that Oriya was a mere dialect of Bengali. This agitation made a significant impact on Oriya literary activity.

Scientific Society Bihar, Muzaffarpur. President Nawab Sayyed Mohammed Taqi Khan, Secretary Maulvi Imdad Ali Khan. It published a fortnightly paper *Akhbar-Ul-Akhyar* with Babu Ajodhya Parshad as its editor.

Sikh Sabha was established by Sadhu Navalrai.

Text book Committee reconstituted in Travancore state with Kerala Varma as Chairman. This resulted in the commissioning of scholars to write various types of prose works, compilation of anthologies containing different kinds of literary works, growth of new branches of literature like the essay, biography and scientific writing.

Krishnaswamy and Viraswamy Nayakkar edited *Mutalayiram,* probably the earliest edition of the first thousand hymns of the Alwar.

b. Darvesh Abdul Qadir (d. 1946), a noted Kashmiri poet who wrote *nats, manajats* and a *masnavi.*

b. Gopinath Nanda (d. 1924), a great Sanskritist, compiler of the *Śabda Tattvabodh Abhidhān,* an etymological dictionary of Oriya. Also wrote *Odiyā Bhāṣātattva* (1927) a work on Oriya langugage.

b. K. C. Keshava Pillai (d. 1913), a Malayalam poet, dramatist and composer. Author of *Keśaviyam Mahākāvya* and *Sadārama,* a popular *Saṅgīta nātaka;* contributed to the growth of *Saṅgīta nāṭaka* movement in Malayalam. Played a leading role in the literary controversy known as 'Prāsavāda' and argued for a new kind of poetry in which 'bhāva' was predominant.

b. Krishna Lal Mohanlal Jhaveri (d. ?), a Gujarati literary historian and critic.

b. Katallanallu Krishna Variyar (d. 1936), a Malayalam poet belonging to the traditional school associated with the poetry journal, *Kavanodayam.*

b. Lakshminath Bezbarua (d. 1938), father figure of modern Assamese literature. A versatile writer, poet, dramatist, novelist, essayist and an outstanding journalist. He inspired many writers through his periodical *Banhi* (1903) which he edited for twenty years. Among his important works are *Kāmat Krititva Labhibar Samket* (1903), *Kripābar Baruār Kākatar Topolā* (1904), *Padam Kuwari* (1905), *Surabhi* (1909) etc.

b. Lalit Kumar Bandyopadhyay (d. 1929), a Bengali essayist and critic.

b. Laliteshwara Singha (d. 1915), his work *Laliteśa Manorañjan* is a collection of poems and songs in Maithili.

b. Mulashankar Mulani (d. 1951), a prolific writer of mythological, social and historical plays in Gujarati.

b. Mummadi Krishnaraj Odeyar (d. 1794), a prominent Mysore ruler and a patron of learning; wrote nearly 50 works, and translated many works from Sanskrit. *Hariscandropākhyān and Śaṅkar Samhite* are some of his noted works.

b. Natuvattu Mahan Nampuri (d. 1944), son of Natuvattachari, belonged to the Venmani school of poetry. His works are marked by sweetness of diction and abundance of humour. Wrote many short poems and translated the Sanskrit play *Mudrārākṣasam* into Malayalam.

b. P. Narayanan Nair (d. 1960), a Malayalam author and translator.

b. Parameshvara Menon Kunelattu (d. 1956), a Malayalam poet and editor, translated *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and a few Sanskrit plays.

b. Pramatha Chaudhuri (d. 1946), – (pseudonym *Birbal*) – A eminent Bengali essayist and shortstory writer; the editor of *Sabujpatra* (1914) an *avant-garde* journal.

b. Ramanabhai Mahipataram Nilakanth (d. 1928), a leading public figure and social reformer of Gujarat. A short story writer, novelist, humourist and literary critic and journalist.

b. Ray Deviprasad Purna (d. 1915), a Hindi poet. Edited *Dharma Sudhārak*.

b. Sael, Abul-Moazzam, Nawab Sirajud-Din Ahmad Khan, (d. 1945), a pupil of Dagh and a noted Urdu poet.

b. Tejnath Jha (d. 1919), a Maithili poet and dramatist. Author of *Bhakti Ratanāvalī*, a book of devotional songs, *Rāmajanama*, a narrative poem and *Gaurīśaṅkara Vinoda nāṭaka*, a religious play.

b. Venkatesha Tirko Kulkarni (d. 1942), also known as 'Galaganath'. A novelist in Kannada who adopted several Marathi fictions and created a new readership of the novel. His *Kumudinī* (1914) is one of the first historical novels in Kannada. He edited the periodical *Sadguru*.

d. Azurda Mohammad Sadruddin Khan, Mufti, (b. 1789), a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and wrote in all the three languages; a dominating personality of the time.

Diccionario Portugueze-Concani Pelo um Missionario Italiano (Portuguese-Konkani Dictionary by an Italian Missionary) edited by Dr. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara.

Panjābī Vyākaran, a Punjabi grammar written by Bihari Lal Puri.

Campurāghavam, a. Sanskrit campu on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme by Asuri Anantacharya (1790–1850).

? *Dabistān-e-Akhlaq*, a masnavi in Persian dealing with Sufism, by Ulfat Husain Shah Faryad (1804/5–1880).

Dīwān-e-Amānat (compiled in 1861-62), poems of the Urdu poet Agha Hasan Amanat of Lucknow, Munshi Durga Prasad Press, Lucknow.

Malavaic Ciṅkara Catakam by Makalinka Aiyar. A Tamil poem in *Śataka* form. It attempts to depict certain emotions of women-in-separation, which are disallowed in Sangam tradition.

Mān Bhañjan, an Oriya poem on Radha-Krishna, by Kali Krushna Das.

Riyazul-Bahr(Dīwān-e-Bahr), poems of the Urdu poet Bahr, Imdad Ali of Lucknow, compiled by Nawab Sayyed Muhammed Khan Rind in 1836-37.

Sholā-e-Jawwala (2 volumes), collection of *washkht*, Urdu amatory poems, compiled by Munshi Fida Ali Aish of Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press.

Vena Carita, a Gujarati narrative poem on widow remarriage by Dalpatram.

Kulliyāt-e-Nathr-r-Farsi-e-Ghālib by Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib. Collection of Ghalib's Persian writings-letters, prefaces and commentaries.

Ūd-i-Hindī (letters of Mirza Ghalib) compiled by Chaudhri Abdul Ghafur.

Rasamādhav by Daji Shivaji Pradhan. A Marathi work on poetics based on Sanskrit treatises.

Mañjughoṣa by Na. Sa. Risbud. A Marathi novel of fantasy (*Adbhuta Kādambāri*)

Ariccantiropākkiyāna Nāṭakālánkāram by Mu. Naracimmaiyar. A Tamil play on the story of Harishchandra. The drama has ten cantos modelled on epic form. Subsequent editions in 1881 and 1886.

Dhruva Carıtam Āṭṭakkathā, one of the six āṭṭakkathas written in Malayalam by Kerala Varma.

Gopīnāth Ballabha Nātak, an Oriya play on mythological theme, by Kabichandra Raghunath Pariccha.

Māṇikkavcāka Cuvāmi Vilācam by Kuppuswami Kiramaniyar. A Tamil drama on the divine life of Manikkavacakar, one of the Nayanmars.

Vīrakumāra Nāṭakam by Markkanta Municami Pillai. A Tamil drama in verse, mostly Kirttanas, interspersed with prose passages. It deals with the moving story of Vivakumavan or Virasenan, the price of Vijayanagara.

Ātinantāvaṇa Mīṭci tr. by A. Vedakkan. Tamil. John Milton's *Paradise Regained.* (English) The metres used such as *Kirthanas, Kannis, Kummi*, etc., which are set to music, mar the epic spirit.

Bhram Bhañjan, tr. by Jagamohan Lala, Oriya, Parnel's *Hermit* (English).

Bodhodaya, tr. into Oriya from the Bengali original of Ishvarchandra Vidyasagar.

Cārupāṭh, tr. into Oriya for the use of students in schools from a Bengali work by Aksay Kumar Datta.

Hazār dāstān, tr. by Totaram, Shayan. Urdu. From *The Arabian Nights* (Persian).

Kādambarī, tr. by Bicchanda Pattanayak. Oriya. From a Bengali version of the Sanskrit work.

Nalinī Basanta, adapt. by Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay. Bengali. Shakespeare's *Tempest* (English).

Raghuvaṃśa, tr. by Bicchanda Pattanayak. Oriya. From a Bengali version of the Sanskrit poem.

Raghuvamśa, tr. by Gobinda Chandra Sharma. Oriya. From the Sanskrit original of Kalidasa.

Suśīlā Bīrsingha Nāṭak, tr. by Satyendranath Thakur. Bengali, Shakespeare's *Cymbelein* (Engish).

Veṇīsaṃhāra Nāṭaka tr. by Shameshvara Bapuji Sastri. Gujarati. From the Sanskrit play of the same title.

Vidyāsundar, tr. by Bharatendu Harishchandra. Hindi. Yatindramohan Thakur's Bengali play.

Balasore Sambād Bāhikā, an Oriya monthly paper (1868-71), ed. Gobinda Chandra Pattanayak. Later it became a fortnightly (1871-77) and then a weekly. Fakirmohan's first short story *Lachamania* appeared in this journal.

Bodhadāyinī, an Oriya journal ed. Fakirmohan Senapati published from Balasore. Started as a monthly but later it became a weekly.

Madras Mail, an English newspaper started by Charles Lawson.

1869

Kuxttoba, a young member of the Rane family, rebelled against Brahmin supremacy and Portuguese domination but was betrayed by his men and murdered by the Portuguese. He became a hero in Goa. The dance-songs, known as *Kuxttoba Dekhani* began to be composed around this time.

Establishment of a Government College at Mangalore.

Oriya recognised as the medium of instruction of Orissa schools and the Cuttack School Book Society was set up for the preparation of text-books in Oriya.

b. Alakattu Padmanabha Kurup (d. 1931), Malayalam poet and scholar. Author of a conventional 'Mahākāvya' entitled *Rāmacandra Vilāsam* (1967). Also wrote āṭṭakkathas and other poetical works.

b. Annada Shankar Bapubhai Dhruva (d. 1942), one of the eminent literary personalities of Gujarat. Wrote on moral themes. Edited the magazine *Vasant*.

b. Arasan Shanmukam (d. 1914), also known as 'Solavantan Shanmukam Pillai'; wrote excellent critical essays on the *Kural*, on the prefactory verse of *Tolkappiyam*; and composed several poems in *Kalampakam*, *Ciletai* and *malai* genres.

b. Balavantaray Kalyanaray Thakor. *Pseud.* Seheni (d. 1952). A dominant literary figure of Gujarat, a poet, critic, translator and columnist. Introduced the *Prithvi* metre in Gujarati poetry.

b. Bhagvan Das (d. 1958), a well known scholar reputed for his serious essays and treatises in Hindi.

b. Dinendra Kumar Ray (d. 1943), a Bengali prose writer, translated several detective novels from English into Bengali. Now remembered for his intimate sketches on village life.

b. Ghulam Mohammed Hanfi (d. 1937), a distinguished Kashmiri poet who wrote several masnavis e.g. *Jangnāmā-i-Amīr Hamzā, Khilāfatnāmā, Gul-o-Sanobar, Lailā Majnun, Alif Lailā, Bagh-o-Bahār, Chahar Darvesh, Hazār Dāstan, Qamru-Zamān* and *Habba Khotan* (depicting the life of Habba Khatun). The dates of composition of these works are not known.

b. Hariprasad Singh Gour (d. 1949), a poet and novelist. Wrote only in English.

b. Ishaq Lehar Chirag Din (d. 1948), a Punjabi poet greatly influenced by Urdu poetry; Wrote many *kissas*.

b. Krishna Bharati (b. 1791), a Tamil poet, dramatist and translator. Author of *tiruvaṉpilan Turṟai Māṉmiyam* (poetry); *Tiruviḷaiyāṭar Kīrttanai* (drama); *Kumārā Campavam* (translation from Sanskrit).

b. Lakshminarayana Nandalike *alias* Muddana (d. 1901), one of the greatest figures of Kannada literature—a representative of the period of transition from old to modern Kannada literature. He wrote several *Yakṣagān* plays. *Ramaśvamedha* (1898) is his most celebrated work.

b. Manmohan Ghose (d. 1924), wrote poems in English.

b. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (d. 1948). Although not a creative writer, his influence began to be felt on many Indian languages since the second decade of this century. He wrote both in Gujarati and English. His first major work *Hind Swaraj* originally written in Gujarati (1909) was translated by him into English in 1910. His autobiography *Satyanā Prayōgō Athvā Ātmakathā* (1925) in Gujarati, later translated into English by Mahadev Desai under the title *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1927) is a remarkable work.

b. Mu. Ra. Kandaswami Kavirayar (d. 1918). Edited and published the famous Tamil monthly *Vivēkapāṉu* from Madurai. Compiled and published two volumes of poems called *Taṉicceyuṭ. cintāmaṇi*. He also wrote several poems of which *Arimaḷattalpurāṇam* and *Vētanāyakiyammai Piḷḷaittamiḻ* deserve special mention.

b. Muralidhar Jha (d. 1929), a Maithili novelist and prose writer. Author of *Arjuna Tapasayā*, a novel, and *Kashmir Yātrā*, a travelogue. He edited the journal *Mithilamoda*.

b. Otuvil Kunnikrisna Menon (d. 1916), an English educated Malayalam poet with strong traditional roots. One of the first short-story writers in Malayalam. Author of a number of *Kāvyas* and *paṭṭus* (songs). The themes were mostly original and reflect a tendency for innovation. Most of the poems are narrative or descriptive.

b. S. Padmanabha Panikkar Mulur (d. 1931), a Malayalam author of several *āṭṭakkathas* and the famous *Kavirāmāyanam* depicting contemporary writers and actors allegorically.

b. Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar (d. 1912), a Maharashtrian who wrote in Bengali on social and economic themes. Some of his books are: *Bājirāo* (1902), *Jhānsir Rāj Kumār* (1901). *Kṛṣaker Sarvanāś* (1904), *Deśer Kathā* (1904).

b. Salim, Wahiduddin, Maulvi of Panipat (d. 1928), a scholar and Urdu prose writer. His most well-known work is *Wazah Istalahat*, a work on linguistics.

b. Shivolli Narayanan Nampuri (d. 1905), a Malayalam poet and dramatist – followed the foot steps of the Venmani poets. Wrote a *Śataka*, a *Sandeśa*, a *tuḷḷal* poem etc.

b. Sudhindranath Thakur (d. 1929), a Bengali short-story writer. Author of *Mañjuṣā* (1903) and *Karaṅka* (1912). For some time edited *Sādhanā*.

b. Uzir Beg (d. 1937), an Oriya poet; wrote several plays based on Hindu mythology.

b. Valangiman Sankaranarayana Srinivas Sastri (d. 1946), freedom fighter and writer; author of *Life and Time of Ferozeshah Mehta* (1945).

b. Vikramdev Varma (d. 1947), king of Jaypur, a native state, in Orissa; a dramatist.

d. Ghalib, Asadullah Khan Mirza. Dabir-ul-Mulk Nizam-e-Jung, Delhi (b. 1797). One of the greatest poets in Urdu literature, who also wrote copiously in Persian. A scholar and thinker, regarded as master of Persian and also a remarkable writer of Urdu prose. His first collection of Urdu verse was compiled in 1821, since then he devoted his time mostly to Persian writing. The first edition of his Urdu diwan came in 1841. For some time he was the ustad of Bahadur Shah II and wrote a history of the Timurid dynasty in Persian at his request. His Persian diary *Dastambu* kept during the days of sepoy uprising was published in 1858. Although Ghalib regarded his Persian verse as the best part of his work, he is more remembered for his Urdu ghazals.

? d. Sarur, Rajab Ali Beg, Mirza of Lucknow (b. 1787), one of the distinguished prose writers in Urdu. Author of *Fasāna-e-Ajāib* (1824 or 1842), (Tales of Marvels). According to some source he died in 1867.

Śabda Mañjarī, a Kannada dictionary edited by Turamari Gangadhara Madivaleshvara.

Alliyaracāṇi Mālai by Pukalentip Pulavar (?) ed. by Arumuka Swamikal. Second edition of (I edn. not known) a Tamil folk tale in 'ammanai' metre. It describes the story of Arjuna, the Pandav hero, who marries Alli, the Princess of a Pandiya King. Several editions followed in 1872, 1874, 1876, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1883 and 1884.

Arzhang-e-Ishq by Ata Mohammed 'Zirak' of Kalanur, Punjab. A masnavi in Persian about the love of Sohni and Mahiwal.

Brāhmaṇāce Kasab, a collection of songs in Marathi ridiculing the selfish Brahmins, by Jyotiva G. Phule.

Bahar-e-Ishq, *Zahr-e-Ishq*, *Lazzat-e-Ishq*, and *Fareb-e-Ishq*, collection of four Urdu masnavis of Nawab Mirza Shawq, Nawal Kishore Press.

Citamparak Kummi by Gopalakrishna Aiyar. A small volume of Tamil *Kummi* songs (sung by women with clapping of their hands) on the greatness of the holy spirit of Chidambaram and the grace of Lord Nataraja. Extremely popular, this work had many editions in 1873, 1874, 1876, 1884 (three times) 1885 and 1899.

Dīpada Kaliyara Kāvyavu by Chenna Mallesha. A narrative poem in Kannada about a devotee.

Dīwān-e-Asir (Muzaffar Ali Khan), collection of ghazals of Asir, a noted Urdu poet.

Dīwān-e-Jan Sahab (Ist diwan compiled in 1845 and the IInd in 1862); poems by the noted Urdu poet Jan Sahab, Yar Ali of Lucknow.

Gaṅgāvarṇaṇa by Pandurang Vyankatesh Chintamanipethakar, a long poem in Marathi describing the Ganga from its source to its confluence.

Kaṃsa Vadha Campu, a Sanskrit *campu*, by Kerala Varma. Considered to be one of the best works of the author.

Kissā Cander Badan, written by Amam Bakhsh. A Punjabi *Kissa* on the love legend of Chander Badan.

Kṛṣṇasinha Mahābhārata, a popular version of the *Mahābhārata* in Oriya prepared by Krushna Sinha, the Raja of Dharakote.

Maṇavāla Māmuṉikal Tiruvantāti by Venkataranka Ramanuja Tacar. A Tamil poem in *antati* genre, composed in praise of the great Vaishnava Acharya Manavala Mamuni (14th century), the head of the *Tenkali* sect of Vaishnavism.

Mathurā Maṅgala, a popular Oriya poem on the theme of Krishna's departure to Mathura, by Bhaktacharan Das.

Nantaṇār Carittirak Kīrttanai by Gopala Krishnaiyar Bharati. A Tamil poem on the story of Nantanar, (one of the 63 Nayanmars) narrated in 'Kirttana metre'. It had several editions in 1873, 1874, 1876, 1884 (3 times), 1885, and 1889.

Pavaḷakkoṭi Mālai, ed. by Karunananda Swamikal. This Tamil ballad composed

by the folk poet Pukalenti deals with Arjuna's marriage with Pavalakkoti, (a Pandiya Princess). This had several editions in 1874, 1882, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1888 and 1889.

Qisso Kāmasen Aiñ Kāmarūpa Jo, a Sindhi love poem by the blind poet Lalu Bhagat. Originally written in Devanagri. Udharam Thanvardas transliterated it in the Perso-Arabic script for publication by the Education Department in 1869.

Rājā Śivājī by Mahadev Moreshvar Kunte. A pioneering 'Heroic Epic' in Marathi in 6 parts (First 3 parts, 1869, next 2 parts, 1872). It has a twenty-eight page introduction in English. The epic did not evoke much response from the contemporary readers may be because of its unattractive style.

Śṛṇgāra Saptaśatī, Sanskrit lyrics by Paramanand (? b. 1820).

Āmuktamālyadā (Vyākhyā) by Ramasvami Shastrilu Vavilla. An annotated commentary on Krishna Devaraya's Telugu classic.

Najo by Wajid Ali Shah, of Lucknow. A work on Indian music in Urdu prose Matba-e-Sulatani Mata burj, Calcutta.

Bhāratabarṣar Itihās, a history of India, by Fakirmohan Senapati. Part ii, 1870.

The Confessions of Meajahan, Daroga of Police, dictated by Meajahn in Urdu and translated into English by a Mafussilite.

Dakṣinana Ketalak Bhāgani Musāfarinuni Varṇaṇa by Dhiraja Ram Jagjivanadas. An account of the author's travels through South India. One of the early travelogues in Gujarati.

The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India (2 vols.) by Bholanath Chanda. One of the notable travelogues in Indo-English.

Fārbas Jīvan Caritra by Manahsukharam Suryaram Tripathi. A biography of Sir Alexander Kinloch Forbes in Gujarati.

Khutabat-i-Ahmadiyyah, by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. A popular religious work, rejoinder to Sir William Muir's *Life of Mohamet*, and defence of the life and teaching of the prophet, a biography and a criticism. It was compiled in London 1869–70.

Urdū-e-Mualla (letters of Ghalib) written in Urdu, published from Akmalul, Matabe, Delhi, March 1869, ed. by his pupil Mir Mahdi, 2nd edition in 1899 in two parts compiled and ed. by Hali, Altaf Husain.

Baṅgādhip Parājay, a Bengali historical novel on the defeat of the feudal Chief Pratapaditya of Jessore, by Pratap Chandra Ghosh. (vol. II, 1884).

Matanakāmarājan Katai ed. by Markka Cakayam Cettiyar. A collection of twelve Tamil stories centring round the hero Madhanakamarajan. In view of the characters, locale, incidents—all belonging to the southern part of India-these

stories are also known as 'The Dravidian Nights Entertainments'. Several editions followed.

Mirat-ul-Urūs by Nazir Ahmad, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. A well-known Urdu novel that contrasts the lives of two sisters and their world views.

Mṛṇālinī, a Bengali historical romance dealing with the Muslim conquest of Bengal, by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

Muppati Raṇṭu Patumaik Katai, ed. by Nagalinga Pantitar. A collection of thirty-two stories in Tamil narrated to Bhoja Raja by the thirty-two figurines sculptured on the throne of king Vikramaditya. Author not known. This is the sixth edition of the collection.

Qisas-e-Hind, by Muhammad Husain Azad. A collection of Urdu stories from Medieval Indian history. a children's classic.

Ariccantira Nāṭakam by Tantacciya Pillai. A Tamil drama based on the story of Harichandra. First edition published with commentary in 1869. Subsequent editions in 1873, 1875, 1877, 1878, and 1895.

Tēciṅkurā Nāṭakam by Virapattiravaiyar ed. Rangaswami Mudaliyar. A popular Tamil drama based on the earlier version of the story of Desingh or Tez Singh, ruler of Gingee in Tamil Nadu.

Tēciṅkurājan Vilācam by Madurai Muttuk Kavirayar, ed. Kanniyappa Mudaliyar. A popular Tamil drama based on the story of Desingh or Tex Singh, his courage and sacrifice in the battle against the Nawab of Arcot. Its appeal to the common man's sentiment of patriotism was so great that scores of plays and ballads have been written about this ruler.

Vīramatī Nāṭaka by navalaram Lakshmiram Pandya. A historical play in Gujarati depicting the exploits of Jagdev Parmar of Malwa.

Bhāratabarṣar Itihās, (a short history of India), tr. by Bicchanda Pattanayak. Oriya. From the Bengali work of Nilmani Basak.

Bhrānti Bilās, tr. by Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar. A Bengali prose adaptation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.(English).

Hamlet, tr. by V. Visvanatap Pillai. Tamil Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (English)

Indirā by Kanhoba Ranachodadas Kirtikar, Marathi. Based on Tennyson's *Princess* (English).

Pākavata Purāna Vacanam tr. by S. Subharaya Pillai. Tamil. First Tamil prose translation of the Sanskrit. *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*.

Sītā Banabāsa, tr. by Bicchanda Pattanayak. Oriya from the Bengali of Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar.

Yamunābāiya Sañcaravu, tr. not known Kannada. *Yamunā Paryaṭan* (Marathi) by Baba Padamji.

Cūryōtayam, editor not known. The first journal in Tamil started by and for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes of Tamil Nadu was called themselves 'Ati Tamilar' (ancient Tamils). It dealt chiefly with the sociological problems of their community, though it also carried one or two short stories depicting their oppressed life.

Cuttack Argus, first periodical in English published from Orissa.

Cuttack Star, a paper in English published from Cuttack.

The Pioneer, an English newspaper published from Allahabad.

Utkala Hitaiṣinī, an Oriya fortnightly ed. Kalipada Bandyopadhyay from Cuttack.

Utkala Śubhakarī Patrikā, an Oriya monthly ed. Bhagabaticharan Das.

1870

The Indian Reform Association was formed by Keshab Chandra Sen. Its object was to provide social and moral reformation of India, by spreading education, improving the position of women in the society, and supply of good literature at a low cost.

Kavitāvardhinī Sabhā, a society of poets founded by the renowned Hindi writer Bharatendu Harishchandra.

A College in Lahore, first in Punjab, is established.

Raj Press established at Baripada in Mayurbhanj.

Sasipada Bandyopadhyay, a Brahmo reformer, established a working class organisation called *Bhārat Śramajībī Samiti*.

b. Abdul Ghaffar Fariq (d. 1925), wrote masnavis: *Qisai Yusuf Zulaikha* and *Mala Nāmā* besides translating Hali's Mussadas into Kashmiri verse.

b. Amritalal Sundarji Pandhiyar (d. 1929), a Gujarati poet; also wrote stories for children and a few philosophical works.

b. Balendranath Thakur (d. 1899), a Bengali essayist. Some of his essays have been collected in *Citra O Kābya* (1894), *Mādhabikā* (1896), *Śrābaṇī* (1897).

b. Chandramohan Maharana (d. ?), Oriya essayist and poet; author of *Nabodaya* (1888), a collection of poems.

b. Damodar Khusaladas Botadakar (d. 1928), a Gujarati lyricist.

b. Durgaprasad Majindar-Barua (d. 1928), an Assamese playwright, poet, and

writer of children's literature. Author of *Mahārāj* (1896) and *Guru Dakṣiṇā* (1903), both plays, and *Ouju Kabitā* (1895), *Phul* (1899), collection of poems.

b. Gangaprasad Agnihotri (d. 1931), one of the first critics in Hindi to respond to Western literary criticism. He translated several works from Marathi particularly the writings of V. Chipalunkar.

b. Gunavantalal Das (d. 1928), author of *Ganeśa Khaṇḍa*, a Khandakavya in Maithili written sometime between 1895 and 1910.

b. Haodijam Chaitanya (d. 1930), a Manipuri scholar and writer. Author of *Manipur Itihas* (1890), *Knahi Ngamba* (1900) and *Khamba Thoibigi Warini* (1899).

b. K. Paraman Pillai (d. 1918), a Malayalam story-writer.

b. Kavyananda Punekar (d. 1929), one of the distinguished Kannada poets Among his works *Bālaranjana*, and *Śanavantane Balvantanu* are well known.

b. Lalandhar Deb (d. 1952), an Oriya essayist, known for his critiques of the Sanskrit epics and for his radical views.

b. Mahavirprasad Dvivedi (d. 1938). An essayist, critic and translator. He has left a permanent mark on Hindi literature. The period 1900 to 1916 is often described as the *Dvivedi Yug* (period) by Hindi scholars. Translated all the works of Kalidasa and the essays of Bacon. Edited the famous Hindi journal *Sarasvatī* (1903).

b. Maphijuddin Ahmed Hazarika (d. 1958), a noted Assamese poet. His collection of verses, *Gñānamālikā* was published in 1896.

b. Mukunda Sharma (d. 1927/28). Translated *Gītā Kāśīpati* and *Śiva Mahimā Stotra* from Sanskrit to Maithili.

b. R. Raghova Aiyangar (d. 1948), A Tamil scholar and critic. Edited the literary journal *Centamil*. *Pārikātai* and *Abiññāna Cākuntalam* are his poetical works.

b. Rashid-ul-Khairi of Delhi (d. 1936), an important novelist in Urdu. He also wrote essays, biography and poems. According to NBIL (IV) 1868 in the year of his birth.

b. Satyanarayan Jha (d. 1945), wrote *bhajans* in Maithili and an epic *Śivāyan* in Avadhi.

b. Shriramchandra Bhanja (d. 1912), the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj; a patron of the Oriya language sponsered the publication of *Utkala Prabhā* (1892), a literary monthly; the first president of Utkal Sammilani (1903).

b. Soda Barhath Kesari Singh Sonyana (d. 1957), a Rajasthani poet noted for his historical narrative poems.

b. Suresh Chandra Samajpati (d. 1921), a Bengali litterature; wrote critical essays and short stories, edited many journals including *Sāhitya* (1890).

b. Taikkad Narayanan Mus (d. ?) Malayalam poet and dramatist.

b. Vaidyanath Vidyasindhu (d. 1926), a Maithili poet; author of *Varṇoddhāra*.

b. Vasudev Balavant Patavardhan (d. 1921), a Marathi poet and critic. Author of *Kāvya Āni Kāvyodaya*, (1909), a work of criticism.

b. V.G. Suryanarayana Shastri (d. 1903), a noted Tamil critic, novelist, dramatist and historian. His dramatic works include *Kalāvatī* (1898), *Manavijayam*, and *Nāṭakavival*. He wrote a novel *Mativanan*. He also wrote a history of the Tamil Language.

d. Gulam Mustafa (b. 1751), a Punjabi poet who also wrote in Urdu and Persian; His *Jang Nāmā Imam Alhqur* is a well known poem.

d. Rasul Mir (b. ?), one of the greatest wazhun/ghazal writers in Kashmiri. Wrote the masnavi *Zeba Nigār*. His ghazals are collected in *Kalāmi Rasul Mir*. (According to some researchers, he died in 1889).

Akbar Nāmā (Ms.) A versified account of first three Afghan wars written in Kashmiri by Wahab Paray. Year of publication not known.

? *Bahram Gour* (Ms.) a masnavi in Kashmiri by Wahab Paray written between 1865–70.

Baṅga Sundarī, Bengali poems by Biharilal Chakrabarti.

Bārāṇa Shir by Mirza Qalich Beg. A book of Sindhi poems for children.

Bhakta Sarvasva, collection of religious poems in Hindi The first important poetical work of Bharatendu Harishchandra.

Bhakti Rasayanavu, a Kannada religious poem by Venkatasubbayya.

Dutt Family Album, a collection of poems in English. Contributors included various members of the Dutt family of Calcutta, Hur Chunder, Greece Chunder, Govind Chunder and Oomesh Chunder. The authors are not always identified individually and the poems include some translations from French and German.

Irāmāyaṇak Kummi, by Alagiya Chokkanatha Pillai. The *Rāmāyaṇa* cast in Tamil folk form 'Kummi'.

Kamparāmāyanam – Cuntara Kaṇṭam, ed. by Elumalaip Pillai. This is the first publication of the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* by Kamban (the *Sundara Kanda*) with a commentary in Tamil prose.

Kān Cākipu Caṇṭai, author not known, ed. by Arumuga Mudaliyar. A Tamil ballad in *ammanai* genre dealing with the story of Khan Sahib, the king of Madurai, during the Mohul period, and his religious war with his enemies around.

Kṛṣṇacaritra, a Sanskrit poem on 'Rukminī-Svayamvara' by Govindan Nambishan.

Naḷaveṇpā Uriyuṭan ed. by Pusparatac Cettiyar. The first edition of the Tamil

poem composed by Pukalenti (13th century), with a commentary, a short biography of the poet, and an English translation of the poem.

Nazm-e-Namwar or *Kulliyāt-e-Sultan-e-Alam*, a collection of Urdu lyrics, by Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow.

Rāma Abjad by Sabr. A Persian poem in honour of Ram, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Rāmavarmā Mahārāja Caritam, a Sanskrit poem in eight cantos on the life of King Ayilyam Tirunala. By Pacchumuttata (1814–1883).

Rasikajana Manoraṅjanamu by Kandukuri Viresalingam. It is also called *Citraṅgadā Pariṇayamu*. It is a work of five cantos, written in *Śuddhāndra* or *Acca* Telugu, (i.e. without the use of *tatsama* words).

Śṛṅgāraratnākara, Sanskrit lyrics by Tarachand.

Śuddhāndhra Niroṣṭhya Nirvacana Naiṣadhamu by Kandukuri Viresalingam. One of the earliest poetical works of Viresalingam. These Telugu verses are composed without using either *tatsama* words or words with labial sounds.

Tirunākaik Kāroṇap Purāṇam by Meenakshmi Sundaram Pillai. A Tamil poem celebrating the deity of the temple at Tirunakaikkaronam. It is a *talapurāna* in character.

Vijayavāṇi by Vijayashankara. A collection of poems in Gujarati.

Bhāratbarṣīya Upāsak Sampradāy in two vols. vol. II 1883, by Aksay Kumar Datta. An account of various religious sects in India mainly based on H.H. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, but contains additional information as well.

Deś-Darpaṇa (Ms.), a chronicle in Rajasthani prose, by Sindhayacha Dayal Dasa.

Mahā Puruṣonan Caritra by Narmad. Biographical sketches of great men. One of the early specimens of biographical writings in Gujarati.

Śivarājavijayam, a Sanskrit prose-work on the life of Shivaji by Ambika Datta Vyas.

Tārīk̲h-e-K̲hurshid Jahi by Muhammad Ghulam Imam Khan, a history of India with an account of the mutiny of 1857. Written in Urdu.

Utsargamālā by Vrajalal Kalidas Shastri. A pioneering Gujarati work in the field of linguistics.

Devrānī Jethānī Kī Kahānī by Gauri Datt. A story in Hindi depicting the contemporary social life.

Mārmika Bodha by Dalapataram. A collection of Gujarati short stories written in the old didactic style.

Naukar Te Mālik, a book of Punjabi tales by an anonymous writer published by the Religious Book Society, Lahore.

Sada Suhao or *Qismat Ka Sitara*, an Urdu fiction by Mirza Nasiruddin Muhammad.

Tārkikabodh by Dalapataram, collection of stories in the *Pañcatantra* style. These stories marked the beginning of Gujarati short story.

Vicitrapurī by Keshav Lakshman Joravekar. A Marathi novel of fantasy.

Viśvāsarāv by Naro Sadashiv Risbud. A Marathi novel of fantasy.

Apimannan Cuntari Mālai by Pukalentip Pulaver ed. by Karunananta Cuvamikal. A Tamil folk drama based on the story of Abhimanyu from the *Mahābhārata*. Besides being printed several times (1875, 1880, 1884, 1887), the drama was staged several hundred times.

Boṅgāl Boṅgalānī, an Assamese social play by Rudra Ram Bardoloi.

Maturai Vīra Nāṭakam by Kutti Upattiyayar ed. by Madurai Mualiyar. A Tamil folk drama dealing with the tragic story of a warrior-chief in Madurai. The story has appeared in various folk forms.

Nālu Mantiri Vilācam by Tirumurti Nayinar. A popular Tamil drama based on the story of the four ministers in the court of the king of Alakapuri. The intelligence and administrative ability of these ministers form the subject matter of the play.

Prahlāda Nāṭakamu by Tiru Narayanacharyulu. A Telugu play on the story of Prahlada. Between 1870 and 1910, some ten plays have been written on the same theme.

Āpattināsak, tr. by A. H. Denforth. Assamese, J. Mathis's *Hindu Objection to Christian Religion Answered* (English).

Dhātu Bibek, tr. by Gobindachandra Basak. Oriya. From the Bengali work of the same title by Ram Kanta Sharma, (2nd ed. 1872).

Mālavikāgnimitra tr. by Ranchodbhai Udayaram Dave. Gujarati. From the Sanskrit original.

Patmottara Purāṇam tr. by Ramanuja Navalar. Perhaps the first translation of the *Padmāpurāṇa* from Sanskrit into Tamil.

Rasselas, tr. by Sadhu Navalrai and Udharam Thanvardas Mirchandani. Sindhi. Samuel Johnson's novel of the same title.

Satyavāgdini, tr. by Karkle Josai. Kannada. From a Tamil work dealing with the teachings of Christ.

Śakuntalā Nāṭakamu tr. by M. Seshacharyulu. Telugu. From the Sanskrit play *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam*.

Śakuntalā Nāṭakavu, adapt. by Shesho Ramachandra Churamuri. Kannada. Based on Kalidasa's *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam*.

Tilisim-e-Firang, tr. by Pandit Moti Lal. Urdu. W. Gregory's *Animal Magnetism* (English).

Veṉis Varttakan tr. by Vicuvanata Pillai. Tamil. Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice.* (English).

Ārya Darpaṇ, a Hindi weekly from Shahajahanpur, ed. Munshi Bakhtawar Singh under the inspiration of Swami Dayanand.

Baṅga Bandu, a fortnightly journal in Bengali, an organ of the Brahmos edited by Banga Chandra Ray, contained articles on political, social and religious subjects.

Jaṉavinotini published by Director of Public Instruction. A monthly journal in Tamil from Madras. Published articles on science, and on general subjects; and also shortstories.

Kerala Patākā, a Malayalam journal published from Cochin—later amalgamated with *Paścimatāraka.*

Sulabh Samācār, a Bengali weekly, ed Keshab Chandra Sen. It was priced one pice only and had a large number of subscribers.

Tahzīb-ul-Aḵhtaq, an Urdu journal ed. by Syed Ahmad.

1871

Prarthana Samaj established in Gujarat. Like the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, it attracted many writers and social reformers leading to religious and social awakening.

An unknown Indian from Calcutta writes to the first International in London seeking permission to open a branch in the city.

b. Abanindranath Thakur (Tagore) (d. 1951), the founder of the modern school of Indian Art and a distinguished writer in Bengali. Among his works *Śakuntalā* (1895), *Kṣīrer Putul* (1896) and *Rāj Kāhinī* (1909) are most popular.

b. Ampadi Narayana Putuwal (d. 1936), a Malayalam story writer and novelist.

b. Atul Prasad Sen (d. 1934), a distinguished Bengali poet and composer well known for his devotional and love songs.

b. C. V. Kunnuraman (d. 1949), a Malayalam poet and editor of *Kerala Kaumudī* a daily paper.

b. Chandrashekhar Sivaram Gorhe (d. 1937) the court-poet of the Baroda State. His themes were inspired by English literature but his diction belonged to the old Marathi tradition.

b. Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha (d. 1941), one of the most distinguished figures of Maithili letters. A poet and essayist. His *Vedānta Dīpaka* is a philosophical work.

b. Joao Agostinho Fernandes (d. 1947), the founder of Konkani 'Tiatr' (folk theatre).

b. K. Shankara Pillai (d. 1955). Wrote a history of Sanskrit literature and translated several Sanskrit works into Hindi.

b. Shripad Krishna Kolhatakar (d. 1934), a Marathi playwright, humourist and critic. His 'Maharashtra Git' is sung even today at all important functions. Wrote about twelve plays.

b. M. Rajaraya Varma (d. 1959), a Malayalam essayist, writer of scientific literature.

b. Madhavprasad Mishra (d. 1907), a noted Hindi journalist, editor of *Vaiśyopakārak* (1900).

b. Narabheshankar Prajakam Dave. *Pseud.* Kathiavadi (d. ?) Translated Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Julius Caeser* into Gujarati.

b. Nizamat Jung (d. 1955), a poet, wrote *Islamic poems* (Hyderabad, 1935).

b. Pa. Ve. Manikka Naykkar (d. 1931), an engineer by profession, he demonstrated that new words in Tamil could be formed without borrowing from Sanskrit.

b. Padmanath Gohain Barua (d. 1946), well known Assamese journalist and founder-editor of the monthly *Bijuli* (1890). Also a poet, a novelist, and a playwright. His well-known farces are *Gāo Burha* (1897), *Teton Tamuli* (1909).

b. Priyamvada Debi (d. 1935), a Bengali poetess, wrote short lyrics on love and nature. Among her important works are: *Reṇu* (1900), *Tārā* (1907).

b. Ranajitaram Vavabhai Maheta (d. 1917), noted Gujarati essayist and short story writer. Played a leading role in the establishment of the Gujarati Sahitya Sabha and the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad.

b. Sivaramsharan 'Premhata' (d. 1937), a Hindi poet of the Ram Bhakti tradition.

b. V. M. Satyagoparamanuja Chariyar (d. 1910). He popularized the Tamil classical texts through lucid commentaries and paraphrases. *Ālvārkal Carittiram* and *Paṭṭar Vaipayam* are his critical studies of the Alwars and Acharyas.

b. Venbakkam V. Srinivasa Aiyangar (d. 1954), author of many plays in English, including *Blessed in a Wife: An Indian Society Drama in English* in Three Acts (Madras, 1911).

d. Shauq, Tasadduq Husain Alias Nawab Mirza of Lucknow (b. 1793), a noted masnavi writer.

Bahar-e-Ishq poems in Urdu by Nawab Mirza Shauq of Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Baharistan-e-Josh, collection of Urdu ghazals of Nawab Ahmad Hasan Khan Josh.

Hanjar-e-Salik, Urdu poems of Qurban Ali Baig Salik.

Intirāyan Paṭaippor by Acanaliyar Pulavar. A Tamil narrative poem describing the war between God and His enemy and God's victory. *Pataippor* is a new genre in Tamil introducted by the Muslim poets.

Kulliyār-e-Nazir, a collection of poems of Nazır Akbarabadi.

Kulliyāt-e-Taslim complete poetic works of Taslım ın Urdu, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Mākkaṇṭeya Purāṇam by Kulandaveluka Kavırayar. A Tamil *purāṇa* dealing with the story and greatness of the Rishi Markandeya.

Pehlād Caritr, an Urdu poem on Hindu puranic theme by Girdhari Lal Asad, Nawal Kishore Press Lucknow.

Periya Purāṇak Kīrttaṉam by Ramaswani Aiyar. A version of *Periya Purāṇam* in the form of Tamil *Kırttanas*.

Saiful-Mulūk Ain Badi ul-Jamāl, a Sındhı love poem, by Bɛhar.

Sasuī Punhū, a Sindhı love poem, by Arif Kalhoro.

Suradhuni Kāhya, vol I (1871), vol. II (1876) by Dınabandhu Mitra. A Bengali poem describing the places and narrating myths and histories associated with the Ganga.

Tillaikkalampakam ed Arunacalak Kurukkal. An edition of a Tamil poem by the twin poets (Irattaippulavar) one blind and the other lame. This poem composed in *Kalampakam* genre celebrates the grace of Lord Nataraja at Chidambaram.

Vivekacintāmaṇi by Arikaraputtıra Upattiyayar. One hundred Tamil verses pertaining moral instructions.

Vivekavirtti Vilācam: Civa Parakkiramam by A. Katırvelak Kavırayar. A voluminous Tamil work of *Kirttanas*.

Rukmānkata Carittiram by Manavala Ramanuja Tacar. A Tamil prose work on Rukmankata, a devotee of Vishnu. The *Ekādaśī* festival is held to commemorate his devotion to the lord.

Lord Clive Carittiram by Je. E. Katirvelu Pillai. The life of Lord Clive in Tamil prose.

Tārikh-e-Jadwalia, a tabulated compendium of general history from earliest times, written in Urdu, by Munshi Khadim Alı.

Tārikh-e-Kāshmīr, (Ms.) a history of Kashmir written in Kashmiri by Khalil Mirjanpuri.

Mirat-un-Nisa, an Urdu work dealing with the duties of Mohammaden Women, religion, social and domestic, By Fatma Bibı.

Hamsaviṁśati Kathalu, a Telugu prose rendering of the Telugu poetical work

Hamsavimśati of Ayyalaraju Narayana Kavi (18th century). By Anon.

Mocanagaḍ by Raj Bhi Gunjikar. A Marathi historical novel based on the time of Shivaji, distinguished by its narrative technique and power of evocation.

Sarosh-e-Sukhan by Sukhan, Fakhgruddin Husain of Delhi. An Urdu romance.

Vidagdhastrīcaritra by Chintaman Dikshit Joshi. A Marathi fiction often referred to as a novel, but actually a collection of erotic tales of ex-marital affairs with a feeble link among them.

Vikkiramātittaṉ Katai by Pa. Ve. Mukammatu Ipurakim Cakipu. A collection of Tamil stories about King Vikramaditya.

Iraṇiya Nāṭakam by Somasundara Mudaliyar. A Tamil drama on Hiranya and Prahalada.

Lobhe Pāp Pāpe Mṛtyu, a Bengali social play, by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna.

Maṉmata Nāṭakam by. Tirumalai Tacar. Ed. by Viracami Nayutu. A Tamil drama dealing with the story of Manmatha, the god of love, punished by Shiva. Several dramas were written on the same theme.

Manoramā by Mahadev Balakrishna Chitale. First original Marathi social play, dealing with the problems of marriage, widowhood, and widow-remarriage.

Sawāī Mādhavarāvace Natak by Vyankatesha Rango Katti, a successful historical Marathi play by a non-Marathi (Kannada) author.

Tamayanti Nāṭakam by Krishan Pillai. A Tamil drama dealing with the story of Nala and Damayanti. There have been scores of dramas on the theme of Damayanti during the letter half of the 19th century.

Tampāccāri Vilācam by Kashi Visvanatha Mudaliyar. A Tamil drama in colloquial prose dealing with the story of a spend-thrift.

Gīta Govinda tr. by Peri Swamy Tirumalacharya. Kannada. Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* (Sanskrit).

Hekṭar Badh, tr. by Michael Madhusudan Datta. Bengali prose. Homer's *Iliad* (Greek). Though unfinished this was the first attempt to translate from the original Greek into any Indian language.

Mudra Rākṣasa Harishchandra Kaviratna. Bengali. From the Sanskrit play by Vishakhadatta.

Pārata Caṅkirakam tr. by H. W. Cupparayalu Nayutu. Tamil prose. *Mahābhārata* (Sanskrit).

Āndhra Bhāṣā Sañjīvaṇī, a literary monthly ed. by Kokkonda Venkataratnam for the propagation of classical Telugu (*Granthika Bhāṣā*). It continued till 1981.

Āsām Bilāsinī, an Assamese periodical (1871–83) ed. by the religious head of the Auniati Satra

Cuttack Chronicle, an English newspaper from Cuttack.

Dambhahārak, a Marathi magazine founded by Ramachandra Bhikaji Gunjikar to confront Christianity and to encourage the use of the Marathi language.

1872

Revolt of the *raiyats* of the Pabna district in Bengal against the unlawful demands of their landlords.

Native Marriage Act legalised unorthodox marriage between different castes. It also made monogamy obligatory for the marriages under it and fixed the minimum age for the bride and the groom.

Asamīyā Sāhitya Cārā, a literary society formed by the Assamese students studying in Calcutta. In 1888 it was reorganised under the new name of *Asamīyā Bhāṣār Unnati Sādhinī Sabhā'*

The first Bengali public theatre established in Calcutta by Girish Chandra Ghosh, Ardhedu Sekhar Mustafi, Motilal Sur, Amritalal Basu and others. Known as the National Theatre.

Oriya introduced in the courts at Ganjam district. Prior to this Telugu was the language in the courts

Oriental College, Lahore started as a school of the *Anjuman-e-Punjab*, Lahore, with Dr. Leitner as its Principal After March 1872 it became a college.

Utkal Association was established at Cuttack by Gaurishankar Ray. This association played a great role in the reawakening of Orissa.

Utkal Hitaiṣiṇī Sabha established at Berhampore, Ganjam.

b. A. Madhaviya, (d. 1925), a poet and one of the early Tamil novelists. Wrote several social novels : *PadmāvathiCarittiram, Muttu Meenātci* and *Tillai Gōvindan* etc.

b. Appaviya Madhavaiah, Pseud. Kushika (d. ?), An Indo-English novelist; most of the fictions deal with social themes: marriage, reform and allied topics.

b. Aurobinda Ghose (d. 1950), more well known as Sri Aurobindo. An outstanding figure in Indo-English literature. A master of prose, a dramatist and a poet, and a powerful critic. Among his many poetical works, the most well-known is *Savitri: A Legend and a Symbol* (1950).

b. Bande Narayan Kamti (d. 1918), translator of the *Gītā* in Hindi verse.

b. Baratha Kesari Singh (Shahpura) (d. 1941), a Rajasthani poet and a revolutionary.

b. *Bee*, real name : Narayan Murlidhar Gupta (d. 1947), a Marathi poet.

b. Bellave Venkata Naranappa (d. 1943), retold *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* and *Pampa Bhārāta* into modern Kannada prose. Edited works like *Śabdamani Darpaṇa* and *Someśvara Śataka*. Was the editor of *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike*.

b. Benudhar Rajkhowa (d. 1955), an Assamese poet and dramatist. Among his collections of poems are *Asamīyā bhāi* (1901); *Kavitā* (1895); etc.

b. Betab See Narayan Prasad (d. 1945).

b. Bhai Vir Singh (d. 1957), the distinguished Punjabi author of modern times. The novel *Sundarī* (1898), the epic *Rāṇā Sūrat Singh* (1905) and poetic collection *Lahran de Har* (1907) are his major works. His poetry is mainly mystico-ethical in nature, His novels recreated a time of Sikh history when the community was engaged in a heroic struggle for survival.

b. Bhaktulakunda R. Rajam Aiyar (d. 1896), author of *True Greatness* or *Vasudev Sastri* in English which deals with religious life in Tamil Nadu during the late nineteenth century.

b. C. S. Gopala Panikkar, (d. ?) a Malayalam essayist, story writer and poet.

b. Chilukuri Virabhadara Rao (d. 1939). A Tamil writer to write a history of the Andhras. His *Andhrula Caritra* was published in 1910.

b. Harihar Mardaraj (d. ?), Raja of Khalikote, a native state in south Orissa; author of *Jātīya Saṅgīta* (1904), a collection of patriotic songs in Oriya.

b. Hemchandra Goswami (d. 1928), an Assamese poet and essayist, known for his collection of verse *Phular Caki* (1907). Prepared a *Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts* (1930).

b. I. Vai. Anantaramaiyar (d. 1931), a Tamil critic, who edited *Kalittokai*, a Sankam classic, with critical notes.

b. Janardan Jha 'Janasidana' (d. 1951) a novelist and a poet in Maithili. His novels *Nirdayi Sāsu, Śaśikalā* and *Punarvivāha* deal with contemporary social life.

b. Joseph Furtado (Sebastipo Jose Palegic Eurtado) (d. 1947), author of *Lyrics of Goan*.

b. K. C. Mamman Mappila (d. 1964), Malayalam essayist and translator; translated *Ivanhoe* into Malayalam.

b. Kanaklal Barua (d. 1940), an Assamese historian and essayist. Many of his articles lie scattered in various periodicals including *Jonaki*. His book *Early History of Kamrup* (1933) deals with the history of Kamrup from earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century.

b. Katattanallu Ravi Varma Tampuran (d. 1913), a Malayalam poet, author of *Anyāpadeśa Śatakam* and an elegy.

b. Krisna Prasad Agarwala (d. 1897), an Assamese poet, known for his sensitiveness and elegance.

b. Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar (d. 1948), a noted journalist associated with *Kesari* and a playwright. Written fifteen plays in Marathi.

b. Lakshman Ramachandra Pangarakar (d. 1941), a Marathi scholar of saint literature and a fine prose writer.

b. Madhavanuj (Kashinath Hari Modak) (d. 1916), translated Michael Madhusudan's *Meghnādbadh Kābya* and *Bīrāṅganā* and Bankimchandra's *Kṛṣṇakānter Uil* into Marathi. A poet of considerable merit. *Mādhavānujañci Kavitā* is his collection of poems.

b. Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar (d. 1947), a prolific writer in Marathi; wrote novels, short stories, poems, essays and plays. A close associate of Tilak.

b. Narayan Prasad, 'Betab' (d. 1945), a Hindi playwright for the Parsi Theatre. Wrote many mythological plays for Alfred Theatre Company. His major plays are *Qatl-i-Nazir* (?), *Zahri sāp* (1906), *Mahābhārat* (1913) and *Rāmāyaṇ* (1915).

b. Padmanabha Narayan Deb (d. 1904), the Raja of Parala State in Southern Orissa; established *Padmanabha Rangalaya*, the first theatre in Orissa.

b. Rajam Aiyar (d. 1898), one of the earliest novelists in Tamil. His novel *Kamalāmpāl Carittiram* (1896) based on domestic conflicts between brothers, is the first novel in Tamil with a contemporary social awareness.

b. Sacchidananda Tribhuban Deb (d. 1916), the Raja of Bamanda, a native state in Western Orissa; translated *Kādambarī* from Sanskrit to Oriya.

b. Uttamalal Keshavalal Trivedi (d. 1923), a Gujarati essayist; contributed regularly to the leading journals of his time.

b. Va. O. Citamparam Pillai (d. 1936), A poet and scholar; one of the great patriots of Tamil Nadu; wrote several books

d. Lakshminath Gosain (b. 1787), a renowned saint of Mithila. Composed many *bhajans*.

Grammar of the Sindhi Language by Dr. Ernest Trumpp.

Karim-ul-Lughat, an Urdu dictionary by Maulvi Karimuddin, Matba-e-Hyderi, Bombay. An enlarged edition was published in 1896.

Malayalam English Dictionary by Herman Gundert. A dictionary of both literary and spoken Malayalam with etymology of words and examples from literary texts including unpublished ones. It acquainted the reader with all types of literary texts and brought to light many literary works which had gone out of circulation.

Bhatṛhari Kābya by Baladev Palit. A Bengali poem on the life of Bhatrihari, a Sanskrit poet, composed in Sanskrit metres.

Īśvaraprārthanāmāla by Bholanath Sarabhai Divetiya. Collection of Gujarati devotional poems.

Kissā-Shirin Farhād by Muhammad Buta Gujarati. A *Kissā* in Punjabi about the love story of Shrin and Farhad.

Mahamid-e-Khatim-un-Nabi-Yin, an Urdu poem on the life and virtues of the prophet, by Amir Ahmad Amir Minal. Reprinted in 1886.

Masnavi Nala-e-Taslim by Amirullah Taslim, A masnavi in Urdu. Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Naḷa Vilācam by Capapati Mutaliyar. A popular Tamil work in mixed form of prose and verse dealing with the episode of Nala as told in the *Mahābhārata*.

Nītineṟi Viḷakkam by Percival. A modern version of the Tamil work composed by Kumarakuruparar of the 17th Century. This didactic work based on the *Kural* was composed at the instance of the Madura King Tirumalai Nayak.

Vikrama Cōlan Ulā by V. Kanakacapai Pillai. A work in *ula* genre by Ottakkuttar (twelfth century) rendered into modern Tamil. It deals with the Chola king Vikkiraman's royal life and political activities.

Ātma Caritra, the autobiography of Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadar (1814–1882). A Marathi work written between 1868-72 describing the events of the author's life upto 1847. Remained unpublished till 1927.

Ātmakathā Saṃkṣepam, the first autobiography in Malayalam, by Paccu Muttalu.

Mahārājā Mānsingh Rī Khyata (Ms.), the life of Maharaja Mansingh in Rajasthani prose. Anon. First published in 1979.

Bāṅgālā Bhāṣā O Bāṅgālā Sāhitya Biṣayak Prastāb (vol. I), one of the first histories of Bengali literature, by Ramgati Nyayratna. The first and second part were published in one volume in 1873.

Nāval Va Nāṭak Yāviṣayī Nibandha by Ka. Na. Marathe. An essay in Marathi on the novel and the drama describing the demerits of contemporary novels of fantasy.

Hāsya Kollol, a notable prose work in Oriya by Kabisurya Baladeb Rath.

Safar-Ashob, a travelogue in Urdu by Aftabuddaula Khaja Arshad Ali Khan Qalaq of Lucknow.

Saṃgrahamulu by Paravastu Venkatarangacharyulu. Essays in Telugu on religion and philosophy. 'Samgrahamu' is the word used by Venkatarangacharyulu, for 'essay'.

Satyeśvar, an Oriya treatise on the Brahma cult, by Gobinda Rath.

Gujarāt Ane Kāṭhiyāvāḍ Desāni Varata-I by Pharamaji Bamanaj. A collection of stories by a Parsi writer. Published by Dalapataram with the co-operation of Forbes. Next two parts were published by 1875.

Kāttavarāya Cuvāmi Katai by Pukalentıp Pulavar. A popular Tamil folk tale about a legendary hero's adventures.

Manorañjan, a popular work in Oriya for the children, by Gobinda Rath.

Śrīraṅgarāja Caritra by Naraharı Gopalakrishnama Chetty. A novel depicting the manners and customs of the Telugu people, written in response to an advertisement by Lord Mayo. Chetty calls his work 'Navina Prabandha'. The claim of being the first novel in Telugu is disputed between this novel and Viresalingam's *Rājaśekhara Caritra*.

Duryodhana Vadham Āṭṭakkathā, by Vayaskara Aryan Narayanan Mussatu One of the most widely enacted works of Kathakali literature

Jāmāi Bārik, a hilarious Bengali play, by Dinabandhu Mitra.

Ākhyān Mañjarī, tr. by Chandranath Ray. Oriya. From the Bengali work of Ishvarchandra Vidyasagar.

Āndhra Bhāratamu Vacanamu adapt. by Venkata Shastrı Nelataru. This appears to be the earliest prose version of the *Mahābhārata* into Telugu.

Cimcon Vilācam tr by A. Gabriel Tamil. Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (English)

The Folk Songs of South India tr by Charles E. Gover. An anthology of folk songs in Tamil Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam translated into English.

Macbeth tr. by Pammal Campanta Mutaliyar. Tamil prose. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (English).

Narakāsura Vijayavyāyoganu tr. by Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu. Telugu. From Varanasi Dharma Surı's Sanskrit play.

Nīladarpan tr. by Mo. Vi. Valavekar, Marathi. From the English rendering of the Bengali play.

Puṉitap Pōr tr. Ci. I. Kent Aiyar. Tamil. John Bunyan's *Holy War* (English).

Raghubamśa tr. by Bicchanda Pattanayak. Oriya prose. Kalidasa's *Raghuvamśam* (Sanskrit).

Suddhāndhrōttara Rāmāyanamu. The last canto of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇā* translated into Telugu by Kandukuri Viresalingam. No Sanskrit word is used.

Suśīlā Candraketu tr. by Kantichandra Vidyaratna. Bengali. Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. (English).

Svargīya Yātrīr Vṛttānta, tr. Part I by Sem Saḥu; Part II by Ghanashyam Nayak. Oriya. John Bunyon's *Pilgrim's Progress*. (English).

Vigraha Tantramu tr. by Kokkonda Venkataratnamu Pantulu. Telugu. From the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* (the chapter on 'Vigraha' or War).

Vijaya Sing tr. by Kashinath Govind Natu. Marathi. Shakespeare's *Julius Caeser*. (English).

Āsām Mihir, although this periodical ran for one year only, it contributed much to the cause of upliftment of Assamese literature. Assamese-Bengali bilingual weekly.

Baṅgadarśan, the famous Bengali monthly magazine ed. by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

Bihār Bandhu, a popular Hindi weekly published from Calcutta. Ed. by Pandit Keshavram Bhatta. Shifted to Patna in 1874.

Hindī Dīptiprakāś, a Hindi magazine ed. by Kartikprasad Khatri.

Mookerjee's Magazine, an English literary monthly founded by Sambhoo Chandra Mookerjee.

Puruṣārtha Pradāyinī, a Telugu literary and social periodical from Machilipatnam.

1873

Singh Sabha Movement : a reform movement in Sikhism started at Amritsar at a gathering of prominent Sikhs convened by Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia. Prominent leaders of this movement were Professor Gurmukh Singh, Giani Ditt Singh, Giani Gian Singh and Giani Hazara Singh. The main aim of the movement was to reawaken the waning Sikh spirit. It also encouraged the use of Punjabi as a medium of literary expression.

Assamese language re-established. The Commissioner of Assam directed that under the Judicial Department notification on 25 July 1873, under the provisions of Act XXIX of 1837, and section 337 of the Criminal Procedure Code that Assamese was to be used in Judicial and Revenue Proceedings in the Kamrup, Karrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts.

Satyaśodhak Samāj started by Jotiba Govind Phule for the upliftment of the 'lower caste' from the 'hypocritical' Brahmins and their 'opportunistic scripture'.

A covenant formed under the leadership of Nabakanta Chatterji to oppose child-marriage. It started a monthly journal called *Mahāpāp Bālya Bibāha* (The Great Sin of Child Marriage).

b. Arzoo Lucknavi Sayed Anwar Husain (d. ?), an Urdu poet and dramatist.

b. Allah Ditta Shefta (d. 1908), a noted Punjabi poet. He wrote devotional lyrical poetry in 'Siharfi' and 'Baramaha' genres.

b. Balakrushna Pattanayak (d. 1970), an Oriya poet.

b. Barhath Balabakhsha Palhavata (d. 1917), a Rajasthani poet known for his poems on *nīti* (ethics).

b. Bhaskar Ramachandra Tambe (d. 1941), the court poet of the Gwalior state; originator of *Gītasampradāya*, famous for his *nāṭyagīta*, Marathi poems in the form of dialogues.

b. Devnath Bardoloi (d. 1916), an Assamese playwright; Author of *Vaidehi Vicched* (1901).

b. Hakim Hassan Ali (d. 1915), a Kashmiri marsia writer.

b. K.C. Narayanan Nampiyar (d. 1922), a Malayalam poet. Wrote a satire on the contemporary practice of writing sterotyped plays on the model of classical Sanskrit plays. His satire bears the same name as that of Ramakkurup, namely, 'Cakki Cankaram'.

b. Kumaran Asan (d. 1924), one of the greatest Malayalam poets. *Nalinī* (1911) and *Līlā* (1914) are his well known poems.

b. Lakshmibai Tilak (d. 1936), a Marathi Christian poetess whose autobiography is praised for its lucidity and realism; wife of Narayan Vaman Tilak.

b. Pammal Sambanda Mudaliyar (d. 1964). The most famous Tamil dramatist. Wrote more than one hundred dramas in Tamil

b. Patitapaban Pattanayak (d. 1907), a devotional poet of Orissa.

b. Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay (d. 1932), a well-known Bengali short story writer, noted for his humour and pathos.

b. Shripati Mishra (d. 1930), one of the champions of Oriya language; it was through his efforts that Oriya was restored in Sambalpur in 1905. Was the editor of *Utkal Darpan*.

b. Shyambihari Mishra (d. 1947) and Shukbihari Mishra (d. 1951), known as *Mishra Bandhu*, are early historians of Hindi literature. Their *Hindī Nav Ratna* (1910) is a critical work on nine Hindi poets in order of merit.

b. Surur, Durga Sahay Jahanabadi (d. 1910), an Urdu poet, wrote mostly about old heroes and the Hindu life.

b. Swami Rama Tirtha (d. 1906), a monk; an Indo-English poet and scholar.

b. Unnava Lakshminarayana (d. 1958), a reputed Telugu playwright, essayist and novelist. Author of the famous novel *Mālapalli* (1922).

b. Vinayaka Janardan Karandikar (d. 1909), the pioneer of modern historical poems in Marathi.

d. Barhat Durgadatta (b. 1801), a Rajasthani poet known for his poems celebrating the virtue of charity.

d. Michael Madhusudan Datta (b. 1824), the most outstanding Bengali poet of the nineteenth century.

d. Sant Rain (b. ?), a Punjabi poet who has written biographical accounts of Guru Nanak in verses as well as short poems in 'Siharfi' genre.

d. Vithoba Anna Daptardar (b. 1813), a Marathi poet. Composed devotional songs, which were extremely popular all over Maharashtra.

Narma-Kośa or *Gujarātī Śabdārtha Samgraha*, a monumental dictionary of the Gujarati language prepared by Narmada which took him 9 years (1860–1868) to complete.

Dīwān-e-Qalaq (Maz-Har-e-Ishq), Urdu poems by Aftabud-Daula Khaja Arshad Ali Khan Bahadur. Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Dīwān-e-Wali, Urdu poems by Wali Allah, Shah Mataba-e-Hydari, Bombay. French translation of the text *(Les Oeuvres de Wali)* by M. Garcin de Tassy was published from Paris in 1834 and 1836.

Kalyāna Ēcal by Viraswami Catti. Ed. by Manikka Mutali. A collection of Tamil folk songs meant for singing in marriages by women folk, especially in villages.

? *Kūrmavaṃśa Yaśaprakāsa* (or *Lāvā Rāsā)* (Ms.), a historical poem in Pingal, by Kaviyo Gopal. First published in 1953, Jodhpur.

Muturai Vīra Cuvāmi Katai ed. by Kandaswami Mudaliyar. An edition of a Tamil folk poem in *ammanai* metre. It deals with the tragic story of a Madurai warrior chief.

Nalodaya, a Sanskrit poem in ornate style on Nala-Damayanti episode, by Nilakantha.

Pukaivaṇṭi Ēlappāṭṭu by C. Chinnaswami Sastri. A short Tamil poem in folk metre describing the introduction of railways, its benefits and wonders.

Puraprabandham by *Venmani* Mahan. A representative poetical work of the Venmani school. Depicts the 'puram' festival of Trichur, especially the various types of people assembled there.

Riyāz̲-e-Sahar (Dīwān-e-Sahar), Urdu poems by Aman Ali Sahar, compiled in 1862.

Sasuī Punhū, a Sindhi love poem, by a Hindu named Moryo Faqir.

Vitvan Kuram by Kandaswami Mudaliyar. A Tamil folk poem, composed in 'Kuram'. It describes a scholar in the guise of a hunterwoman or a fortune teller going about in search of patrons.

Willow Drops, poems in English by Ram Sharma.

Ajā e Bāt-e-Rozgār, an Urdu prose work by Master Ram Chandar. Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Gulāmgiri, a Marathi work by Jyotiva G. Phule. Written in the form of dialogues. It describes the suffering of the *shudras* at the hands of the Brahmins.

Our Vernaculars, a lecture in Urdu (brief survey of the development of Urdu), by Babu Shiva Prasad, at the Banaras Institute, N. W. P. Government Press, Allahabad.

Yāttiraik Kummi by V. Rayappaiyar. A travelogue in Tamil in *Kummi* form. The author describes his experiences and impressions of his tour in France, Italy and other European countries.

The Life of Vennelacunty Soobrow, Translator and Interpreter of the Late Sudr Court, Madras from 1815 to 1829 as written by himself. The earliest autobiography in English written by a Telugu-speaker. Written in 1839 but printed in 1873 it depicts the social milieu of the times. It was translated into Telugu in 1976 by Ramapati Rao Akkiraju.

1857 Sālace Baṇḍdācī Dhāmadhūm or Hambīrarāv Āṇi Putalābāī by Vishnu Janardan Patavardhana. A Marathi novel which used the revolt of 1857 as its theme.

Biṣabṛkṣa, a Bengali social novel that narrates a domestic tragedy brought about by widow remarriage, by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

Candraprabhāvirahavarṇaṇ by Salubai Tambavekar. The first Marathi novel by a woman. An imitation of the contemporary fantasy novels.

Indirā, a Bengali novelette by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. Enlarged edition 1893.

Nallataṅkāl Katai ed. by Arunacala Aiyar. An edition of the Tamil tragic folk tale written by Pukalentip Pulavar

Periyapurāṇa Vacaṇam by Arumuka Navalar An authoritative Tamil prose-rendering of the epic *Periyapurāṇam* This has in addition very useful accounts of the lives of Nambiyandar Nambi and Sekkilar, and of the original source of the epic, namely, *Tiruttontat Tokai.*

Qissā-e-Agar Gul, an Urdu fairy tale by Asi 2nd ed. 1880. *Tilism-e-Hairat*, a tale in Urdu by Munshi Jafar Ali Shaiwan, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Jamidārdarpan, a Bengali play on the atrocities of the Zamindars by Mir Musarraph Husen.

Kucalava Nāṭakam, Author not known, ed by Krishnaswami Pillai A popular Tamil drama meant for village audience dealing with the story of Lava and Kusha.

Vaidikī Himsā Himsā Na Bhavati, the first original play by Bharatendu Harishchandra. It is a satire against the atrocities committed in the name of religion.

Basanta tr. by J. Philips. Oriya. From stories written in English for the women reader by J. Philips.

Hazār Mas'Alah tr. Anon. Urdu. (Selections from the thousand questions put to Muhammed). From Arabic by Muhmmad Abdullah Ibn Salam.

Pākhaṇḍa Vikhaṇḍana, tr. by Bharatendu Harishchandra. Hindi. Third act of Sanskrit play *Prabodhacandrodaya.*

Praṇayar Adbhuta Parinām, one of the early prose works of Madhusudan Rao. An Oriya adaptation of an Italian story available in English translation.

Bengal Magazine, a monthly magazine in English published from Calcutta, ed. by the Rev. Lal Behari Dey.

Bhāgabat Bhakti Pradāyinī, an Oriya quarterly published by the Cuttact Gaudiya Vaishnava community, ed. by Ksirodanath Mitra.

The Calcutta Magazine, an English journal of literature, politics, science and arts, ed. by Owen Aratoon.

Hariścandra, a Hindi magazine ed. by Bharatendu. It did not continue after eight issues. Later published under a different title—*Hariścandrika*—in 1874 and *Navodita Hariścandra* in 1884.

Śikṣaka O Dharmabodhinī, an Oriya periodical ed. by Madhusudan Rao.

Subodha Patrikā, a bi-lingual (Marathi and English), newspaper founded by Prarthanasamaj to propagate its social and religious ideas. Justice Ranade, Dr. Bhandarakar, Sir Narayan Chandavarakar, Mama Parmananda were among its contributors.

Utkal Darpaṇ, an Oriya literary magazine. Its chief patron was Raja Baikunthanath De of Balasore. First editor Indu Ballabh Bhattacharya.

Utkal Putra, an Oriya literary magazine strongly advocating female education, ed. by Pyarimohan Acharya from Cuttack.

1874

The anti-moneylender struggle in Pune and Ahmednagar.

Anjuman-e-Islam, established in Bombay by Qamruddin Tayyab Ji who was its first president.

Subodha Nāṭaka Maṇḍali, a drama group set up by Vaghajı Asaram Ojha. The name was later changed into *Morabi Arya Subodha Nataka Mandali*. An important dramatic group of Gujarat.

b. Ananda Agarwala (d. 1940) an Assamese poet, and a translator, known for his collection of poems *Jili Kani*. Translated some English poems into Assamese.

b. Balakrishna Anant Bhide (d. 1929), a Marathi poet and critic.

b. Bandaru Achamamba (d. 1905), sister of K. V. Lakshmaña Rao; author of *Abalāsaccaritra-Ratnamālā* (1901), a biographical work in Telugu.

b. Bhaskar Balavant Bhopatkar (d. 1949), an essayist and journalist. Started a Marathi paper *Bhala* (1905). His *Bhālayācā Phekī* (1908), a book of essays, was banned by the government.

b. Birbikram Deb (d. ?), an Oriya dramatist; author of *Ambikā Debī*, *Kusuma Sundarī* etc.

b. Bhuvaneshvar Jha (d. 1966), a Maithili poet and dramatist.

b. Brajanandana Sahalpa (d. 1956), a Hindi novelist. Wrote several social and historical novels.

b. Chandradhar Barua (d. 1961), an Assamese dramatist and a poet. Some of his well known dramas and *Meghnādbadh* (1904); *Bhāgya Parīksā* (1915); *Rañjan* (1927); etc.

b. Gopal Chandra Praharaj (d. 1954), the greatest prose satirist of Orissa, author of *Dho re bāyā dho* (1910), a collection of lullabies, *Bhāgabata Ṭuṅgīre Sandhyā* (1903), sketches criticising the modern fashions. Also collected folk-tales and proverbs of Orissa.

b. Govind Tryambak Darekar (d. 1926), the Marathi poet who started his poetic career with *Lavanis* but later wrote many patriotic poems after his contacts with Tilak and Savarkar. His last poem 'Sundar Mi Monar' is a Landmark in Marathi.

b. Kalapi, real name : Surasimhaji Takhtasimhaji Gohil (d. 1900). A very popular poet of Gujarat noted for his *Khandakavyas*. Was deeply influenced by the British Romantic poets. Also wrote travelogues, an autobiography and adapted two novels from English.

b. Kashibai Harlekar (1936), a teacher and social reformer; one of the pioneer women writers of Marathi literature.

b. Kotikalapuri Sitamma (d 1936), A women writer in Telugu.

b. Pandit Krishnachandra Acharya (d. ?), author of a history of the Oriya Language, and *Purī Kṣetrar Itihās*, a history of Puri.

b. Krishna Rao Mudavidu (d. 1947), also known as Hanumanta Rao a Kannada novelist. Author of *Cittūrina muttigeyu* (1905) a historical novel adapted from Marathi. Edited *Karṇāṭaka Vārtā*.

b. Marepalli Ramachandra Kavi Shastri (d. 1951), a noted poet and prose writer in Telugu popularly known as *Kavi Garu* (Master of poets).

b. Murkottu Kumaran (d. 1941), Malayalam novelist, editor of periodicals, and critic.

b. Narasimhabhai Ishvarabhai Patel (d. 1945), a Gujarati writer of biographies.

b. O. M. Cheriyan (d. 1944), a Malayalam prose writer; wrote literary essays; translated *Gulliver's travels*.

b. Raghava Varma Tampuran Pantalam (d. 1941), a Malayalam author of a number of āṭṭakkathas.

b. Ramavatara Sharam (d. ?), a poet from Bihar who wrote several plays in Sanskrit including *Dhīna-Naiṣadha* based on Nala-Damayanti episode.

b. Sitamma Kotikalapudi (d. 1936), a woman writer in Telugu.

b. Vasudev Govind Apte (d. 1930), a critic and story writer; translated all the novels of Bankimchandra from Bengali into Marathi.

d. Anis, Mir Babar Ali (b. 1802), the famous Urdu poet.

d. Kumarswami Mudaliyer (b. 1791), a Tamil poet and dramatist.

d. Parashuramapant Godbole (b. 1799). Translated six Sanskrit plays: *Veṇīsaṃhāra* (1857), *Uttararāmacarita* (1859), *Śakuntalā* (1861), *Mṛcchakaṭika* (1862), *Nāgānanda* (1865), *Pārvatīpariṇaya* (1872) into Marathi. Edited eight books including *Navanīta* (1854) which was the first collection of Marathi saint poetry.

d. Saifuddin Tarabali (b. ?), a noted masnavi writer of Kashmir.

Aṭaikkala Mālai by Saiyad Abdul Kadir. A collection of Tamil hymns in the genre of *Malai*; his *Kirthanas* are sung in praise of Allah and Mohamed Nabi.

Daftar-e-Be-Misāl (Dīwān), Urdu poems by Abdul Ghafur Khan Nassakh, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Kācim Paṭaippōr, by Mukammatu Pulavar ed. by Alla Piccai Pulavar. A Tamil poem describing the exploits of Kasim, a Mohammedan King, and his pilgrimage.

Paṉamara Cōpanam ed. by Subbarao Mudaliyar. A short Tamil poem popular among children. This poem in the form of an autobiography deals with the uses of palm trees in Tamil Nadu.

Prabodhinī, by Bharatendu Harishchandra. A poem in Hindi on a socio-political theme.

Qita-e-Muntakhab (Tazkera), selections from the writings of Hindustani (i.e., Urdu) poets by Abdul-Ghafur Khan Nassakh (compiled in 1859-60), Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Also edited by Dr. Mohammad Ansarullah, published by Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Karachi in 1974.

Sām Nāmā, a combat masnavi in Kashmiri, written by Lachman Raina Bulbul (1812–1884). Published by the Cultural Academy, Srinagar in 1962.

Tirupperunturaip Purāṇam by Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai. A Tamil *Stalapuranam* in the epic form. It celebrates Tirupperunturai the place where the saint Manikkavacakar attained salvation.

Teciṅkurājan Katai, ed. Narayana Swami Nattar. The first work on the adventurous life of Raja Desingu, the ruler of Gingee, in Tamil Nadu, by the poet Pukalenthi, whose identity is very difficult to establish. This is a beautiful ballad in colloquial Tamil.

Zohra-o-Bahrām, (Ms.) a masnavi in Kashmiri written by Ashiq Trali (1841–1907). Year of publication not known.

Lok Rahasya, a collection of humorous and satirical essays in Bengali, by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

Majālis-un-Nisā, Part I and II (discourses for women in Urdu) by Hali, Altaf Husain.

Resāla-e-Zubān-e-Rekhta, a short history of Urdu literature by Abdul Ghafur Khan Nassakh, compiled in 1858, Nawal Kishore Press.

Sekāl Ār Ekāl, a delightful Bengali essay describing the nineteenth century Bengali Society, by Raj Narayan Basu.

Sukhan-e-Shoarā, a complete list of Hindustani poets, arranged alphabetically by their takhallus, or poetical names, by Abdul Ghafur Khan Nassakh, compiled in 1863–64, Nawal Kishore Press.

Baṅga Bijetā, Bengali historical novel, by Ramesh Chandra Datta.

Govinda Samanta or Bengal Peasants Life by Lal Behari Day. The novel depicts the social and domestic life of the rural population and working classes of Bengal.

Kalpataru, a satirical novel in Bengali on pseudo-radicalism of a section of the Brahmos, by Indranath Bandyopadhyay.

Mṛṇmayī, a Bengali novel by Damodar Mukhopadhyay, which is a sequel to Bankim Chandra's novel *Kapālkuṇḍalā*.

Qissā-e-Gul-Fam, Urdu tales written by Munshi Madhau Ram.

Svarnalatā, a much acclaimed Bengali novel dealing with day to day life of the lower middle class, by Taraknath Gangopadhyay.

Cittirāṅkata Vilācam by Paramashiva Kavirayar. A Tamil romantic drama based on the legends of Cittirangi, a princess of Madurai who married Arjuna, the Pandava Prince, in exile.

Kacēntira Mōṭca Nāṭakam by Venkatacala Mudalyar. A popular Tamil drama in verse, about the elephant, Gajendra who attained salvation by worshipping Lord Vishnu.

Kaminee, The Virgin Widow, an English drama in five acts, by an anonymous writer.

Puru Vikram, a Bengali play by Jyotirindranath Thakur on King Porus. One of the earliest patriotic plays in Bengali.

Raṇadhīr Premmohinī, a Hindi play on historical theme by Shrinivas Das.

Śaṅkaradigvijaya, the first play by Balvant Pandurang Kirloskar, the noted figure in Marathi Theatre. Based on Adi Shankaracharya's life; the play is written in prose and conspicuous by the absence of songs for the first time in Marathi drama.

Bhīmsingha, tr. by Tarini Charan Pal. Bengali. Shakespeare's *Othello* (English).

Rudrapāl, tr. by Haralal Ray. Bengali. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (English).

Venis Varittakan, adapt. by Venugopalachariy. Tamil. Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (English).

Vigrahamu-Sandhi, adapt. by Kandakuri Viresalingam. Telugu. From *Pañcatantra* (Sanskrit).

Āsām Darpaṇ, an Assamese periodical of importance published from Calcutta.

Ataliq-e-Hind, Lahore, an Urdu weekly published by Nadir Ali Shah Saifi at Ataliq-e-Hind Press.

Bālābodhinī, a Hindi periodical ed. by Bharatendu Harishchandra. It was meant primarily for the women.

Bāndhab, a Bengali literary magazine ed. by Kali Prasanna Ghosh, published from Dacca.

Bhārat Śramajībī, a Bengali monthly journal ed. by Sasipada Bandopadhyay. This is the first Indian Journal for and of the working class.

Indian Spectator, an English monthly magazine on literature and philosophy published from Calcutta.

Utkal Sanskarāka, an Oriya periodical advacating the necessity of social reforms. Ed. by Nilkamal Datta from Balasore.

Vivekavardhinī, a Telugu periodical founded and ed. by Vireshalingam Kandukuri for the promotion of Telugu literature and of social reform.

1875

Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda. A Hindu religious organization based on the principles of the *Vedas*.

Aligarh College founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Kerala Varma Valiya Koyittampuran put under house arrest in the Alleppey palace, by the Maharaj of Travancore, for 15 months. After that he was compelled to stay in his palace at Harippad until 1880. During these five years of separation from his wife Kerala Varma wrote his famous Sandeśa Kāvya *Mayūra Sandeśam*. (1894)

Radhakanta Manch established by Jagmohan Lala in his village in Cuttack. The theatre was named after his family deity. Jagmohan is the author of *Bābāji Nāṭak* (1877) the first Oriya play.

Vasant Vyākhyāna Mālā at Pune. An annual activity of series of lectures throughout the month of May on various topics (social, religious, political, literary etc.) by different scholars. The activity is continued till today.

Arrival of Dr. Buhler (1837–1898), a European scholar, in Kashmir who collected several manuscripts written in Kashmiri, Persian and Sanskrit and prepared a catalogue of Kashmiri manuscripts published from London in 1879.

b. Attur Krishna Pisharoti (d. 1964), a major critic in Malayalam, also a historian of literature, translator, commentator, and musicologist.

b. Bherumal Meharchand Advani (d. 1950), a Sindhi essayist, philologist and historian.

b. Bhugindrarau Divetiya (d. 1917), a Gujarati novelist and translator.

b. C. E. Subrahamanian Potti (d. 1954), a noted Malayalam poet.

b. Datta Kavi Dattatrya Kendo Ghate, (d. 1899) a noted Marathi poet. Well-known for his delicate diction and tender poems for children.

b. Dhani Ram Chatrik (d. 1954), a distinguished Punjabi poet. Wrote many *Kissās* including *Yogīrāj Srī Bharthri Harıji* (1931), *Nūr Jahān Badsāh Begam* (1944), and *Rājā Nal to Rānī Damianti* (1949)

b. Gizelino Rebello (d. 1931), a noted Mando composer of Goa

b. Maulana Hasrat Mohani (d. 1951), an Urdu poet of note; writer of ghazals, a critic and journalist.

b. Henry W. Bunn Moreno (d. ?), a playwright, short-story writer in English.

b. J. R. Ranga Raju (d. 1956), one of the popular detective novelists in Tamil. Wrote eight detective novles. His detective hero Govindan, is a counterpart of Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes. *Rājāmpāḷ* and *Cantira Kāntā* are two of his earlier novels.

b. Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi (d. 1939), a noted humourist in Hindi literature.

b. K. Parameshvaran Pillai Nantyaruvittal (d. 1943), a Malayalam critic and story writer.

b. Kamapal Mishra (d. 1926), an Oriya dramatist, author of *Sītā Bibāha* (1899).

b. Lakshmi Narayan Pattanayak (d. 1941), founder of *Oḍiyā Sāhitya Pracāra Sangha* (1928). The main objective of his writings was social reform.

b. Nabin Chandra Bardoloi (d. 1936), a freedom fighter, wrote many patriotic poems; translated some plays of Shakespeare into Assamese.

b. Nanda Kishor Bal (d. 1927), a major poet of Orissa who adopted the colloquial speech, and metres and themes from folk-songs. Although he wrote a novel, *Kanakalatā* (1926), he is known for his poems, most important of them is *Pallīcitra* (1898).

b. P. K. Veluppillai Paravur (d. ?), a Malayalam dramatist; wrote a number of plays for the *Saṅgītanāṭaka* theatre.

b. Radhanath Phukan (d. 1964), an Assamese scholar; author of several philosophical works.

b. Rama Varma Appan Tampuran (d. 1941), a Malayalam novelist and critic. Author of two historical novels and one detective novel. Established the distinguished journals *Rasikaranjinī* (1902) and *Maṅgalodayam* (1908). One of the founders of the literary organisation, *Samasta Kerala Sahitya Parisat*.

b. Shyam Sundar Das (d. 1945), the moving spirit behind the *Kāśī Nāgarī Pracārinī Sabhā* (1893), edited the Hindi lexicon, *Hindī Śabha Sāgar* (1916–28).

On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians by A.C. Burnell (Tanjore). A treatise on Aindra School Grammar of which *Tolkappiyam* is the most accomplished manifestation.

Keraḷa Kaumudī, a significant work on Malayalam grammar by Kovunni Nedunnadi.

Nāgavarmana Kannaḍa Chandassu ed. by F. Kittel. A Kannada work on prosody. It also includes an essay in English on Kannada literature as part of the preface.

Abhimanuya Vadha, an Assamese poetic work with a theme from *Mahābhārata* written in *amitrakṣara* (blank verse) by Ramakanta Chaudhury.

Athıyuravadhani (the self-made man), by D.V. Seshaiyangar. A Tamil versified narrative which calls itself a 'novel'.

Bṛtrasaṃhār, a Bengali literary epic by Hem Chandra Bandyopadhyay. The theme of the epic is a well known mythological story, the slaying of Britra. vol. II. 1877.

Cēkkiḻār Piḷḷaittamiḻ by Meenakshi Sundram Pillai. A Tamil poem of one hundred stanzas composed in *pillaittamil* genre, on the contribution of the twelfth century poet Sekkilar, the author of the Tamil epic, *periyapurāṇam*.

Gujarātī Kāvyasamkṣepa by Dalapataram. Selections from the works of Gujarati poets.

Īśvaraprārthanāmālā by Bholanath Sarabhai. Collection of Gujarati devotional poems which became popular in his times.

Kabitābaḷī, a collection of Oriya poems by Madhusudan Rao and Radhanath Ray.

Nālu Mantiri Kummī by Cinnattampi Aiyar. A Tamil Kummi version of an old popular story of four intelligent ministers. Kummi form consists of songs set to music to be sung by women by clapping their hands dancing in a circle.

Nītivinod by Beharamaji Mervanji Malabari. A collection of Gujarati poems.

Palāśīr Yuddha, a Bengali patriotic poem in five cantos of Spenserian stanzas on the Battle of Plassey, by Nabin Chandra Sen.

? Praga Rāva Rūpaga (Ms.), a Rajasthani historical poem in praise of the ruler of Bhuj (Gujarat), by Kavio Chimanaji. First published in 1966.

Svapna Prayān, a long allegorical Bengali poem by Dvijendra Nath Thakur. The poet depicts the struggle and aspirations of his inner self through the allegory of a dream. The book is only one of its kind in Bengali and can be compared in structure with *Fairie Queene* or *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Varuṇakulātittaṉ Ullāmaṭal by Shantirashekhara Kavirasa Panditar. A Tamil poem composed in a hybrid genre *ulāmaṭal*. It sings the praise of a chieftain Varunakulatithan after the fashion of an *ulā*, and depicts the lovelorn lady pining for her love and her decision to drive a *maṭalma* (a dummy horse made of palmyra leaves) towards achieving her goal.

Cīttukkavit Tiraṭṭu ed. Karunananda Swamigal. A collection of epistles by famous Tamil poets like Kalamekam, Patikkacu and Antakak Kavi It contains short biographies of these poets.

Ganj-e-Tawārīkh by Abdul Ghafur Khan Nassakh. Contains Persian and Urdu chronograms, followed by *Armaghān*, a diwan

Kamalākanter Daptar, by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay A collection of serio-comic essays in Bengali, slenderly connected by a character. One of the finest works of Bankim Chandra.

Satyārtha Prakās, the most important Hindi work of Swami Dayanand which played an important role in the religious life of many Indians.

Tathīrul-Ausakh Li-Na-Sakhin-Nassākh, an Urdu work devoted to criticism of Nassakh by Mirza Muhammad Raza Mujiz

Vigrahatantra Vimarsanamu by Kandukuri Vireshalingam. It was a critique of Venkata Ratnam Pantulu Kokkonda's Telugu work *Vigrahatantramu*.

Vijñan Rahasya, a collection of Bengali essays on scientific topics, by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

Candrśekhar, a Bengali novel set against the background of the mid-eighteenth century political crisis in Bengal, narrates the story of an unrequited love between childhood lovers. By Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

Paramānanda Śiṣyula Kathalu, popular and humorous tales in Telugu. Compiled and edited by Parvastu Venkata Rangacharyulu.

Svapnalabdha Bhāratbarṣer Itihās, an imaginary account of the Third Battle of Panipat in Bengali. By Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay. First published in *Education Gazette* and 20 years later in book form.

Ariccantira Nāṭakam by Varatarachulu Naydu. A Tamil dramatic work on the legend of Harishchandra.

Cakar Darpaṇ, a Bengali drama condemning the atrocities committed by the British officers on the workers of the tea-garden. By Dakshina Charan Chattopadhyay.

Jel Darpaṇ, a Bengali play on the plight of the prisoners, by Dakshina Charan Chattopadhyay.

Nīlakaṇṭa Nāyanār Vilācam by Venkatachala Pillai. A popular Tamil drama based on the story of Tirunila Kanta Nayanar as narrated in the *Periayapura*.

Premyoginī, a play in Hindi by Bharatendu Harishchandra exposing the hypocracy of religious life.

Rāmajanma Bhāṇa, a *bhana* in Sanskrit, by Taracharan.

Sarojinī Bā Citor Ākramaṇ Nāṭak, a Bengali historical play about Allauddin's second invasion of Chitor, by Jyotirindranath Thakur.

Satya Hariścandra, a Hindi play on Harishchandra theme by Bharatendu Harishchandra. Although regarded as an original play it is an adaptation from Bengali.

Surendra Binodinī, by Upendranath Das. A Bengali play with strong anti-British feeling. First performed at the Bengal theatre, Calcutta on 31 December 1875, and was stopped by police. When performed again on 4 March 1876 the dramatist was arrested. That year Dramatic Performances Control Bill was placed before the Council which became an act in December.

Vaḷḷiyammai Nāṭakam by Muttuvirak Kavinar. A Tamil drama with *Kirittanas* interspersed with prose passages, on the story of Valli, the hunter's princess marrying Lord Muruga.

Vāmana by Madabhushi Venkatacharya. A Telugu play on Vamana, an incarnation of Lord Vishnu.

Urjoon Singh or *The Princes Regained*, a play in five acts in English by P. V. Ramaswami Raju.

Abijñāna Śakuntalamu tr. by Paravastu Venkata Rangacharyulu. Telugu. The play of Kalidasa (Sanskrit).

Āndhra Bilhanīyamu tr. by Pandipeddi Krishnaswami. Telugu. Bilhana's *Caurapañcāśikā* (Sanskrit).

Arapik Kataikal by tr. Annacami Mutali. Tamil. *The Arabian Nights* (English).

Ganj-e-Shahidan, tr. by Munshi Ali Ahmad. Urdu. From Arabic. This is an account of the martyrdom of Hasan and Hussain, and other Muslim saints.

Mudrārākṣas, tr. by Bharatendu Harishchandra. Hindi. From the Sanskrit original.

Pilhaṇīyam tr. by Va. Kanapatip Pillai. Tamil. From the Sanskrit work of Bilhana. Although the translation is in prose, the translator has included few

didactic verses of his own. This work has influenced Tamil poetry in the 20th century.

Śakuntalākhyāna by Savitanaryan Ganapatiram Tripathi. A Gujarati adaptation of the story of *Śakuntalā* in the *ākhyāna* style.

Rāmāyaṇa tr. by Shivalal Dhaneśvara. Gujarati. From the original Sanskrit.

Tempest tr. by Nilakantha Janardan Kirtane. Marathi. Shakespeare's original English.

Behar Herald, an English newspaper published from Bankipur.

Hāsyavardhinī, a Telugu literary monthly from Madras, ed. by Venkataratnam Pantulu, Kokkonda.

The Statesman. Robert Knight started the English newspaper which merged with the *Friend of India*. For sometime joint titles were used. *The Statesman* began its independent existence from 1923.

Sukav Sambodhini, a Punjabi periodical ed. by S. Santokh Singh.

1876

Inauguration of *Bharāt Sabhā (Indian Association)*. Surendra Nath Banerjee was its principal organizer. The object of the association was to build up public opinion and political consciousness among the masses and propagate Hindu-Muslim unity.

Dramatic Performances Control Act: it empowered the provincial administration to prohibit scurrilous, defamatory, seditious or obscene stage shows and performances. The police indicted Upendranath Das's *Surendra Binodinī* (1875) as an obscene production. The writer and director of the play were arrested and sentenced to one month's imprisonment. The real reason behind this censure was the portrayal of nationalistic feelings in the play which had a scene of a British magistrate being kicked by an Indian.

The college class in Cuttack High School is converted into a separate college which was named *Ravenshaw College* after the name of T. E. Ravenshaw.

Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science set up by Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar (1833–1904) to encourage scientific research.

Tohfai Kashmir Press, first printing press to be set up in Kashmir Valley exclusively meant for the publication of *Tohfai Kashmir*, an Urdu weekly.

b. Benagal Ramarao (d. 1943), a noted Kannada author of 'Navodaya' period. Edited the periodical *Suhāṣiṇī*; translated *Satyarājana Pūrvadeśad Yātre Galu* (a novel) from Telugu, and *Rāmamādhava* (a novel) from Marathi; and *Kṛṣṇakumārī* (a play) from Bengali. He prepared *Purānanama Cuḍāmaṇi*, a mythological dictionary.

b. Deshika Vinayakam Pillai (d. 1954), a noted modern Tamil poet and translator. His poems have been collected in a volume entitled *Malarum Mālaiyum*.

b. Devakinandan Tripathi (d. 1927), a noted Hindi playwright. Author of *Rukminīharaṇ Nāṭak, Kaṃsa Vadh* and *Stri Caritra*.

b. Dharmananda Kosambi (d. 1947). An eminent scholar, wrote extensively in English and Marathi on Buddhism.

b. Ganga Rama Sharma (d. 1963), a Dogri poet.

b. Haridasa Siddhantavagish (d. 1961), translated the *Mahābhārata* into Bengali; wrote plays and poems in Sanskrit including the play *Virāja Sarojini* (1900).

b. Hiteshvar Barbarua (d. 1939). A pioneer of Sonnet in Assamese. Wrote a few long narrative poems on historical events of Assam.

b. I. C. Chakko (d. 1966), a Malayalam critic and grammarian; wrote an autobiography.

b. Jagabandhu Singh (d. 1948), an Oriya essayist; author of *Prācīna Utkal* (1929).

b. K. A. Namaccivaya Mudaliyar (d. 1931). A scholar and patron of Tamil literature.

b. Komarraju Venkata Laksmana Rao (d. 1923). A great Telugu scholar, wrote several books on Indian history. Founder of *Vijñāna-Candrikāmaṇḍalī* (1906), a literary and cultural organisation.

b. Krishna Bhat Bandkar (d. 1945) Marathi-Konkani poet.

b. Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel (d. 1930), wrote patriotic poems and plays in Gujarati.

b. Maraimalai Atikar (d. 1950). A Tamil scholar, critic, translator, novelist and orator, who was the moving spirit behind the "pure Tamil" movement.

b. Padma Singh Sharma (d. 1932), a noted Hindi critic.

b. R. Tatacarya (d. 1932), a Kannada scholar of Virashaivism and a Jain Siddhant.

b. Ramanarayan Mishra (d. 1953), a Hindi poet and educationist.

b. Reba Ray (d. 1957), an Oriya poetess; author of *Anjali* (1904), a collection of poems.

b. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay (d. 1938), the Bengali novelist, who appeared in the literary scene with his story *Baḍadidi* (1907) and became the most popular story-teller in India. His sentimental novel *Devdās* (written in 1901, published in 1917) became a household name in the whole country. His major writings, include *Śrikānta* (1917–38), *Pallī Samāj* (1916) and *Gṛhadāha* (1919).

b. Shashibhushan Ray (d. 1953), son of Radhanath Ray, the great Oriya poet; a writer of poetic prose; author of *Utkal Prakṛti* (1915) and *Utkalar Ṛtucitra* (1913).

b. Tarun Ram Phukan (d. 1939), an Assamese writer who wrote stories about his own hunting experiences.

b. Telappurattu Narayana Nampi (d. 1924), a Malayalam prose writer.

b. Torquato de Figueiredo (d. 1948) noted Mando composer of Goa.

b. Vidyagauri Ramanabhai Nilakanth (d. 1958), collaborated with her husband Ramanabhai Nilakanth in the collection of humorous articles in Gujarati included in *Hāsyamandir*; also wrote about women's problems.

d. Kartim Bakhash (b. 1775), a Punjabi poet who wrote kissās as well as devotional lyrics.

d. Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai (b. 1815), the famous Tamil poet and scholar.

d. Sahib Singh Mrigind (b. 1799), a Punjabi poet who also wrote in Hindi. His *Sri Krisan Rādhikā dā Birba Nāṭak* is one of the excellent poems in *Baramaha* genre.

Kashur Ulidas, first part of Euclid written by Ram Ju Dhar and published by the Tohfai Kashmir Press, Srinagar. This was the first formal prose text written in Kashmiri, printed on hand-made paper.

Keralabhāṣā Vyākaraṇam, the first Malayalam grammar by a native scholar.

Meyarul-Imla, an Urdu treatise on orthography by Debi Prasad.

? *Bhārat Bhikṣā* by Bharatendu Harischandra. A political poem in Hindi.

Guru Bhakti Sāravu by Rangarya Shashya. Kannada religious poetry: its theme is devotion for the Guru (Teacher).

Helenā Kābya in three volumes. 2nd vol. 1877, 3rd vol. 1896. A Bengali poem by Ananda Chandra Mitra based on the *Iliad*.

The Indian Muse in English Garb by Behramji Merwanji Malabari. Poems on a variety of subjects in a variety of meters. A few poems were on social themes, for example, "Stages of a Hindu Female Life," and "Nature Triumphant Overcaste.".

Kissā Shāh Bahrām, a Punjabi *Kissā* based on the folk legend of a feudal chief Shah Bahram, written by Gopal Singh Gopal.

The Loyal Hours, poems in English welcoming the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh in India. By G. C. Dutt.

Māṉiṭakkummi by Narayanswami Nayutu. A Tamil work in the form of a *Kummi*. It praises fidelity in conjugal life and condemns contact with public women.

Ranjit-nāmā by Kanhaiya Lal. A Persian epic on the life of Maharaj Ranjit Singh. Published from Lahore.

Shahid-e-Ishrat, an Urdu poem containing the traditional description of the beloved, by Abdul-Ghafur Khan Nassakh.

Sukhan-e-Bemisal dīwān of Ansakh, Maulvi Asmatullah of Hooghly. Collection of Urdu ghazals of Ansakh.

Zeba Nigar, (Ms.) a masnavi in Kashmiri written by Mohiuddin Miskin (d. 1915). Year of publication not known.

Ahsanut-Tārīkh or *Tārīkh-e-Suba-e-Avadh*, a brief history of Avadh in Urdu, by Munshi Ram Sahai Tamanna.

Gujarātana Ketalāv Aitihāsik Prasango Ane Vātāo by Dalapataram. Narration of some historical event in Gujarat and some stories.

Sīrī Kaḷā Kallolinī by Jiyyaru Suri is a collection of 94 essays in Telugu addressed to women, on problems of female education, equality of women etc.

Sura Loke Banger Paricay, a humorous account of the contemporary society and literature in Bengali. By Anon (Vol. II 1877)

Vinōtaraca Mañcari by Viraswami Cettiyar. A collection of Tamil essays, biographies and stories.

Udbhrānta Prem, an elegy in Bengali prose by Chandrashekhar Mukhopadhyay

Āmār Jīban, an autobiography by Rasa Sundari Debi. The first autobiography in Bengali.

Kavi Jīvitamulu by Gurajada Shrirama Murti, a pioneer work on the life and work of the Telugu poets up to the Vijayanagar period. First published in separate volumes in 1876, 1878, and 1880; and as a single volume in 1893.

Reṇukā Caritreyemb Vacana Kāvyavu, a Kannada prose work dealing with the life of Renuka, Jamadagni's wife, by Pradhalingarayatanaya. Ed. by Subramanya Sastri.

Bāhire Rañ Can Āru Bhitare Kovā Bhaturī by Hem Chandra Barua. A satire on Hindu orthodoxy. First attempt in Assamese fiction at anything approaching a plot.

Dīpnirbān, by Svarna Kumari Devi. A Bengali historical novel based on the story of Prithviraj and Sanyukta.

The Hindu Wife or *The Enchanted Fruit*, by Raj Lakshmi Debi. A novel in English on the ideals of Hindu wife.

Kani Beheruvār Sādhu, by A. K. Gurney. A tale in Assamese about a youth who went in search of bird's eggs in the moutains of Scotland. He fell in danger and took refuge in Christ.

Raṇacaṇḍī, by Haran Chandra Raha. A Bengali historical novel on the history of Kacchar.

Bhāratvarṣa aur Kali, an allegorical play in Hindi by Dhananjay Bhatt depicting the misery of India under the British rule.

Hariścandra Nāṭaka by Kekhusharu Navarojaji Kabaraji. A very popular Gujarati play about king Harishchandra.

Jānkī Maṅgal, a mythological play in Hindi by Shital Prasad Tripathi. When staged Bharatendu took part in the performance.

Makāpārata Vilācam-Arccuṉaṉ Tapacu by Iramaccantira Kavirayar. A popular Tamil drama based on the *Mahābhārata* episode of Arjuna's penace for Shiva's blessings. This dramatic piece had a contemporary connotation and was interpreted as a story of the plight of India under the foreign yoke.

Nala-Damayantī Nāṭaka by Ranchodabhai Udayaram Dave. A Gujarati popular play about Nala and Damayanti.

Pirakalāta Vilācam by Araṅkanta Kavirayar. A Tamil folk drama on the story of Prahlada composed in mixed form of *kirthanas, viruttam* and prose.

Premaraya Ane Cārumati by Ranchodabhai Udayaram Dave. A Gujarati social play.

Viṣay Visamauṣadham, a play in Hindi by Bharatendu Harishchandra on the political intrigues in princely states of India.

Bhrānti Vilās tr. by B. Venkatacharya. Kannada. Vidyasagar's *Bhrānti Bilās* (Bengali) which is a translation of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors.*

Cakuntalāi Vilācam tr. by Ramachander Kavirayar. Tamil. Kalidasa's *Śakuntalam* (Sanskrit).

Jūliyasu Sījaru tr. by Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri. Telugu. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, (English). Retold in Telugu prose.

Karpūra Mañjarī tr. by Bharatendu Harishchandra. Hindi. From Rajeshekhar's Prakrit play.

Lārḍ Klāiv Caritramu tr. by A.S. Nageshvara Shastri. Telugu. From Lord Macaulay's essay on Robert Clive (English).

A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields, tr. by Toru Dutt. English. From the French.

Sījaru Caritramu tr. by Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri. Telugu. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (English). Written in a native metre "Tetagita".

Śrī Bhāgavatavemba Purāṇa Ratanavu adapt. by Chatu Vithalanatha. Kannada. From the *Bhāgavata* (Sanskrit).

Tuttināmā Eṉṉum Kiḷikkatai by Vaitilinga Decikar. Tamil collection of 25 stories adapted from both the Persian and the English versions of *Tuti Nama.*

Hāsya Sañjīvaṇī, a Telugu literary monthly from Rajahmundry ed. by Kandukuri Vireshalingam.

Hindu, started as a weekly from Madras ed. G. Subramania Iyer and V. Chari. Became a tri-weekly in 1883 and a daily in 1888.

Satya Nāda Kāhalam, the oldest surviving journals in Malayalam. Devoted to religious and literary matters. ed. by T. J. Pylee.

Svadeśī, a trilingual periodical (Oriya, Telugu and English) ed. by William Mahanty from Berhampur.

Tahzibul Akhlaq, a journal in Urdu, Aligarh, published by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Tohfai Kashmir, first newspaper to start publication from Kashmir. It was an Urdu weekly, owned by Munshi Harsukh Rai (who had earlier brought out the newspaper Kohinur from Lahore).

1877

Ārya Samāj, Lahore, is established. Both Hindus and Sikhs were attracted by its movement. But the Arya Samajist leaders's critical references to the Sikh Gurus created a rift between the two communities. Arya Samaj encouraged the use of Hindi which affected the growth of Punjabi to some extent.

Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College or *Madrasatul-Ulum-e-Musalmanan-e-Hind* founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan at Aligarh.

Śāradāpūjaka Maṇḍalī, an organization started by Icharam Suryaram Desai to arouse popular interest in literature and learning among the people of Gujarat.

R. C. Bhandarakar delivered his historic philological lectures.

Hindi becomes compulsory in the Oriya speaking areas in Madhya Pradesh.

b. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (d. 1947). A great exponent of Indian art and philosophy.

b. Badkumar Balabhadradeb (d. 1973), translated several works of Kalidasa and the *Kādambarī* of Bana into Oriya.

b. Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyay (d. 1938), a Bengali fiction writer; was associated with the journals *Bhāratī* and *Prabāsī*, some of his books are: *Sroter Phul* (1915), *Herpher* (1918), *Pargāchā* (1917).

b. Dakshina Ranjan Mitra Majumdar (d. 1957), one of the pioneers of Bengali juvenile literature; well known for compiling the age-old fairy tales under the titles *Ṭhākurmār Jhuli* (1907) and *Thakurdādār Jhuli* (1908).

b. Dvarikaprasad Sharma (Chaturvedi) (d. 1954), a prolific writer in Hindi, essayist and lexicographer.

b. G. B. Singh (d. 1950), a Punjabi scholar known for his work *Gurmukhī de Janam te Vicār*.

b. Gadadhara Singh Samanta (d. 1964), a minor poet belonging to the medieval tradition of Oriya poetry.

b. Pandit Gopabandhu Dash (d. 1928), a great educationist and socio-political worker of Orissa. Started his career as a poet, founded a monthly *Satyavādī* and a weekly *Samāj*. His first book of poems is *Abakāsa Cintā* (1899).

b. Gopinath Kaviraj (d. 1976), an erudite Scholar; wrote in Sanskrit, English, Bengali and Hindi.

b. Himmatlal Ganeshaji Anjariya (d. 1972), a Gujarati educationist. Made important contribution to Gujarati literary history.

b. Iqbal, Mohammad Iqbal, Shaikh, Sir (d. 1938), born at Sailkot in Punjab, educated in Lahore and Cambridge and Munich; a teacher of philosophy and English; wrote in Urdu, Persian and in English. The most distinguished Urdu poet of the modern period. Except his poem *Shikwa* (1909), all his important writings were published after 1910. Among his noted works are the Persian poems *Asrār-e-Khudi* (1915), *Javed Nāma* (?), and the Urdu poems *Bāl-e-Jibrīl* (1935).

b. Jogendra Singh (d. 1946), an Indo-English novelist, an author of *Kamla* (London, 1925).

b Karunanidhan Bandyopadhyay (d. 1955), a Bengali lyric poet. Some of his well known books are, *Baṅgamaṅgal* (1901), *Jharāphul* (1911), *Śāntijal* (1913).

b. Krushnamohan Pattanayak (d. 1940), an Oriya poet and a biographer.

b. Lalit. (real name : Janamashankar Mahashankar Buch) (d. 1947), a Gujarati lyric poet.

b. Muse Kavi (d. 1963), a Maithili poet known for his poetical work *Śiva Vinoda* and traditional religious songs.

b. Nanalal Dalpataram (d. 1946), *pseud.* Premabhakt; son of the great Gujarati poet Dalpataram. A great poet, playwright and essayist. Known for his prose-style *donal-śaili* (rhythmic prose).

b. Nand Lal Kaul (d. 1940), wrote *Sati'ch Kahavat*, the first drama in Kashmiri, its theme being the life of Raja Harishchandra (the work was printed in 1927). Among his other plays are *Satyavān Sāvitrī* and *Kṛṣṇa Sudāmā*.

b. Navaratna Ramarao (d. 1960), a Kannada short story writer and translator.

b. Oliya Joshi, (real name : Jagaji Vanadas Trikamaji Kothari) (d. 1960), a popular humorous writer in Gujarati.

b. P. V. Krishna Variyar (d. 1958), a Malayalam author of short biographies of earlier poets.

b. Radharaman (d. 1927), (real name : Krishnaji Pandurag Limaye), a Marathi poet. Author of several *Khaṇḍakavyas* and two epics: *Gajāsuravadh* and *Nānā Phaḍnavīs*.

b. Ramlochan Sharana (d. 1968), a Maithili poet and essayist; translated the *Rāmacaritmānas* of Tulsi into Maithili.

b. Ravishankar Shukla (d. 1938), editor of the Hindi magazine *Kānyakubja*.

b. S. Ulloor Parameshvara Ayyar (d. 1949), a major Malayalam poet, literary historian and critic.

b. Vaman Raghunath Varde Valaulikar *alias* Shenoy Goybab (d. 1946) founder of modern Konkani literary movement. A grammarian, historian, dramatist and story writer.

b. Yatındra Mohan Bagchi (d. 1948), a Bengali poet with a strong love for the simple life and rural landscape. Among his works are *Lekhā* (1906), *Rekhā* (1910), and *Aparājitā* (1913).

d. Maqbul Shah Kralawari (b. 1802), the famous Kashmiri poet.

d. Toru Dutta (b. 1856), one of the most gifted poets in Indian English.

Utkal Racanā, Part II, an Oriya text book for children by Radhanath Ray.

Abhāgyopākhyānam by Kandukuri Viresalingam. A small work in verse, serialised in *Hāsya Sañjīvanī* (1876) ridiculing the stereotyped descriptions found in Telugu *prabandhas*.

Bāni, an Urdu work by Wajid Ali Shah. Matba-e-Sultani, Calcutta.

Dīwān-i-Sarapa by Kalb Husain Khan, Nadir. An Urdu poem describing female dress and personal charms, each stanza ending with the name of a part of the body or of some dress or ornament.

Ēlappāṭṭu by Jakannata Mutali. *Ēlappāṭṭu* is a new genre in Tamil. Sung in praise of God Parthasarathy in Madras, this poem in the form of Sailor's songs describes various commodities imported at the port of Madras.

The Indian Pilgrim a long descriptive and meditative poem in English in nine-line stanzas dealing with places of historical and religious importance in India, by Jogesh Chunder Dutt.

Masnavi Gul-e-Bagh-e-Iram, Urdu poems, by Mir Talib Ali Khak (d. 1890).

Mukati Datey Dā Bandagī Gīt, a book of devotional poems in Punjabi by Christian missionaries.

Udaylaharī, a long poem in Nepali on a metaphysical theme written by the saint Jnandil Das (1821–1883) of Josmani sect. The poem was completed at Darjeeling.

Gyān-Sāgar, a treatise on Vedanta in Urdu by Munshi Girdhari Lal. Matba-e-Nawal Kishore, Lucknow.

Prinsu Āph Velsu Hindūsthāna Samdar Śanamu by Venkataratnam Pantulu Kokkonda. A work in the classical Telugu prose describing the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1877.

Do. Jonsan by Visnushastri Chiplunkar. A biography of Dr. Johnson in Marathi completed in eight issues of *Nibandhamālā* (1876–77). It inspired the growth of literary biography in the language.

John Stuart Mill-er Jīban Bṛtta, a biography of John Stuart Mill in Bengali, by Yogendra Nath Vidyabhushan.

Rāy Dīnabandhu Mitra Bāhādurer Jībanī, a life sketch of Dina Bandhu Mitra, the noted Bengali dramatist, by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

Śenāpati Bāpū Gokhale by Shankar Tukaram Shaligram. A biography in Marathi. Influenced by Chiplunkar's *Do. Jonsan.*

Bhāgyavatī, a prose narrative in Hindi by Shraddharm Phullauri.

Kalāvatī Pariṇaya by Yadava. A prose-tale *(Kathana Sāhitya/adbhuta ramya Kathānaka)* in Kannada. According to some critics this is the first novel in Kannada. It is written in *ragale* form.

Kāminī Kānta by Rev A. K. Gurney. Often considered as the first novel in Assamese.

Rajanī, a Bengali novel describing the story of a blind girl, by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. The story is narrated by several characters in part, a device used for the first time in Bengali fiction.

Taubat-un-Nasuh, an Urdu novel by Nazir Ahmad.

Bābāji Nāṭak, an Oriya play on the hazards of alcoholism by Jagamohan Lala This play divided into four acts, and with many characters including a Christian padre, is often claimed as the first full length play in Oriya. As a drama it does not claim much literary merit.

Bhārat Jananī, a Hindi play by Bharatendu Harishchandra based on Kiranchandra Chatterji's Bengali play, *Bhāratmātā.*

Candrasen, a play in Hindi by Balkrishna Bhatt on a romantic-historical theme.

Candrāvalī Nātikā, a four-act play in Hindi by Bharatendu Harishchandra.

Emon Karma Ār Karbo Nā, one of the best farces in Bengali by Jyotirindranth Thakur. The title of the book was changed into *Alik Bābu* in 1900.

The Indian Heroine: Being Some Incidents of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857, a play in English dramatised from an English novel.

? *Oḍiyā Bijay*, a historical play in Oriya about the British conquest of Orissa, by Jagmohan Lala.

Piratāpa Cantira Vilācam (Patāp Candra Vilāsam) by Ramaswamy Raju. A Tamil social drama about the life of a profligate son of a Zamindar and his reformation at the end. This has been claimed as the first Tamil play.

Shikṣādān arthāt Jaisā Kām vaisā Pariṇām, a comic play in Hindi by Balkrishna Bhatt.

The Adi Granth, tr. by Dr. E. Trump. English. The Adi Granth, the sacred book of the Sikhs.

Bhrāntikṛt Camatkār by Bajaba Ramachandra Pradhan, Marathi, adapt. of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*. Play performed on stage (1878).

Bhrānti vilāsam by Shaila Dikshitar. Sanskrit. Adapation of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*.

Elokeśī Beśyār Kathā, tr. A. K. Gurney. Assamese. *Elokesi Beshyār Biṣaya* (Bengali). It relates the various bitter adventures of a young widow who ultimately gains salvation by accepting Christianity.

Ghātaka Vadham, tr. Anon. Malayalam. *The Slayer Slain* (1859) by Mrs. Collins. The first Malayalam work closest to the novel form.

Irattiṇā Vaḷi, tr. anon. (Ed. by M. S. P. and V. L. Society). Tamil. Harsha's Sanskrit play *Ratnāvali* in the form of a narrative.

Makāpāratak Kummi tr. by Ci. Ramaswami Kavirayar. A Tamil version of the *Mahābhārata* in the form of a folk genre Kummi.

Maqālāt Al Hikmat, tr. by Mirsa Qalich Beg. Sindhi. Bacons' *Essays* (English).

Nītiśataka of Bhartrihari. tr. by Jagajivan Bhavanishankar. Gujarati. From the Sanskrit original.

? *Pavitra Vārtā*, a Maithili translation of the Bible.

Phulmoni Āru Karunā, tr. Mrs. Gurney. Assamese. Mrs. Hana Catherine Mullen's novel *Phulmani O Karunār Bibaran* (Bengali).

Raghuvaṃśa, tr. by Raja Lakshman Singh. Hindi. From the original Sanskrit of Kalidasa.

Rāmāyana-e-Amar Parkash, tr. by Amar Singh. Persian prose. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Sanskrit).

Śrī Kūrma Pūrāṇa Samgrahamu, summary of the Sanskrit Kurma Purana in classical Telugu prose by Timmaraju Lakshmana Ray Kavi.

Awadh Panch, famous Urdu Newspaper from Lucknow, ed. Munshi Sajjad Husain. Stopped publication in 1912.

Bhāratī, a Bengali literary magazine. Dvijendranath Thakur was its first editor. Among the later editors were Svarnakumarī Devi, Sarala Devi and Rabindranath.

Dīnabandhu, a Marathi weekly of the Satyaśādhak Samāj (founded by Krishnarav Bhalekar with the inspiration from Jyotirav Phule), which focussed problems of *Dalits* (the downtroddens).

Hindī Pradīp, a Hindi journal published from Allahabad by Balkrishna Bhatt, a senior member of the Bharatendu school of writers. It played an important role in the propagation of Hindi language and literature. It continued for thirty years.

Jñānavardhaka, a Gujarati monthly started and ed. by Karani Jahangir Bejanaji. Continued till 1884.

Kiran, a Marathi newspaper started by Mahadev Balal Joshi, one of the founder-members of *Kasari* and *Maratha* later.

1878

Vernacular Press Act passed by Lord Lytton, empowered the government to punish summarily the editor, printer and publisher of any Indian language newspaper for publishing seditious matters without recourse to the court. Lord Ripon revoked the Act in 1882.

Rajahmundry Social Reform Association founded by Viresalingam, who began his crusade against enforced widowhood.

b. Alqir Bhaderwahi (d. 1952). A Kashmiri poet hailing from the Bhaderwah region of Jammu and Kashmir State.

b. Bhikari Charan Pattanayak (d. 1962), an Oriya dramatist; wrote several social and historical plays; including *Kaṭaka Bijay* (1906), a historical play on the British occupation of Cuttack in 1803; and *Adbhut Ādarśa* (1910), a farce.

b. Buddh Singh Bawa (d. 1931), a pioneer of Punjabi literary historiography His works include *Hans Chog* (1914), *Koel Ku* (1916), and *Bambiha Bol* (1925) all of them on medieval Punjabi poetry.

b. Ca. Ganesaiyar (d. 1958). A Jaffna based Tamil Scholar. Author of *Ilanattut Tamilip Pulavar Carittiram*, a history of Ceylon Tamil poets; He edited *Tolkappiyam* along with its old commentaries.

b. Dinabandhu Jha (d. 1955), a Maithili grammarian and lexicographer.

b. G. Raman Menon (d. 1951), a Malayalam critic and scholar.

b. Girijakumar Ghosh (d. 1920), one of the early short story writers in Hindi. Author of *Pārvati Sangraha*.

b. Habibullah Zargar (d. 1913), a ghazal-writer. Wrote both in Kashmiri and Persian.

b. Haji Mahammad Alarakhiya Shivaji (d. 1921), edited the Gujarati journal *Visami Sadi*..

b. [Svadeshabhimani] K. Ramakrishan Pillai (d. 1916), a Malyalam literary critic and political journalist. Editor of the journal *Svadeśābhimānī*. Deported in 1910 from Travancore for criticising the corrupt actions of the Diwan.

b. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri (d. ?), the author of *The Epic of Indian Womanhood* (1921), and *Harish Chandra* (1918), an allegorical play in English.

b. Mariano Jose Saldanha (d. 1975), a scholar of Konkani; author of *Relacao Historica Das Gramaticas Concanis* (Historical Account of Konkani Grammars) and *A Lingua Concani* (The Konkani Language).

b. Mohamed Ali (d. 1931), the author of *My Life, A Fragment, An Autobiographical Sketch*, ed. by Afzal Iqbal (Lahore, 1921).

b. M. Raghavaiyangar (d. 1960). A Tamil scholar and critic.

b. Mukunda Das (d. 1934), an author of many patriotic *yātrā* in Bengali and a renowned *Cāran* singer. Played a significant role during the partition of Bengal (1905).

b. Navalar Somasundara Bharatiyar (d. 1959). A distinguished Tamil literary critic.

b. P. K. Narayana Pillai, (Sahitya Pancananan) (d. 1938), A major Malayalam critic; author of monographs on Ezhutthachan and other major poets.

b. Panditaraj Phurailatpam Atombapu Sarma (d. 1963), one of the greatest writers in Manipuri. An outstanding scholar, translator—he has translated several important Sanskrit texts into Manipuri—and a great educationist.

b. R. Madhava Variyar (d. 1958), a Malayalam poet, author of Tuḷḷal poems, *Vañcippāṭṭu*.

b. Shivakumar Singh Thakur (d. 1941), one of the founders of the *Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā*.

b. Trilochan Jha (d. 1938), a Maithili essayist.

b. Vallattol Narayana Menon (d. 1958), one of the greatest poets of Malayalam literature. Author of a number of *Khaṇḍakāvyas* and lyrics. Translated Valmiki *Rāmāyaṇa, Ṛgveda, several Purāṇas* and plays from Sanskrit. Established the 'Kerala Kala Mandalam'.

d. Mir Husain Ali Khan (b. ?), one of the Talpur princes taken to Calcutta after the British conquest of sindh. He wrote a *dīwān* in Persian.

b. Sandu Raysingh (b. 1813?), a Rajasthani devotional poet. (According to other view his time is 1793–1861).

d. Sankardana Samaur (b. 1824), a nationalist poet of Rajasthan.

Āina-e-Tārīkh or *Tohfa-e-Shaeq*. An Urdu work by Ilahi Bakhsh of Kanpur. An ingenious arrangement of words, under their numerical values from 3 to 1401, as aids in the construction of chronograms.

Hindi-Tamil Dictionary by Thomas Anthony Pillai. The best known, perhaps the earliest, dictionary of Hindi and Tamil.

Aintu Paṭaippōr ed. by Muhamatu Ipurakim. A collection of five Tamil works in the *paṭaippōr* form written by Muslim poets. All of them sing the victory of God or the Islamic leader over their enemies.

Bhārat Uddhār, a Bengali satirical poem on pseudo-patriotism, by Indranath Bandyopadhyay.

English Verses Set to Hindu Music in Honour of His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales by Saurindra Mohan Tagore.

Gaṅgābharaṇ, a Hindi poetical work by Nandakishor Mishra *alias* Lekhraj, written in *Kavitta* style.

Kabi Kāhinī, a Bengali narrative poem. First printed work of Rabindranath Tagore.

Kissā Bisno Bagga Mall by Gopal Singh Gopal. Punjabi *'Kissā'* on the local legend of Bishno and Bagga Mall.

Mahr-u-Mah, a masnavi in Persian based on the love story of Sassi and Punnu by Maulana Pir Mohammed. Written around 1844 but published by Matba-e-Bahrul-Ulum in 1878.

Nīlakaṇṭhakavitā by Jivataram Nilakanth. A collection of poems written in Gujarati.

Pichamī Pīr Rā Chanda (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on the Saint Pichami, by Kavio Chimanjit. First published in 1966.

Prematarī Gāthā, Oriya poems by Ramshankar Ray.

Rāmar Ṭālāṭṭu by E. Ratnacapapati Mutali. A Tamil folk poem composed in the form of a lullaby, dealing with the heroic deeds of Rama.

The Vision of Sumeru and Other Poems by Soshee Chunder Dutt. A collection of poems written in English.

The Warrior's Return, a poem in English by Shoshee Chunder Dutt.

Dādū Caritra Akbar Saṃvāda (Ms.), the life of the Saint Dadu and his discussion with the emperor Akbar, in Rajasthani, by Narayana Desdji.

Durgārām Caritra by Mahipataram Ruparam Nilakanth. A biography of Durgaram Mahetaji, a renowned teacher and a social reformer, written in Gujarati.

Mukhtasar Sair-e-Gulshan-e-Hindi by Babu Ram. A brief history of India in Urdu narrating the rise of the British rule and the present state of government.

Uttama Kapola Karasandas Mulaji by Mahipataram Ruparam Nilakantha. A biography of the uncompromising social reformer Karasandas Mulaji written in Gujarati.

Baṅgālā Bhāṣā O Bāṅgālā Sāhitya Biṣayak Prastāb, a treatise on Bengali literature, by Raj Narayan Basu.

Kṛṣṇa Kañter Uil, a Bengali novel of love and passion by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. The most controversial novel written by him.

Mahārāṣṭra Jīban Prabhāt, a Bengali historical novel narrating Aurangzeb's clashes with Shivaji and the emergence of the Marathas as a political power, by Ramesh Chandra Datta.

Nawabī Darbār, an Urdu novel by Azad, Sayed Mohammad (1846–1916).

Qissā-e-Ajā-e-bad-e-Tamīm Ansāri, a work of fiction in Urdu by Shaikh Muhammad Fida.

Saudāminī, an incomplete but a significant work of fiction in Oriya, by Ramshankar Ray.

Saugandhika Pariṇaya by Mummadi Krishnaraya Odeyar. A love and adventure story in Kannada, belonging to the tradition of *Kathāna Sāhitya*, written in a style closer to modern Kannada in contrast to *Kalāvatī Pariṇaya* (1877) by Yadava which is written in old Kannada. 2nd pt. 1880.

Appācu Nāṭakam by Muhammad Ibrahim. A Tamil historical drama based on the story of Appacu, a Muslim prince. Composed in mixed form of *Kirthanas, viruthum* and prose.

Iṅglaṇḍeśvarī aur Bhārat Jananī, a social play in Hindi by Dhananjay Bhatt depicting the economic exploitation of India under the British rule.

Lalitā Nāṭak, a play in Hindi by Ambika Datt Vyas.

Sītāharaṇ Nāṭ the first mythological drama written in modern Assamese by Rama Kanta Chaudhuri.

Vyavahāra Dharma Bodhinī, a farce in Telugu on the rivalry and meanness of the pleaders, by Kandakuri Viresalingam. Also known as *Plīḍāru Nāṭakamu* (pleader's play).

Guldastāh-e-Shujaat, a verse translation of Nizami's *Sikandar Namah* in Urdu by Ghulam Haider.

Nīti Śataka translated from the Sanskrit into Gujarati by Ambalar Damodar Joshi.

Makāpārata Vacanam. A translation of the first two cantos of the *Mahābhārata* into Tamil prose by Tecika Tatacariyar. The complete translation appeared in 1880.

Tacakumāra Carittiram, a translation in Tamil prose from the Sanskrit original of Dandi. Translator not known.

Shakespeare Kathāsamāja tr. by Ranchodabhai Udayaram Dave. Gujarati. From Lamb's *Tales From Shakespeare*. (English).

Suddhāndhra Bhārata Saṃgraham by Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu poetical

version of the *Mahābhārata*, written in *Suddhandhra* or *Acca Telugu*, i.e. without the use of 'tatsama' words.

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa Vacanam by M. Tecika Tatacariyar. A translation of *Valmiki Ramayana* in Tamil. It appeared in parts in a journal from 1878 to 1890.

Amrit Bazar Patrika. It started as a Bengali weekly (1868), but converted into an English weekly in 1878 to evade the Vernacular Press Act. From 1891 it became an English daily. Ed. by Sisir Kumar Ghosh.

Bhārat Mitra, a Hindi fortnightly published from Calcutta ed by Chotulal Mishra. Later it became a weekly and finally a daily newspaper. Journalists like Bal Mukund Gupt and Vishnu Paradakar were its editors.

Kāvyetihāsasamgraha ed. by Vishnushastri Chipalunakar, a Marathi monthly devoted to *Bakhars* of Marathi History, *Powadas*, old Marathi poetry, and unpublished manuscripts.

Kerala Dīpakam (April 1878), a Malayalam journal published from Cochin.

Svatantratā ed. by Iccharam Suryaram Desai. A shortlived Gujarati monthly aiming to arouse political consciousness in Gujarat

Utkal Madhup, an Oriya literary magazine ed. by Krishnachandra Pattanayak.

1879

Vasudev Balvant Phadke (1848–83) organized a revolt against British rule.

Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott, 'The Theosophical twins', arrive in Bombay in January.

A Catalogue of Kashmiri manuscripts published from London by Dr. Buhlar (1837–1898).

b. Achyut Balvant Kolkatkar (d. 1931), a Marathi journalist, who edited *Deśasevak* (1907–1908), and *Sandeśa* (1915).

b. Agha Hashr Kashmiri (d. 1935), an Urdu poet and playwright. *Aftab-e-Muhabat* (1896) is his first play. Joined Alfred Theatre Company in Bombay; translated and adapted several plays from English: *Murid-a-Shak* (*Winter's Tales*), 1899; *Safed Khun* (*King Lear*), 1907; Khwab-e-Hasti (*Macbeth*), 1909.

b. Bapulal Nayaka (d. 1947), a prominent theatre personality who managed the *Mumbāi Gujarāti Nāṭaka Maṇḍali* for many years. Wrote plays and songs for the stage.

b. Maharaj Chatursingh (d. 1929), a devotional poet of Rajasthan.

b. Fani Badayuni (d. 1941), one of the noted writers of Urdu ghazals, their themes being death and desolation.

b. Harihar Das (d. 1972), a teacher in *Satyabadi National School* founded by Gopabandhu Dash in 1909. He translated the *Gītā* and some of the *Upaniṣads* into Oriya.

b. Hariprasad Vrajaray Desai (d. 1951), wrote several biographies in Gujarati.

b. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai (d. 1941). A scholar in Tamil, English and Sanskrit; author of *The Chronology of the Early Tamils* (1932).

b. Kirpa Sagar (d. 1939), a distinguished Punjabi poet. His poem *Lakshmī Devī* (1920) modelled on Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*, describes Maharaj Ranjit Singh's victory of Bindral Pradesh.

b. Muhammad Siddio (d. 1961), a Sindhi Poet.

b. Mutnuri Krishna Rao (d. 1945), Telugu essayist and journalist. Editor of *Kṛṣṇa Patrika*.

b. N. N. Pai (d. 1959), a Kerala born writer in Konkani.

b. P. K. Krishna Nampiar (d 1952), translated plays and poems from Sanskrit into Malayalam.

b. Pantalam Kerala Varma (d. 1919), a Malayalam poet born in the royal family of Pantalam. Started a periodical named *Kavana Kaumudi* entirely devoted to poetry. Author of innumerable short poems. Widely known as the author of a conventional epic Rugmāṅgada Caritam (2nd ed. 1949).

b. Phulachand Jhaverachand Shah (d. ?). Wrote mythological plays and adopted several Sanskrit plays into Gujarati.

b. Purushottama Vishrama Mavaji (d. 1929) edited the Gujarati art magazine *Suvarnamālā*. Wrote several novels. Wrote in Marathi also.

b. Raghunath Chaudhuri (d. 1967), one of the outstanding Assamese poets. Some of his well-known collections of poetry are *Sādarī* (1910); *Ketekī* (1923); etc.

b. Rajagopalachari, Chakravarti (d. 1972); a statesman and scholar. A fine writer of Tamil prose; a short story writer. Has retold the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in simple Tamil. Has written on Hinduism in English.

b. Sadhu T. L. Vasvani (d. 1967), a saint-poet and great educationist of Sindh.

b. Sarojini Chattopadhyay Naidu (d. 1949), one of the finest poets in Indo-English, and an eminent political leader. Author of *The Golden Threshold* (1905), *The Birth of Time* (1912), *The Broken Wings* (1917) etc.

b. T. C. Kalyani Amma (d. 1956), translator of Bengali novels into Malayalam.

d. Arumuka Navalar (b. 1822), a Tamil poet and scholar.

d. Parmanand (b. 1794), a renowned Kashmiri poet; composed three long narrative poems of devotional nature including *Gyānaprakāś* and *Sudāma Carit*.

Kannaḍa Laghu Vyākaraṇa, a Kannada grammar by Katti Venkata Rango.

Dalapatkāvya I, anthology of poems of the Gujarati poet Dalapatram. Part II 1885.

Kāñcī Kaberī by Rangalal Bandhyopadhyay. A Bengali poem based on a legend current in Orissa celebrated by the Oriya poet Purushottamadas.

Kehar-Prakāsa (Ms.), a Rajasthani narrative poem on a romantic theme, by Rav Bakhtavara. First published in 1934.

Lakṣmīśvara-Campu-Kāvya by Ramabai (b. 1850). A Sanskrit *Campu* written in the honour of the king of Mithila.

Maulud Sharif, Urdu poems, by Mir Nafis of Lucknow.

Musaddas-e-Hāli, longest poem of Hali. Written in Urdu. It is also known as *Maddo Jazr-e-Islam*; a glowing account of glories of Islam.

Pañcak Kummi by Nakappa Kovintan. A short Tamil poem in *Kummi* on the famine of 1877–78.

Nāṉmaṇik Katikaī by Rajagopala Pillai. A modern Tamil version of the poems in *Nanmanikkatikai* composed by Vilampinakanar of the 4th or 5th century A. D. A didactic work.

Sansār Kānan by Chandra Shekhar Barua. An allegorical work in Assamese where the world is compared to a forest.

Sāradā Maṅgal, a Bengali romantic poem of five cantos by Biharilal Chakravarti. One of the seminal poetic works of the century.

Aruṇodaya Ūrpha Svalikhit Caritra by Baba Padmanji. An autobiography in Marathi.

Oḍiśāra Itihās, a history of Orissa by Pyarimohan Acharya.

Sipāhī Yuddher Itihās by Rajani Kanta Gupta. A Bengali work in five volumes on the Sepoy rebellion. The fifth volume came out in 1900.

Āndhra Paṇḍita Bhiṣakkula Bhāṣābheṣajam by Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti. A refutation of the argument of Vedam Venkataraya Shastri, condemning the use of spoken Telugu in literary works.

Intakhab-e-Naqs, a criticism of the *Marsiyas* of Anis and Dabir, by Abdul Ghafur Khan, Nassakh.

Hit Kathā, collection of essays in Assamese on moral values, by Purnakanta Sharma.

Sāmya, an essay on Equality in Bengali by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. The book was later withdrawn by the author, but a substantial part, the section on Bengali peasantry, was included in his collected essays.

Bianca or the Young Spanish Maiden by Toru Dutt (published in *Bengal Magazine*,

Calcutta, January-April 1879). An unfinished romance in English consisting of seven chapters. The story of the daughter of a Spanish gentleman settled in an English Village in love with Lord Moore, an English nobleman.

Chatrapati Sambhājī Mahārāj, a historical novel in Marathi by Nagesa Vinayak Bapat.

Nārāyanarāv ani Godāvarī by M.V. Rahalakar. A Marathi social novel.

Piratāpa Mutaliyār Carittiram by Vedanayakam Pillai. The first novel in Tamil. It deals with the life of an educated gentleman in Tamil Nadu. Its importance lies in its use of Tamil prose in a narrative rather than in its structure and techniques.

Rājput Jīban Sandhyā, a Bengali historical novel on the decline of the Rajput militarism during the reign of Jehangir, by Ramesh Chandra Datta.

Stories of Indian Christian Life, a collection of twelve stories in English, six by Samuel Satthianadhan and six by his wife, Kamala.

Aśrumatī Nāṭak, a Bengali historical play depicting the struggle of Rana Pratap Singh and Akbar, by Jyotirindranath Thakur.

Makāpārata Naccuppoykai Vilācam by Ramachandra Kavirayar. A popular Tamil drama on the episode of the Pandavas and the poisoned lake while they were in exile.

Naladamayantī by Trilokekar. The beginning of the *Saṅgīt Nāṭak* tradition in Marathi.

Vināśakāle Viparīta Buddhi by Kekhusaru Navarojaji Kabaraji. A Gujarati social play.

? *Mātṛpaṭamu* tr. by Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri (1851–1891). Telugu verse. Cowper's poem "On Receipt of My Mother's Picture" (English).

Tārā adapt. by Vi. Mo. Mahajanis. Marathi. Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (English).

Mayurbhanj, an Oriya-English bilingual periodical published by Maharaja Krishnachandra Singh of Mayurbhanj.

Sārsudhānidhi, a Hindi journal published from Calcutta ed. by Pandit Sadanand Mishra.

1880

Vasudev Balvant Phadke is arrested and transported for life to Aden, where he died in 1883.

The New English School founded by Vishushastri Chipalunkar at Pune.

Oriya Text Book Committee was formed.

Kolunnallur Kalari, a regular gathering of poets at the palace of the Kotunnallur royal family, which continued for several years. Many of the poets belonging to central Kerala used to assemble there. Inspired the writing of a large number of works. Associated with the Venmani school of poetry.

Vidyāratna Prabhā Kunnamkulam, one of the earliest printing presses engaged in publishing Malayalam literary works. Chief publisher: Malayalammavu Kunnu Variyatu.

Vidyārthī Nāṭaka Samājamu founded by Kandukuri Viresalingam to stage dramas written by him.

Union Press at Darbhanga established by Bimalacharan Chakravarti and patronised by Maharaj Kumar Guneshwar Singh.

Cilappatikaram ed P A. Cupparayac Cettiyar. Edition of the first book of the epic by Ilango Adigal, which created great interest in the ancient works of the Tamils.

b. Abhiram Bhanja (d. 1908), an Oriya social reformer who took great initiative in the preservation of old and medieval Oriya texts.

b. Alura Venkata Rao (d. 1964), known as 'Kannada Kula Purohita.' He started the *karṇāṭaka Ekīkaran* (unification of Karnataka) movement through *Vidyā Vardhaka Sangha* (1890), an institution established in Dharwad to fight for the right place for Kannada; editor of *Vāgbhuṣaṇa*.

b. Ambalal Bulakhiram Jani (d. 1942), editor of *Gujarātī* and *Samālocak*. A scholar of medieval Gujarati literature.

b. Ambika Prasad Bajpei (d. 1968), a noted Hindi scholar and critic. Wrote both in Hindi and English. Translated Gurudas Banerji's Bengali work *Śikṣā* (1908) into Hindi. Author of the Hindi work *Hinduo Kī Rājkalpanā* (1913).

b. Birmitradaya Singh (d. ?), translated several Sanskrit plays and poems into Oriya.

b. F. G. Halakatti (d. 1964), a great scholar of 'Vacana Sahitya'. Editor of the Kannada monthly *Śivānubhava*.

b. Garuda Sadashiva Rao (d. 1955), wrote, adapted, translated nearly 54 plays in Kannada and founded the theatre group *Dattatreya Nāṭaka Maṇḍalī*

b. Ghanashyam Mishra (d. 1936), an Oriya poet; author of *Kāñcanamālā* (1903).

b. Gyanadabhiram Barua (d. 1955), an Assamese essayist.

b. Haimavati Devi (d. 1940), a Maithili poetess whose book of verse *Nārī Asantoṣ* on the problems of women was published in the beginning of this century.

b. Jahangir Edalaji Sanjana (d. ?), noted Gujarati literary critic.

b. Kattamanchi Ramalinga Reddi (d. 1951) well-known as C. R. Reddy; poet

and critic in Telugu. His work *Musalamma Maraṇamu* (1900), poems; and *Kavitvatattva Vicārumu* (1933), criticism, are very popular.

b. Kishorchandra Harichandan Singh Deb (d. 1915), the ruler of Talcher State in Orissa; a patron of Oriya poetry and himself a poet belonging to the older tradition.

b. Ksitimohan Sen (d. 1960), a scholar of medieval Indian literature. Author of *Kabīr* (1913). Wrote both in Bengali and Hindi.

b. Kuttamattu Kunnikrishna Kurup (d. 1944), a Malayalam poet, composer and journalist, well known as the author of a number of 'Sangīta-nāṭakas' viz. – *Bālagopālan, Naciketas* etc. Wrote *āṭṭakkathas, kiḷippāṭṭus* also.

b. Mukand Ram Shastri (d. 1921), a great scholar of Sanskrit and Kashmiri; translated Krishna Razdan's poems into Sanskrit. Compiled the dictionary *Kāshmirī Bhāṣā Śabdakoṣ* (1924).

b. Nilmoni Phukan (d. 1977), a poet, prose writer, and a distinguished journalist of Assam. Among his collections of poems are *Jyotikanā* (1939); *Mānasī* (1942); *Sandhani* (1953).

b. Premchand (Dhanpat Rai) (d. 1936), the most renowned figure in modern Hindi literature and one of the greatest novelists and short story writers of India. His first book of short stories *Soz-e-Vatan* (written in Urdu) was published in 1907. From 1914 he started writing in Hindi. The novel *Godān* (1936) is considered to be his masterpiece.

b. Radhakanta Handiqi (d. 1952), an Assamese playwright. Author of the play *Mula Gabharu* (1924).

b. Rajshekhar Basu (d. 1960) *(pseudonym*: Parashuram). One of the finest Bengali writers of satirical and humorous stories. Author of *Gaḍḍalikā* (1924) and *Kajjalī* (1927); also an essayist and translator; prepared the most popular Bengali lexicon *Calantikā* (1951).

b. Satyanarayan Kaviratna (d. 1918), a noted poet in Braj; translated Bhavabhuti's *Uttarrāmacarita* and *Mālatī Mādhava*.

b. Sukhalal Sanghaji Sanghavi, popularly known as Pandit Sukhalalaji (d. 1978); author of several philosophical works and a great exponent of Jainism. Influenced the intellectual life of Gujarat.

b. T. Ramalingam Pīllai (d. 1968), a Malayalam essayist and lexicographer.

d. Ghanshyam Kharghariya Phukan (b. 1795), a translator and a Sanskrit pandit who gained an important office in Ahom court. He translated the *Kalkipurāṇ* into Assamese.

d. Shah Qalandar (b. ?), A noted Kashmiri Sufi poet. Wrote ghazals and manajat, and masnavi: *Adham-te-Guljan*. (date of composition not known.)

Caupadī Ratnākar, an Oriya *Campu* by Baldev Rath published posthumously.

Chandamālā, a collection of poems in Oriya, by Madhusudan Rao.

Chāyāmayī Kābya, a Bengali narrative poem on the model of Dante's *La Commedia*, by Hem Chandra Bandyopadhyay.

Dīwān-e-Hizibr, Urdu poems by Prince Mirza Muhammad Hizibr-Ali. son of King Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow.

Dīwān-e-Sehbai, a Persian *dīwān* by Imam Bakhsh Sehbai (1806/7–1857). Published posthumously from Kanpur.

Gul-e-Arzū or *Sad-Band-e-Shorish* or *Khamsa-e-Manqibat*, Urdu poetry by Quwat Ali Shorish.

Kābyakusym, a book of poems in Oriya, by Chaturbhuja Pattanayak.

Kulliyāt-e-Munir, Urdu poems by Munir Shikoh Abadi.

Mahilā, a Bengali romantic poem eulogising the various roles played by woman in life, by Surendra Nath Majumdar. (vol. II 1883).

Ñāṉa Ulā by Vedanayakam Sastri. A Tamil poem on Christ in the *ula* genre.

Saṅgīta Sudhānidhi, a collection of Oriya songs by Pandit Gobinda Rath.

Umaiyāmpikai Piḷḷaittamil by Ci. Tiyakaraca Cettiyar. A traditional poem in Tamil in *Piḷḷaittamiḻ* form. It sings the praises of the goddess Umaiyampikai.

Kābya Sundarī, Bengali essays on literary criticism, by Purna Chandra Basu.

Nata'ij-ul-Afkar, a Persian work on the great Persian poets, by Maulavi Imam Bakhash 'Sehbai'. Included in his Kulliyāt.

Prabandhamālā, an anthology of essays by Mathusudan Rao. The work is noted for a new prose style in Oriya.

Ānandarām Ḍhekiāl Phukan, a comprehensive biography of Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan, the illustrious son of Assam, by Gunabhiram Barua.

Intaḵhāb-e-Yādgār (tazkira), Urdu memoirs by Amir Niwai (written in 1873), printed at Tajul-matabe, Rampur in 1880.

Śrī Nṛsimhavāṇī Vilās. A collection of preachings of Sriman Nrisimhacharya who exercised considerable influence among the followers of Arya Samaj and Prarthana Samaj in Gujarat.

Tiruvātavūrar Purāṇam ed. by Arunachala Mudaliyar. A Tamil work in the form of a *purāṇa*, on the life and mission of Manikkavacakar. The work was composed by Katavulmamunivar of the 18th century. This edition has provided a commentary by Kumarasami Desikar.

Fasāna-e-Āzād, an extremely popular Urdu fiction by Ratan Nath Sarshar. A memorable work in the history of modern Indian narrative.

Rājā Śekhara Caritra, also known as *Viveka Candrikā* by Kandukuri Viresalingam. The first novel in Telugu. It is partly based on Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*. Translated into English by J. R. Hutchinson as *Fortune's Wheel* (1887).

Ahalyā Saṃkarandanamu by Purushottama Dasu. A Telugu play on the mythological story of illicit love between Indra and Ahalya.

Brāhma Vivāham by Kandukuri Vireshalingam. A Telugu farce on the problems of child-marriage.

Gajendracaritam, a Sanskrit drama in five acts on the story of *Gajendramokṣa*, by Radhakrishna Tiwari.

Hariścandra, a well known Hindi mythological play, by Vinayakprasad Talib.

Kāñcī Kāberī, a romantic play in Oriya, by Ramshankar Ray. Written in blank verse this play enjoyed immense popularity, and with it began the history of modern Oriya theatre. First staged on 7 February 1881.

Lailā Majnū by Mirza Qalich Beg. The first Sindhi play; it is based on a popular romantic story.

Nandaka Rājyamu by Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri. First social play in Telugu about the squabbles among various castes and communities in the Telugu society of the times.

Vivekadīpikā, a social play in Telugu by Kandukuri Viresalingam, advocating widow-remarriage.

Anupanta Arāpikkatai by Cindara Pelaventiram Pillai. The first Tamil translation of the stories of the *Arabian Nights*.

Arabian Nights tr. by Damodara Isvaradasa into Gujarati from English in four volumes.

Arāpikkatai adapt. by Arumuka Mudaliyar. *Arabian Nights* (English). Tamil II and III parts appeared in 1888.

Bhakt-i-Mal, tr. by Munshi Tulsi Ram. Urdu. From the *Bhaktamāla* (Lives of Vaishnava Saints) of Nabhaji, written in Brajbhasa.

Cākuntalam tr. by Venkatacariyar. Tamil. From the Sanskrit play by Kalidasa in the form of a prose narrative.

Camatkāra Ratnāvaḷī tr. by Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu. Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* (English).

Cānakya Tantra Camatkāra tr. by Pustakam Alasingaccarya. Kannada. Vishakhadatta's *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (Sanskrit).

Gulabakāvalīnī Vārtā adapt. by Krishnadas. Gujarati. From *Gul Bakawali* (Persian).

Mālatī Mādhava tr. by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi. Gujarati. From the Sanskrit play by Bhavabhuti.

Māḷavikākkini Mittiram adapt. Shrinivasa Raghavachariyar. Tamil. Kalidasa's *Mālavikāgni Mitram* (Sanskrit) into a prose narrative.

Nairang-e-khyāl, (a collection of allegorical essays) tr. by Mohammad Husain Azad. from English into Urdu.

Piracanta Mārutam tr. by V. Vicuvanatap Pillai. Tamil prose. Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (English).

Rāmāyaṇa (Bālkāṇḍa), an adapt. into Oriya by Fakirmohan Senapati. (*Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa* was published in 1880 and *Araṇya Kāṇḍa* in 1883).

Ratnāvali tr. by Shrinivasa Raghavachariar. Tamil. Harsha's *Ratnāvali* (Sanskrit).

Ratnāvalī, tr. by Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu. From Harsha's Sanskrit play.

Śarmiṣṭhā tr. by Balkrishna Bhatt. Hindi. From the Bengali of Michael Madhusudan Datta.

Venīsu Vaṇija Nāṭakamu tr. by Gurajada Ramamurti. Telugu. Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (English).

Venīsu Vartaka Caritramu tr. Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu. Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (English)

? *Assam News*, an Anglo-Assamese weekly. Pandit Hemchandra Barua edited it for three years (1882–85).

Bhārati Vilās, a Hindi weekly published from Agra ed. by Durga Datt Mishra for the propagation of the ideals of Arya Samaj and to champion the cause of the Hindi language.

Gujarātī, a weekly started by Iccharam Suryaram Desai. Published from Bombay till 1952. It made a significant contribution to literary journalism in Gujarati.

Gurmukhī Akhbār, a Punjabi periodical ed. by Bhai Gurmukh Singh published from Lahore.

Kōyamuttūr Kalāniti ed. by Pakatala Naracimmalu Nayutu. A Tamil monthly journal published from Coimbatore.

Mañjuvāṇī, a Telugu literary monthly published from Eluru, ed. by Mantripregada Bhujanga Rao.

1881

The Mission School founded in the Kashmir Valley.

Factory Act Passed in 1881 stipulated the hours of work for women and children in factories.

b. Raja Sir Annamalai Cettiyar (d. 1948) the Raja of Chettinad, founder of the Annamalai University; known for Tamil studies and patronage.

b. Aradesar, Pharamaji Khabarada (d. 1953), a Parsi poet; wrote in standard Gujarati; excelled in narrative poetry and wrote sonnets extensively.

b. Asad Mir (d. 1930), a Kashmiri poet of mystical nature; wrote ghazals, nazm and masnavis.

b. C. P. Parameshvaran Pillai (d. 1952), a Malayalam essayist and novelist.

b. Chennappa Uttangi (d. 1962), a scholar of old and medieval Kannada literature.

b. Gatulal Gopilal Dhruv (d. 1964), a Gujarati writer; wrote a biography of Christ and a book on *Brāhmadharma*.

b. Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi (d. 1966), Author of many scholarly works in Hindi.

b. Giridhar Sharma 'Navratna' (d. 1961), His mothertongue was Gujarati but wrote mainly in Hindi; author of *Sukanyā* (1910), a book of Hindi poems; translated Tagore's *Gītāñjali* (1924) into Hindi.

b. Govinda Shastri Dugavekar (d. 1961), a scholar of Hindi and Marathi; a playwright and translator.

b. Haji Ilyas (d. 1941), a Kashmiri poet. Wrote *masnavis (Khanjar-e-Ishq, Makri Zen* and *Mumtaz Benazir), nats* (eulogiums) and *ghazals*. Also wrote a *marsia*.

b. M. U. Katiresan Chettiyar (d. 1953). A Tamil writer and translator. His works include *Melasivapuri* (1904), hymns in praise of Ganapati, and *Urainaṭaikkōvai* (1941), a book of essays.

b. Madhav Shukla (d. 1943), a noted Hindi dramatist, poet and actor. Wrote many patriotic poems during the freedom movement. Established *Hindī Nāṭak Pariṣad* (1914)

b. Mohan Singh Vaid (d. 1938), a noted Punjabi fiction writer. Vaid (doctor) by profession, he has also written many books on Indian medicine. His novels are concerned with socio-religious reform.

b. Mohini Mohan Senapati (d. 1945), son of Fakirmohan Senapati, a radical thinker, a forceful essayist in Oriya.

b. Nabir Mir Hajini (d. 1910), a noted poet of Kashmiri, author of *Kalami Mir Hajini* (date of composition not known).

b. Nagendra Narayan Chaudhury (d. 1947), a noted short story writer in Assamese. *Nagendra Nārāyan Chaudhurīr Galpa*, a collection of his short stories, was published in 1963.

b. Narayan Prasad Arora (d. 1961), a noted journalist in Hindi who also made significant contribution to the growth of Hindi stage.

b. Puran Singh (d. 1931), a distinguished Punjabi poet and essayist. He wrote both in Punjabi and English. *Khullhe Ghuṇḍ* (1923), *Khullhe Maidān* (1922) are his collections of Punjabi poems, most of them are on mystic themes. His English works include *The Book of Ten Masters* (1926), *The Spirit of Oriental Poety* (1926) and *Seven Baskets of Prose Poems* (1928).

b. Radha Mohan Rajendra Dev (d. 1945), an Oriya dramatist, author of *Prematarańga* (1910) and *Parimala Sahagamana* (1926, 2nd ed.), *Pāṇḍava Vanavās* (1921).

b. Ramdas Gaud *alias* Raghupati (d. 1931), known for his writings of scientific subjects in Hindi.

b. Suchitra Devi (d. ?), an Oriya poetess. Her books of poems entitled *Kabitālaharī* (1901) had several editions.

b. Varakaneri Subramania Aiyar, (d. 1925), popularly known as V. V. S. Aiyar, was a great patriot and fine scholar; translated the *Kural* in English. His *Kambaramayana—A Study* in English is an authoritative work.

b. Vaduvur Duraisami Aiyangar (d. 1942). a noted Tamil novelist; wrote about 47 books including detective novels.

d. Gopinath (b. 1788), a Maithili poet.

d. Jayacharyaji (Jitamalji) (b. 1803), a Rajasthani poet and translator

Āndhra Bhāṣā Tattvamu by Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri. A treatise on the nature and features of the Telugu language.

Alaṅkāra Śāstram, the first book on rhetoric in Malayalam by Father Gerard. Based on the works of European scholars including Aristotle.

The Konkani Language and Literature by Dr. Jose Gerson da Cunha.

Bayāz-e-Gul-Fishān, second Urdu *Dīwān* of Fida. Ist part was published in 1879.

Bhakti Sudhārasa by Brahmananda Yogindra. Kannada religious poems.

Cherry Stones, a collection of poems in English, by Greece Chunder Dutt.

Flights of Fancy, poems in English by Jotindranath Tagore.

Sarod-e-Ittephāk by Beharamaji Meravanji Malabari. Collection of poems by the Parsi poet in standard Gujarati.

Zu-Lisanain, a collection of qasīdas in Persian and in Urdu by Sayed Muzaffar Ali 'Asir' Lukhnavi (1813–1881/2).

Āb-e-Hayāt by Mohammad Husain Azad. A historical and critical account of classical Urdu poetry. According to some it was published in 1880, and reprinted 1883.

Malayāḷa Bhāṣā Caritram, by P. Govinda Pillai. The first history of Malayalam literature.

Bhānubhakta Jīvan Caritra, a biography of Bhanubhakta written in Nepali by Motiram Bhatta published from Banaras.

Rājā Rāmmohan Rāyer Jīban Carit, a biography of Rammohan Ray in Bengali by Nagendranath Chattopadhyay.

Sujna Gokulajī Jhālā Ane Vedānta by Manasukharam Suryaram Tripathi. A biography of the renowned statesman of Saurashtra who was a keen student of the vedantist philosopy.

Yurop Prabāsīr Patra by Rabindranath Thakur. A Bengali travelogue written in form of letters containing the impression of the writer about European life.

Andherī Nagarīno Gardhavasena by Haragovindadas Dvarakadas Kamtavala. A Gujarati novel depicting the disorder and intrigues prevalent in the native states.

Dakkanu Pūrva Kathalu by Chadaluvada Sitaram Shastri. Stories written in classical Telugu.

Kamalākṣa Padmagandhiya Kathe by Bhandivadavenkatesa Bhimarao. A Kannada love story, often claimed as novel.

Kōvilaṉ Katai by Pukalentip Pulavar. A Tamil folk tale in *ammanai* genre.

Manoraṁjaka Vārtāsamgraha by Munasi Maganaram Narasimharam. A collection of entertaining stories in Gujarati.

Ratnalakṣmī by Jahangir Aradesar Taliyarakhan. A Gujarati social novel by a Parsi writer.

Śirastedār by Vinayak Kondadev Oka. A Marathi novel about contemporary life in first person narrative. Contains rudiments of political novel.

Vālmīkir Jay, a Bengali tale by Haraprasad Shastri. Translated into English (*Triumph of Valmiki*), 1909, by R. P. Sen.

Vanarāja Cavḍo by Mahipataram Ruparam Nilkanth. A pioneering effort at writing a historical novel in Gujarati.

Ānanda Raghunandan, a mythological play in Hindi by Maharaja Vishvanath Singh; regarded as the first play in Braj Bhasa prose.

Andherī Nagrī, a satirical play in Hindi by Bharatendu Harishchandra. Also known as *Andherī Nagrī Caupaṭ Rājā*.

Nīlādevī, a poetic drama in Hindi by Bharatendu Harishchandra based on a

historical theme. Patriotic in spirit this play strongly advocates women's emancipation.

Pārata Vilācam by Caravana Pantitar. A popular Tamil dramatic work based on the *Mahābhārata*.

Rāban Badh, a Bengali devotional play based on the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Girish Chandra Ghosh.

Tambīhul-Ghurur or *Afsāna-e-Arzang-e-Hairat*, an Urdu play by Alif Khan Habab.

? *Yugandhara Vijayamu* by K. Subrahmanya Shastri. A Telugu play on a sem-ihistorical theme. It was published sometime between 1881 and 1885.

Vālmīki Pratibhā, a musical opera by Rabindranath Thakur, on the theme of Ratnakar's transformation from a robber to the poet Valmiki. Staged on 26 February 1881, Rabindranath in the role of Valmiki.

Acuvamēta Paruvam tr. by Caravana Pantitar. Tamil. From the *Aśvamedh Parva* of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*.

Amaruśataka tr. by Ganeshashastri Lele. Marathi. From the Sanskrit.

Bhāṣā Śakuntalam, tr. by Prince Ayilyam Tirunal Rama Varma. Malayalam prose. Kalidasa's *Śakuntalā* (Sanskrit).

Meghadūta, tr. by Raja Lakshman Singh. Hindi. From the original Sanskrit.

Prasanna Rāghava Nāṭakamu tr. by Kokkonda Venkataratnam (1842–1915), Telugu. *Prasanna Rāghava* (Sanskrit).

Rabinsan Crusonu Caritra tr. by Chunilal Bapuji Modi. Gujarati. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (English).

Rāmāyaṇa by Giradhar. An abridged translation of the Sanskrit epic in Gujarati verse.

Sāra Śakuntalā tr. by Narmad. Gujarati. From the original play by Kalidasa.

Uttara Rāmacarita, tr. by Vivilala Vasudeva Shastri. Telugu. Bhavabhuti's Sanskrit play. The date of publication of this work is given differently as 1881, 1883, and 1889.

Ānandakādambinī, a Hindi Magazine published from Mirzapur ed. by Badrinarayan Chaudhary Premghan.

Bālabodha, a Marathi magazine ed. by Vinayaka Kondadev Oka. This marked the beginning of children's literature in Marathi.

Kerala Mitram, a journal published from 1 January 1881 onwards from Cochin. One of the earliest journals in Malayalam. Established by Devaji Bhimji. First editor: Kandattil Varugis Mappila, who later established the renowned journal-cum-newspaper *Malayala Manorama*.

Mahratta, an English newspaper started by Chiplunkar, Tilak and Agarkar and several Marathi intellectuals.

Sujana Pramodinī, a Telugu periodical ed. and published by Achanta Venkata Sankhyayana Sharma. Essays on science were also published in this periodical.

Tribune, Ambala. The English daily started by Dayal Singh Majithia on 2 February 1881. Since 1917 the paper assumed national importance under the editorship of Kalinath Ray.

Vidyāvilāsinī, the first Malayalam literary monthly published from Keralavilasam Press, Trivandrum, entirely devoted to literature. Its patron was Vishakham Tirunal. The publishers include the literary historian P. Govinda Pillai.

1882

Hunter Commission, a Commission appointed under the chairmanship of Sir William Hunter to review the progress of education.

Punjab University is founded.

Maharashtra Girls Education Society established at Pune.

Shri Camarajendra Karnataka Nataka Sabha, a dramatic troup started, with the patronage of Chamarajendra, King of Mysore. It created a new awareness of Kannada through performances of plays.

Utkal Sabhā, an organization in Orissa, formed under the leadership of Madhusudan Das; with Kashinath Das as its president and Gaurishankar Ray as the Secretary. Its objective was the unification of Oriya-speaking areas.

b. Anurupa Debi (d. 1958), a woman novelist in Bengali. A prolific writer. She was the upholder of traditional values. Some of her works are: *Bāg Dattā* (1914), *Mantraśakti* (1915), *Mahāniśā* (1919).

b. Baba Kansi Rama (d. 1943), a Dogri-Pahari poet and political activist, also known as *Pahari Gandhi*.

b. Baishnab Pani (d. 1956), modernizer of *yātrā*, the folk play, of Orissa. Wrote about fifty *yātrās* in Oriya.

b. Bhai Jodh Singh (d. 1981), a Punjabi author; wrote mainly on religious themes. Among his publications are *Japji* (1908) and *Savaiyas of the 10th Guru* (1911).

b. Balkrishna (d. ?), a fiction writer in English, author of *The Love of Kusuma: An Eastern Love Story* (1910).

b. Banga Mahila (d. 1949) real name: Rajendrabala Ghosh (Dev). A Bengali woman writer who wrote *Dulāi Vālī* (1907), one of the earlist short stories in Hindi. She also wrote in Bengali. An inhabitant of Mirzapur.

b. Chakbast, Pandit Brijnarayan of Lucknow (d. 1926). Educated at the Canning College, qualified for the Bar (1908), a nationalist poet of Urdu; his *Subh-e-Vatan* (1931) published posthumously.

b. Chenkulattu Kunnirama Menon (d. 1940), a Malayalam short story writer and a novelist; he wrote several historical novels.

b. Durgashankar Kevalaram Shastri (d. 1952), a Gujarati scholar of Sanskrit and ancient Indian history.

b. Durgesvar Sharma (d. 1961), an Assamese poet and dramatist.

b. Gopala Menon Vallattol (d. 1939), a Malayalam poet, of the same family as the famous Vallattol; wrote a number of descriptive poems.

b. Janamanchi Sheshadri Sharma (d. 1950). A scholar of Sanskrit and Telugu; translated several Sanskrit *purāṇas* into Telugu.

b. K. Gopala Pillai, Vallattol (d. 1939), a Malayalam poet.

b. Kartar Singh Kalaswalia (d. 1952), a Punjabi poet and historian. His poetic works include *Banda Bahadur*, *Nirbhai Yodha*, both portrayals of Sikh heroes.

b. Kumudranjan Mallik (d. 1970), a Bengali poet. Some of his well known works are: *Ujānī* (1911), *Ban Tulsī* (1911).

b. Kuttippurattu Keshavan Nayar (d. 1959), a major Malayalam poet of the Vallattol school. Published a number of short poetical works and translated plays from Sanskrit.

b. Kuttippurathu Kittunni Nayar (d. 1959), a Malayalam poet and biographer; translated *Kathāsaritsāgaram*.

b. M.R. Krishna Variyar (d. 1950), a Malayalam poet and novelist.

b. Manilal Nabhubhai Doshi (d. 1934), a Gujarati writer and translator.

b. Mrutyunjaya Rath (d. 1924), a Sanskrit scholar; translated *Kumārasambhava* and many Sanskrit plays into Oriya; an essayist and critic.

b. Nanabhai Bhatta, real name: Nrisimhaprasad Kalidas Bhatta (d. 1961). An educationist and writer of Gujarati prose. His *Rāmāyaṇsan Patro* and *Mahābhāratran patro* are interpretations of the major characters of the two Sanskrit epics.

b. Purohit Swami (d. 1941), author of *The Song of Silence* (1931), poems in English.

b. Ranajitaram Vavabhai Maheta (d. 1917), a Gujarati essayist; the founder of the Gujarati Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad and Gujarati Sahitya Parishad.

b. Satish Chandra Ray (d. 1904), a Bengali poet of merit. His prose work *Guru Dakṣiṇā* (1904) was posthumously published.

b. Satyendra Nath Datta (d. 1922), a Bengali poet well known for his metrical experiments. Among his works are *Beṇu o Bīṇā* (1906), *Phuler Phasal* (1911), *Kuhu o Kekā* (1912).

b. Sharadabahen Sumanta Maheta (d. 1970), a Gujarati writer; wrote mainly about women's problems.

b. Subramaniya Bharati (d. 1921), one of the outstanding literary figures of India, the father of modern Tamil poety. He wrote with a keen political and social awareness. One of the first Tamil poets to write for the common man in common idiom. He made his mark with the collection of patriotic poems, *Svadeśi Githaṅgal* (1908).

b. T. K. Citamparanta Mutaliyar (T. K. C.) (d. 1954). A Tamil scholar and critic, who created a new enthusiasm for Tamil among the intelligensia. His *Kambarāmāyaṇam* is a significant critical work.

b. T. K. Veluppillai, Sadasyatilakan (d. 1950), a Malayalam prose writer.

d. Apucha Das (b. 1791), author of *Bhajana Prakaś*, a collection of devotional songs in Maithili.

d. Daboda Panduranga (b. 1814), founder-member of *Mānavadharma Sabhā* and *Paramahamsanmaṇḍalī*; Author of *Marāṭhi Bhāṣāce Vyākaran* (1836), a grammar, *Vidhavāāśrumārjan* (1857), a book on Hindu widows, and *Ātmacaritra* (1882), and autobiography.

d. Vishnushastri Krishnashastri Chipalunkar (b. 1850). The renowned Marathi scholar and writer.

A Konkani Grammar by Angelo Francisco Maffei, S.J. (1844–1899), an Italian scholar.

Aijāzi-Gharibā, poems in Kashmiri by Pir Hassan Shah Khoyahami (1823–1898), (year of publication 1911).

Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan by Toru Dutt with an introduction by Edmund W. Gosse.

Ātma Bhakti Sāravu, poems on Vedanta in Kannada, by Chinmaya Dasa.

Bargāla Varṇaneyu by Kardi Gudda Fakirappa Basappa. Kannada songs on drought in folk metre sung in praise of God praying rains.

Jaṅgnāmā Kabul by Karan Singh. A Punjabi 'Jangnama' (war-poetry). Its theme is Maharaja Ranjit Singh's invasion of Kabul.

Kavitā Mālā, collection of Assamese lyric specially written for children by Bholanath Das. 2nd pt. published in 1883.

Lakṣmī Ne Pārvatīno Saṃvāda by Kaul Mahakam, A Gujarati poem consisting of dialogues between Lakshmi and Parvati—the two goddesses. One of the rare instances of a Parsi poet writing on a Hindu theme.

Nākūrp Purāṇam by Kulam Katiru Navalar. A Tamil Muslim epic dealing with the holy life of Nabi Shahul Hameed.

Pettalahām Kuṟavañci by Vedanayakam Shastri. The title means "the prophetess of Bethlehem." It describes the life and glory of Jesus Christ. A significant work in the history of Christian Tamil literature.

Sandhyā Saṅgīt, a collection of poems in Bengali by Rabindranath Thakur.

Subodhacintāmaṇi by Vallabhadas Popatalal Seth. A verse-satire in Gujarati against superstitions and social evils prevalent among the people, particularly in Saurashtra.

Bahāristān-e-Nāz by Muhammad Fasiuddin Ranj of Meerut. Tazkirah of 174 poetesses writing in Urdu arranged according to their 'takhallas'.

Mujizut Tārikh by Munshi Devi Prasad. A chronology of Indian history in Urdu.

Bidhabā Bibāha by Pandit Govinda Rath. An Oriya work on widow remarriage.

Pāribārik Prabandha, a collection of Bengali essays on different aspects of family life, by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay.

Pālāmau, a Bengali travelogue describing the life and nature of Chota Nagpur hills, by Sanjib Chandra Chattopadhyay. The work was serialized in *Bangadarśan between 1880 and 1882.*

Ānanda Maṭh, the most controversial Bengali novel by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhya. Based on the dreadful famine of 1770 and the Sannyasi Revolt of 1773; it contains the song 'Vandemataram', and served as a source of inspiration during the struggle for Indian independence.

Bhānumatī by Ramanik Maheta. A social novel in Gujarati.

Hariścandropākhyāna Samgrahamu by Belaturi Venkata Subba Shastri. The story of Harishchandra in Telugu prose.

Jyotiruday, a novel in Punjabi written by a Christian missionary (anonymous) depicting life and conditions in a Bengal village. Published by the Punjabi Religious Book Society at Ludhiana Mission Press.

Parīkṣā Guru by Shrinivas Das. One of the earliest novels in Hindi. It deals with the contemporary life and society.

Pullelikkuncu by Arch Deacon. A Malayalam prose work which resembles the novel in form and contains a critical portrayal of contemporary social life. Recognized by certain scholars as the first original novel in Malayalam.

Ansūyā Nāṭakamu by Vaddadi Subbaraya Kavi (1885–1938). A play in Telugu on the pauranic story of Anasuya, wife of the Saint Atri.

Bālavidhavā Santāp Nāṭak, a social play in Hindi advocating widow remarriage, by Kashinath Khatri.

Banabālā by Ram Shankar Ray. An Oriya play.

Chandrahāsa or the Lord of the Fair Forger, a drama in English by K. Krishna Rao.

Juāri-Khuāri, a farce in Hindi, by Pratap Narayan Mishra.

Kānta Nāṭaka by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi. A pioneering Gujarati play in four acts interspersed with verse dialogues.

Pārijata Nāṭakamu by Narayana Kavi. A mythological play in Telugu.

Sītā Vanvās, a mythological play in Hindi on the episode of the exile of Sita, by Balkrishna Bhatt.

Saubhadra by Annasaheb Kirloskar. A play with which the Modern Marathi drama began.

Banvīr Nāṭak, tr. by Gopalram Gahamarı. Hindi. From a Bengali play.

Bhāgavadgītānum Bhāṣāntara tr. by Narmad. Gujarati. *Bhagavad Gītā* (Sanskrit).

Gul Khandān, a popular romance, tr. by Lutf Allah Akhund. Sindhi. From Urdu.

Kādambarī by Chaganalal Harilal Pandya. Gujarati translation from the original Sanskrit.

Kāmākṣī by K. Cidambara Vaddhyar, adaptation of Shakespeare's *As You Like It* in the form of a narrative.

Kāvya Nāṭakādarsha, collection of plays translated from Sanskrit to Kannada by Joshi Bapushastri.

Mahāvilasit by Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani, Marathi translation of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*.

Maṇipravāḷa Shākuntalam, a translation of Kalidasa's Sanskrit work into Malayalam by Kerala Varma. With it started a phase of translations from Sanskrit, especially plays.

Paratēciyin Mōṭcap Pirayāṇam by S. Paul. A Tamil translation of John Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress*.

Paratīcu Uttiyāṉa Nācam by Samuel John. A free translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* into Tamil prose.

Śaśikalā Āni Ratnapāl by Narayan Bapuji Kanitaker. Marathi adaptation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

Sundara Nāṭak, by Krishna Rao Hanamanta. From a novel of Henry Fielding.

Vadhū Darpaṇa Mālā, a series of novels translated into Marathi by Bhanu Keshav Ganganaik in memory of Miss Mary Carpenter of National Indian Association, Bengal. Three novels in the series are (1) *Sadgunī Sūn*, adaptation of the Bengali novel *Mejo Bou* of Pandit Sivanathastri, (2) *Ānandībāī* adaptation of *Suruci Kuṭīr*, a Bengali novel of Dvarakanath Gangopadhyaya, and (3) *Hirābāī Āni Tārābāī*, a Marathi novel.

Kaiser-i-Hind, a Gujarati weekly started by Maheta Pharamaji Kausaji. Advocated India's independence and took progressive stand in religious and social matters. K. M. Munsi calls it "the most advanced journal of the Parsis".

Muhammadan Observer, a periodical in English, published from Urdu Guide Press, Calcutta.

Prajābandhu, a weekly published from Balasore both in Oriya and Bengali, later became a monthly.

Reis and Rayyet, a periodical in English, published from Calcutta. Founder editor, Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee.

Vṛttānta Cintāmaṇi, a Kannada weekly from Mysore, ed. by D. M. Krishnayya, the dozen of Kannada journalism.

1883

The Ilbert Bill, named after Courtnary Perogrine Ilbert, the legal member of Lord Ripon, which empowered Indian magistrates to try Europeans in criminal cases. The Bill created an uproar among the Europeans and had to be withdrawn finally, but it helped to intensify the nationalistic feelings. Many satirical poems and sketches were written in various Indian languages ridiculing the protesting Englishmen.

Gujarati Printing Press started by Iccharam Suryaram Desai.

Paropakārinī Sabhā, a branch of Arya Samaj founded at Udaipur. Later transferred to Ajmer.

b. Annapurna (d. 1961), an Oriya poetess, author of *Padyamāḷā* (1905).

b. B. M. Shrikanthaiah (d. 1946), a scholar of English and Kannada, known as *Kanva of Kannada*; the leading figure of the *Navodaya* movement. His *English Gītagaḷu* (1921) is a milestone in the history of Kannada poetry.

b. Babu Rao Vishnu Paradkar (d. 1955), a noted Hindi journalist and essayist.

b. Bairagi Charan Mishra (d. 1966), an Oriya social reformer and essayist; translated the *Gītā*.

b. Cantiracekarak Kavirayar (d. ?), one of the early editors of Tamil works from palm-leaf manuscripts.

b. Chandradhar Sharma Guleri (d. 1920), an eminent short story writer in Hindi.

b. Dasarathi Prasad Das (d. 1954), an Oriya poet; translated the *Bhagavat Gītā* into Oriya.

b. Gokulananda Pattanaik (d. 1946), an Oriya poet, author of *Jānakī Ballabha Bilās*, and *Sākhī Gopāl*, religious poems.

b. Hotchand Mulchand Gurbakhshani (d. 1947), one of the editors of *Shah Jo Risalo*; a Sindhi scholar and novelist.

b. K. V. Simon (d. 1943), a Malayalam poet belonging to the Christian community. Author of *Śrī Yēśu Caritam* (1932), a poem on the life of Jesus Christ.

b. Manjeshwara Govinda Pai (d. 1963), a Kannada scholar, linguist, and a poet; author of *Golgathā* (1937), a poem on the last days of Christ and *Hebberalu* (1946) a play on Ekalavya.

b. Nilamani Nath Sharma (d. 1960), author of the Oriya poem *Pāraḷā Prasaṅga*.

b. Nirupama Debi (d. 1951), a Bengali novelist. Some of her well known works are: *Annapūrnār Mandir* (1913), and *Didi* (1915).

b. Roby Dutt (d. 1918), one of the most versatile Indian poets in English; author of *Echoes from East and West* (1909).

b. Shashi Bhushan Rath (d. 1943), an Oriya writer and journalist; author of *Śakuntalā* (1920), a fiction.

b. Sobhraj Nirmal Das 'Fani' (d. 1956), a Sindhi poet and prose writer.

b. Tarini Charan Rath (d. 1922), an Oriya essayist, historian, critic and novelist.

b. Tiru Vi Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar (d. 1953). One of the great Tamil writers; an essayist and a poet; author of *Maṉita Vāḻkkaiyum Gāndhiyaṭikaḷum* (1921), on Gandhi's ideals; *Peṇiṉ Perumai allatu Vāḻkaitturaī* (1927), on the greatness of women, *Nāyaṉmār tiṟam* (1922) on the Saiva Saints.

b. Umamakecuvaram Pillai (d. 1941). A Tamil scholar. He was the President of the Karantai Tamil Sangam in Thanjavur; established a Tamil Kalloori (College) in Thanjavur and started the literary journal *Tamilo polil* as an organ of the Tamil Sangam.

b. V. S. Cenkalvaraya Pillai (d. ?). A prolific Tamil writer. Author of *Tēvāra Oḷi Neṟi*, a study of *Tevarams*, and of *A History of Tamil Prose Literature*.

b. Vaman Malhar Joshi (d. 1944), Marathi essayist, journalist, critic, novelist, short story writer.

b. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (d. 1966). A Marathi poet, playwright, novelist, essayist and historian; also the famous revolutionary sentenced to life-imprisonment in the Andaman Jail. He wrote an epic, a *Khaṇḍa Kāvya*, and a play. His collection of poems *Savarakarancī Kavitā* is considered to be one of the finest literary works in Marathi.

d. Swami Dayanand (b. 1824) in Ajmer.

Iraiyanār Akapporul, ed. by C. W. Damodaram Pillai. A grammatical work of the 8th century. Greatly influenced the contemporary Tamil research. It gives a detailed description of the three Tamil Sangams.

Lughat-e-Urdū or *Armughan-e-Delhi* by Syed Ahmad Dehlavi. An Urdu dictionary.

Ahsnul Kasis, a Punjabi *Kissā* written by Maulvi Gulam Rasul on the legend of Yasuf and Zulaikha.

Bhajana Mālā, and *Tattvamālā* by Chaturbhuja Patnaik. Two Oriya works on the essence of Brahma Dharma.

Brajabandhu Bilās by Brajaraj Singh Deo of Khariar. A book of Oriya poems, traditional in form and content.

Deodhan Rāmāyan Dian, a Punjabi devotional poem by Kanshi Ram, based on the episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in an indigenous metre called 'deodh' (literally, two-and-half verse).

Hari Dāsajī Kī Parcaī (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem, dealing with the life of Swami Haridasa. By Komal Dasaji.

Malkī-Kīmā, a Punjabi Kissa written by Gauri Nath Gauhri. It is based on the love tale of Kima and Malki.

Muntakhab Shah Jo Risālo, a Sindhi poetical work by Qadi Haji Ahmad.

Napināyakam Piḷḷait Tamiḻ by Ceyyatu Anapiyya Cakip. A Tamil Muslim poem in *piḷḷait tamiḻ* genre. This deals with the life of the Prophet.

Prabhāt Saṅgīt, a collection of Bengali poems by Rabindranath Thakur.

Pṛthvīrāj Cauhan Yācā Itihās, a Marathi poem by Lokahitavadi. Based on the Hindi poem '*Pṛthvirāj Rāso*' of Chand Varadai.

Resāla-e Gorakh-Dhandha or *Nigār-Nama-e-Muammā* along with *Sharh-e-Urdu* by Syed Siraj-Ul-Hasan Maududi. An Urdu poem.

Vātāhvāna by Chanda Jha. A Maithili poem invoking the wind god.

Nāṭak, a long essay in Hindi by Bharatendu Harishchandra on various theories of drama and stagecraft.

Śarīr Veda Jananmālā, Kapilesvar Vidyabhusan, an Oriya work on the mystic ways of the devotees, saints and yogis.

Bauṭhākurānīr Hāṭ, a Bengali novel by Rabindranath Thakur on Pratapaditya.

Rānaka Devī by Ananta Prasad Trikamalal. A historical tale in Gujarati depicting the courage and preservance of Ranaka Devi, the queen of Rakhengar, the ruler of Junagarh.

Satyavatī Caritramu by Kandukuri Viresalingam. A social novel in Telugu highlighting the need for female education.

Śikṣak by Dva. Na. Ranadive. A Marathi novel on contemporary life.

The Young Zamindar: His Erratic Wanderings and Eventual Return Being a Record of Life, Manners, and Events in Bengal. From Forty to Fifty Years Age, by S.C. Dutt.

Ajāe-Bāt-e-Paristān alias *Bahāristān-e-ishq* an Urdu play by Raunaq Mahmud Miyan.

Bhārat Saubhāgya, an allegorical play in Hindi by Ambika Datt Vyas depicting the misfortunes of India caused by political subjugation.

Hiraṇyāsuravadham, an āṭṭakkathā in Malayalam, by K. C. Keshava Pillai.

Kalikāla by Ramashankar Ray. An Oriya play on the contemporary social life.

Taptā Samvaran, a social play in Hindi by Lal Shrinivas Das.

Uṣā Pariṇaya Nāṭakavu, a Kannada mythological play by Chikkodi Tahmappa Satyappa.

Abhijñāna Śakuntalam tr. by Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu. From the Sanskrit original. Appeared first in 1875 in the periodical *Vivekavardhini*.

Amica Cantēcam tr. by Duraiswami Mupponar. Tamil. From the Sanskrit poem *Hamsa Sandeś* of Vedanta Desikan (15th century). It depicts how Sri Rama sends a swan as his messenger to Sita in captivity in Lanka.

Durgeśnandini tr. by Gaddhar Singh. Hindi. From the Bengali novel of Bankimchandra.

Nindākhanum adapt. by Kekhusru Navaroji Kabaraji. Gujarati. Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* (English).

Pratāparāv Āṇi Candrānanā adapt. by Narayan Bapuji Kanitakar, Marathi. Walter Scott's novel *Kelinworth*. (English) First attempt in Marathi to transform a novel into a play.

Raghuvaṃśa tr. by Ganesastri Lele. Marathi. From the Sanskrit original

Tarikh-e-Hukamē-Yunan, a history of the Greek philosopher, tr. by Insan Allah. Urdu (From Arabic).

Vikramorvaśīyavu tr. by Siddhanti Shivashankara Shastri. Kannada. From Kalidasa's Sanskrit play.

Vikāravilasit tr. by Ge. Ga. Agarkar. Marathi. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (English).

Bhāratendu, a Hindi magazine published from Brindavan ed. by Radhacharan Goswami. Noted for its humorous and satirical writings.

Brāhmaṇ, a Hindi periodical published from Kanpur, ed. by Pratapnarayan Mishra.

Cukuṇapōtini, ed. not known. A Tamil fortnightly exclusively for women; it published stories, and articles on child marriage, women education and so on. One of the first journals for women.

Nabyabhārat, a Bengali literary monthly ed. by Debi Prasanna Ray Chaudhuri.

Sāhitya Sudhānidhi, a Hindi magazine published from Kashi ed. by Devakinandan Khatri.

Sakhā, a Bengali magazine for children ed. by Pramada Charan Sen. It merged with the magazine *Sāthī* ed. by Bhuban Mohan Ray in 1894.

Sanskāraka ed. Chaturbhuja Pattanaik (Cuttack Mission Press), a weekly paper in Oriya and Bengali.

Satihita Bodhini, a Telugu monthly from Rajahamudry; ed. by Kandukuri Vireshalingam, highlighting the social problems faced by Hindu women.

Sevak, ed. by Bhabagrahi Das and Chaturbhuja (Cuttack Mission Press)—a monthly magazine in Oriya starting from September 1883.

1884

The Ahmednagar Education Society founded at Ahmednagar.

Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, founded at Lahore.

The Archaeological Research Institute, Bangalore is established.

The Deccan Education Society established at Pune.

Matba-e-Ahmadi, a printing press, founded in Kanpur.

The first canto (Bālkanda) of Bhanubhkta's Nepali *Rāmāyaṇa* published from Benaras.

b. Asghar Husain Asghar Gondvi (d. 1936), an Urdu poet representing "two diametrically opposite strands, one medieval and the other modern" (Sadiq).

b. B. Kalyani Amma (d. 1959), a Malayalam writer; auther of the famous memoirs *Vyālavaṭaṣmaraṇakal* (1951) on the deportation of her husband, K. Ramkrishan Pillai.

b. Chandra Sekhar Mishra (d. 1973), an Oriya writer known for biographical writings which includes *Confucius* (1931), *Dharmabīr* (1939) and *Sāmanta Candrśekhara* (1940).

b. Chandrashankar Narmada Dashankar Pandya (d. 1937). A popular poet and biographer of Gujarat.

b. Ghulam Mustafa Shah (d. 1923), a noted ghazal writer in Kashmiri. Also wrote *nats*.

b. Govind Chandra Surdeo (d. 1939), an Oriya dramatist and musician, wrote several lyrical plays.

b. Mannan Dvivedi (Gajpuri) (d. 1921), a Hindi prose writer of the Dvivedi period; wrote some patriotic poems.

b. Na. Mu. Venkatacami Nattar (d. 1944), a Tamil scholar and literary critic.

b. Narayana Visanaji Thakhur, (d. 1938) a prolific Gujarati writer; wrote historical and social novels.

b. Pandit Nilakantha Das (d. 1967), an Oriya poet, essayist, journalist and a social reformer. One of the founders of *Satyavadi* School. Among his well known works are: *Konārke* (1919), *Pranayiṇī* (1919); based on Tennyson's *Princess*, and *Kharabelā* (1921)—all poems; and *Samskṛta o Samskṛti* (1951), a book of essays.

b. Panje Mangesharao (d. 1937), a noted poet and short story writer in Kannada. Established *Sālya Sāhitya Maṇḍali* (1921) for publishing literature for children. *Koṭilannayyana Kathe* is his noted work.

b. Rajendra Prasad (d. 1963), the first President of India. Wrote both in Hindi and English, Author of *India Divided* (1946) and *Mahatma Gandhi and Bihar* (1949).

b. Ramchandra Shukla (d. 1940), a great Hindi critic, essayist, literary historian and lexicographer; wrote the most authentic and influential history of Hindi literature.

b. Ravishankar Maharaj (d. 1984), a great public servant; wrote about education, cacutta and rural reconstruction in Gujarati.

b. Rupnarayan Pandeya (d. 1959), a Hindi poet. Some of his poems anticipates *Chāyāvād*.

b. Sadhudas (d. 1948) (Gopal Govind Patanakar). A Marathi poet; wrote three epics, based on the Ramayana theme, and a *powada*.

b. Saurindra Mohan Mukhopadhyay (d. 1964), a Bengali novelist and short-story writer associated with *Bhārati* which he edited between 1914 and 1923 with Manilal Gangopadhyay; also translated many European novels into Bengali.

b. Subramania Siva (d. 1925), a freedom fighter and a Tamil journalist. It was he who spread the patriotic songs of Bharati among the masses. He edited *Ñaṉabānu Pirapañcamittiran*.

b. T. P. Kailasam (d. 1946), a foremost dramatist in Kannada. Noted for his social plays.

b. Tolaram Menghraj Balani (d. 1913), a Sindhi poet; his *Ajiz Ja alapa* was posthumonsly published in 1934.

b. Master Zinda Kaul (d. 1966), a renowned mystic poet, began his literary career by writing poetry in Urdu and Persian; later he switched over to Kashmiri; translated many poems of his and of Parmananda's into English.

d. Charles Philip Brown (b. 1798) of the East India Company's Civil Service. He greatly promoted the cause of Telugu literature, encouraged Telugu scholars to write commentaries on ancient classics, published verses of Vemana. Well-known for his English-Telugu, Telugu-English dictionaries.

d. Govin Chunder Dutt (b. 1823), one of the makers of Indian English literature.

d. Keshab Chandra Sen (b. 1838), leader of the Brahmo Samaj, founder of *Bharatbarshiya Brahma Samaj*.

Shamīm-e-Sukhan by Muhammad Abdul Hai. Notices on Urdu poets with selections from their work, and a brief sketch of the growth of the Urdu language in two parts, 'Matba-e-Imdadul Hind' and 'Ain-ul-akhbār'.

Vāṇī Mukura, a comprehensive grammar of Modern Kannada by Hagegal Ramachandra Shrinivasa.

Viveka Cintāmaṇiyemba Granthavu ed. by Nijaguna Shivayogi. A Kannada Encyclopaedia covering Vedas, Sastras, religious arts etc.

Urdū Zubān Kī Tārīkh, a history of the Urdu language, by Chiranji Lal.

Vyavahāra Gītā, a text book in new Dogri script by J. Vishveshvara.

Bāgilu Taḍiyuvantha Shobhana Padagaḷu, a collection of Kannada marriage-songs (*Shobhana pada*) sung by women, by Tari Subraya Nagappa.

Bhānusimha Ṭhākurer Padābalī, a collection of songs written in *Brajabuli* by Rabindranath Thakur. A fine imitation of the medieval Bengali Vaishnava poets and particularly of Vidyapati of Mithila; inspired by the attempts of Thomas Chatterton who wrote under the name 'Thomas Rawly'.

Cintā Taraṅgiṇī, collection of Assamese lyrics on nature, patriotism, etc. by Bhola Nath Das. (2nd pt. 1885).

Dīwān-e-Shahidi, by Karamat Ali Khan. Urdu poems.

Dṛṣṭāntacintāmaṇi by Vallabhdas Popatalal Seth. A Gujarati poem criticising British Government.

Joguḷapada Toṭṭiladdu, collection of Kannada lullaby, by Shindu Ballala.

Kaṭak Nagarī, a description of Cuttack town in Oriya verse, by Pandit Govinda Rath.

Kavipuṣpamālā, a Malayalam poem by Kattullil Achyuta Menon comparing the contemporary poets with different flowers. An example of the tendency to treat poetry as a means of entertainment.

Kāvya Kaustubha, by Bulakhiram Chaturvedi Desai. Collections of Gujarati poems in two parts.

Kissā Puran Bhagat by Kishan Singh Arif. A Punjabi *Kissā* on the legend of Puran Yogi.

Klānta Kavi by Balasankara Kanthariya a significant poetical work in Gujarati.

Krishma-Gah-e-Sukhan, Zubān-e-Hal (IInd Urdu Diwan of Jalal) by Syed Zamin Ali Jalal of Lucknow.

Kusum Kalikā, Pandit Govind Rath. A book of Oriya verses for children.

Phirojī Gātana by Phirojsah Rustamji Batalivala. Collection of didactic poems in Gujarati written in the style of Dalapatram.

Sīharfī Lailā Majnu, a Punjabi narrative poem in 'Siharfi' form written by Kasır Shayar, based on the legend of Laila and Majnu.

Uttara Gograhaṇa by Hosakere Chidambaraiah. A poem in Kannada based on the *Mahābhārata*.

Asam Burañjī, a history of Assam from the ancient times to the rule of British Government. By Gunabhiram Barua.

Tārīkh-e-Bundelkhand, a history of Bundelkhand in Urdu by Sham Lal Dehlavi Asi.

Umdat-ut-Tārīkh, (Ms.) a Persian work by Lal Sohanlal (d. 1852) published posthumously. A history of the Sikhs beginning from the time of Guru Nanak to the time of Ranjit Singh

Prabhāt cintā, a collection of Bengali essays on different literary topics. By Kaliprasanna Ghosh.

Debī Caudhurani, a Bengali novel by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. Set against the historical background in the late eighteenth century, the novel propagates Bankim's idea of *Anuśīlan*, the theory of culture.

Mucirām Guḍer Jiban Carit, a satirical sketch in Bengali by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. It deals with the theme of British patronage of the cunning and sycophant natives.

Mundra Ane Kulina by Jahangir Aradesar Taliyarakhan. A Gujarati social novel.

Niti Nathā, a collection of didactic tales in Assamese. By Bisnupriya Baruani.

Rūth Ammāṇai by Ishvaramurti Pillai. A Tamil narrative in *ammanai* form. It deals with the life of Ruth, a Biblical character. It aims at justifying widow-marriage.

Sudharmār Upākhyañ by Padmavati Devi Phuknani. An Assamse novel, probably the first by a woman writer.

Tobcha Nasuha by Phardunaji Baheramaji. A Gujarati social novel.

Bibāha Bibhāṭ, a Bengali farce caricaturing the westernized young men and women in Bengal By Amritalal Basu.

Candramukhī Vilāsam, the first original play in Malayalam and also the first play by C. V. Raman Pillai.

Caṭujje O Bāḍujje, a Bengali farce by Amritalal Basu.

Gopicanda Nāṭaka by Damodar Somani. A very popular Gujarati play on famous Raja Gopichand.

Guṇotkarṣa by Vasudevashastrı Khare. A Marathı historical play.

Maithiliya, a Sanskrit drama ın ten acts based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. By Naravana Shastri.

Nai Roshni Kā Viṣ, a well known social play ın Hındi by Balkrıshna Bhatt

Rāsa Krīḍā Nāṭakavu, a mythological play in Kannada by Ramadurgakara Hanumanta Narasimha.

Saṇgīta Madālasā Nāṭaka by Damodar Ratanashı Somanı. A Gujarati musical play about Madalasa, a mythological character of a devoted wife

Saṇgīt Saubhāgyaramā Athavā Vaidhavya Dhuhkhavimocan by Anna Martand Joshi. A Marathi play to support Vishnu Parashuramashastrı Pandıt ın his mission of *Bālavidhavā vivāhamaṇḍal*, portraying him as one of the characters in the play.

Śarmiṣṭhā Vijaya, a Sanskrit *Nāṭikā* based on the story of Devayani and Yayatı. By Narayana Shastrı (1860–1911).

Bhojacaritaravu. tr by Sıddhantı Shıva Shankara Shastri. Kannada. From Sriharsha's Sanskrit work.

Folklore in South India by Natesha Shastrı. A collection and translation of the folksongs prevalent ın the southern part of India. It appeared in 4 volumes (1884–1893)

Hatāṭ Nabāb tr. by Jyotirındra Nath Thakur Bengali. Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (French).

Kādambarī tr. by Chaganalal Harilal. Gujaratı. From the Sanskrıt orıgınal.

Kamalkumārī tr. by Damodar Mukhopadhyay. Bengalı. From Walter Scott's novel *The Bride of Lammermore* (English).

Kathā Saritsāgar tr. by Ramkrıshna Varma. From the Sanskrıt orıgınal

Kuran tr. by Hapip Mukammatu Al Akakarı This is probably the first complete translation of the *Quran* from the Arabic in Tamil

Nīti Śṛṇgāra Vairāgyavemba Śataka Traya tr. by Goravuru Narasımmai Arya. Kannada. From Bhartrihari's Sanskrıt works.

Mufarra Hul Qulub, an Urdu translation of Lalujı Lal's Hindı *Hitopadeś*.

No'v Ahadnāma, Kashmiri translation of the *New Testament* ın Persian scrıpt. Published by the Punjab Bible Society, Ludhiana.

Sītā Vanavāsa tr. by B. Venkatacharya. Kannada. From Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar's Bengali work.

Vālmīki Maharṣi Pranītamāda Sundara Kānṇḍamvu tr. by Velanadu Subba Shastri. Kannada. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Sanskrit).

Dhumketu, an Oriya periodical from Balasore, ed. by Dvarikanath Das and Shibnarayan Nayak.

Dilgudaz, Urdu monthly from Lucknow ed. by Maulana Abdul Halim Sharar. From 1888 it started serializing historical novels.

The Indian Selector, Bombay. An English monthly magazine devoted to political, social, scientific and literary questions. Ed. by N. F. Billimeria.

Kerala Patrikā, a news journal published from Vidyavilasam Press, Calicut. Ed. by Chenkulallu Kunnirama Menon. Published the writings of renowned prose writers like Chandu Menon and Appu Nedunnadi.

Māsika Sāra Samgraha ed. by Purusuttam Kahanaji Gandhi. A Gujarati monthly digest of books.

Mysore Star Patrikeyalli Prakatisidda Correspondence. Editorials in Kannada published in the *Mysore Star* ed. by Y. Virasangappa.

Nada Bidhān, ed. by Shiv Narayan Nayak. An Oriya magazine of the Brahmo Samaj published from Balasore.

Prācīn Kāvya Traimāsik ed. by Haragovindadas Dvarkadas Kantavala. A quarterly journal devoted to ancient Indian literature in Gujarati translations.

1885

Indian National Congress is founded. The first meeting was held in Bombay in December under the presidency of W. C. Bonnerjea. The first congress consisted only of seventy delegates. The Congress met every year during the Christmas week.

Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Society for the Defence of Islam) founded in Lahore.

Ahsamul-Matabe, a printing press established at Lucknow. Owner: Munshi Kedar Nath.

Jagannath Ballabh Press started at Deogarh in the Bamra State in Orissa; financed by the Raja Shri Basudev Sudhal Dev.

Est. *Karnataka Book Depot Press* by Anand Chennavirappa. It published a magazine called *Karnataka Vṛtta* to repulse the domination of Marathi by creating a new awareness for Kannada.

Sindh Madrasatu'l Islam, an institution founded by Khan Bahadur Hasan 'Ali Efandi who was deeply influenced by the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

b. Ambikagiri Raychaudhury (d. 1966), a freedom fighter, nationalist poet and a journalist. Known as *Agni Kavi* in Assam.

b. Atisukhashankara Kamala Shankara Trivedi (d. 1963). A Gujarati educationist, grammarian and essayist.

b. D. P. Unni (d. 1962), a Malayalam critic, essayist and novelist.

b. Gijubhai Bhagavanaji Badheka (d. 1939), a pioneer in children's literature in Gujarati.

b. Govindagraj Balakaram Ram Ganesa Godkari (d. 1919). A Marathi writer. He used pen names Govindagraj and Balakaram for poems and humorous writings respectively. He published his plays under his real name: Ram Ganesh Godakari. Author of the play *Prema Sannyās* (1908).

b. Jethmal Parsuram Gulrajani (d. 1948), a Sindhi journalist and scholar.

b. K. P. Karuppan (d. 1938), a Malayalam poet who rose up from an underprevileged community. Author of a number of poems written in various traditional forms like 'Tuḷḷal,' 'Killippāṭṭu, and 'Kummi'. Also wrote two plays on the model of Sanskrit drama.

b. Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, real name: Dattatreya Balakrishna Kalelkar (d. 1981). A renowned essayist and thinker. Wrote in Gujarati and in Hindi in addition to his mother-tongue, Marathi.

b. ? Kaliram Medhi (d. ? 1955), a distinguished editor, and prose writer of Assam.

b. Kanvar Bhag'at (d. 1939), a Sindhi folk-poet and singer; met his martyrdom in the cause of the Hindu-Muslim unity; a subject of many a dirge in Sindhi.

b. Keshav Prasad Mishra (d. 1951), a distinguished scholar of Hindi; edited *Kāśī Nagari Pracāriṇi Patrikā*, noted for his translation of *Meghadūt* in Hindi.

b. Khwaja Subhan (d. 1922), a Kashmiri poet; wrote ghazals and a masnavi *Kashir Himal* (date of composition not known).

b. Kishinchand 'Bevas' (d. 1947), the first 'modern' poet of Sindhi literature who had established himself as a significant poet by 1907.

b. Pandit Kulamani Das (d. 1969), an Oriya scholar who worked with Gopal Chandra Praharaj in preparing the monumental Oriya lexicon *Pūrṇa Candra Oḍiyā Bhāṣā Koṣa* (1931–40) in seven volumes.

b. Kunnattu Janardana (d. 1955), a Malayalam critic and a novelist.

b. Lal Chand Amardinomal Jagtiani (d. 1954), the author of *Cothi Jo Canḍu*, a Sindhi novel.

b. Muhammad Shahidullah (d. 1969), a well known Bengali scholar and writer.

b. Padma Charan Pattanaik (d. 1956), a noted modern Oriya poet.

b. Pannishseri Nanu Pillai (d. 1942), a Malayalam author, wrote an unconventional āṭṭakkatha, *Niḷalkuṭṭu*.

b. Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyay (d. 1930), a historian; wrote historical novels in Bengali, author of *Bāṅgālār Itihās* (vol. I, 1914; vol. II, 1917).

b. Rasabihari Laldas (d. 1941) a Maithili novelist; author of the novel *Sumati*, and *Mithilā Darpaṇa*, a collection of essays.

b. T. S. Venkannayya (d. 1939), edited many significant old Kannada works.

b. Tara Singh, Master (d. 1967), a religious and political leader of the Sikhs; author of many essays and fiction in Punjabi including *Prem Lagan*, a novel and *'Meriyad'* (1945), an autobiography.

b. Vitthal Sitaram Gurjar (d. 1962), Marathi short story writer, novelist and playwright. Co-editor of monthly *Manorañjan*; wrote about seven-hundred stories. Translated many stories of Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay and Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay's several novels including *Devdās* and *Charitrahīn*.

d. Balvant Pandurang Kirloskar (d. 1843), one of the greatest figures in Marathi literature.

d. Bharatendu Harish Chandra (b. 1850), one of the makers of modern Hindi literature.

d. Sonam Bai (b. 1825), a Rajasthani devotional poetess.

d. Uns, Syed Muhammad Mirza of Lucknow (b. 1792), an Urdu poet associated with the court of Oudh and later with that of Rampur.

Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles. Published by the Education Society Press, Bombay.

Śabda Ratnākaramu by Bahujanapalli Sitaramacaryulu (1827–1891). A Telugu-Telugu dictionary, in alphabetical order.

Ajāmilamokṣopākhyānam, a *kiḷippāṭṭu* by K. C. Keshava Pillai.

Dakṣiṇayātre Carite, a travelogue in Kannada verse by Karki Venkataramana Shastri Suri.

Dīwān-e-Sukhan, Urdu poems by Muhammad Fakhruddin Sukhan.

? *Gīta Pada* (Ms.), a collection of Rajasthani devotional songs (composed between 1855 and 1885), by Saman Bai. First published in 1976.

Guldastā-e-Muhsin, Urdu poems by Muhsin Kakorvi.

Lāṭ Darśaṇ by Govind Rath. An Oriya poem, with an under-current of satire on the Viceroy's visit to Orissa.

Mahākavi Kālidāsanum Jīvana Ane Kavana by Balavanaray Kalyanaray Thakur. A long poem on Kalidasa in Gujarati.

Nīsāni (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on Maharaja Pratapsingh (1845–1922), of Jodhpur. By Asiyo Modji. First published in 1930 (?).

Tazkirah-e-Āsār-al-Sho-arā-e-Hunūd by Debi Parshad Bash-Shash. An Urdu work containing notes on Hindu poets writing in Urdu (pt. II). Pt. I, which deals with Hindu poets writing in Persian appears to be unpublished.

Bazm-e-Ākhir by Munshi Faizud-Din. An Urdu work meaning "The Last Assembly"; an account of the public and private lives of the last two Moghul Kings of Delhi (i.e. Akbar Shah II and Bahadur Shah II).

Kavi Nāgajīnum Jīvanacaritra by Devajı Ukabhai Makavana. A biographical sketch of the Gujarati poet Nagaji, which also includes a collection of his poems.

Gujarāt Deśaca Itihās by Lokahıtavadi. A history of Gujaratı ın Marathı. It ıs based on Forbes' English work, prepared with the help of *Rāsamālā* ın Gujaratı.

Tārīkh-e-Hassan, a history of Kashmir in Urdu, by Pir Hassan Shah Khoyahamı.

Tārīkh-e-Aziz-e-Dakkan, a history of the Decan in Urdu, by Muhammad Abdul Aziz.

Dharmavicār by Narmad. A voluminous Gujarati prose work on religion.

Kannaḍa Kavitā Paddatiyu by Turamurı Gangadhara Madıvalesvara. A Kannada work dealing with style and prosody.

Mīzān Al-Sh'ir, the first Sindhı work on the theory of poetry by Muhammad Fadil Shah.

Nārī-Pratiṣṭhā by Manilal Dvivedi. A Gujaratı prose work on the problems of widow-remarrıage.

Piḷḷaiviṭu Tūtāpāca Vilakkam by Namacivaya Cettiyar. It condemns the poetical work *Piḷḷaiviṭu Tutu* which was composed to parody an earlier Tamil work called *Kiḷḷaiviṭu Tutu* written in the 18th century.

Samī-a-Je Saldkani Jo Tātrarju, a Sindhi essay on the *Slokas* of Chamrai Bachomel "Sami", by Dayaram Gidumal.

The Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Punjab by Thomas Thornton. It contains informative articles on folklore and literature of Punjab.

Asan Bey Carittiram, a Tamil novel by Citti Levvai Maraikkayar. In a panoramic sweep of action from Cairo to Alexandria via India and Beirut, it describes the adventurous story of Asan.

Biṣād Sindhu, a powerful account of the slaying of Husen ın Karbala in Bengali, by Mir Mussarraph Husen (vol. II 1887; vol. III 1891).

Hind Anē Britanniā by Icchram Suryaram Desai. A Gujarati polıtical novel, originally published in *Svatantratā*.

Madhalī Sthiti, the first novel of Hari Narayan Apte, published serially in the Marathi periodical *Pune Vaibhav*.

Rānī Rūpasundarī, a historical novel in Gujarati by Haragovinda Dvarakadas Kantawala.

A Romance of Indian Crime, a detective novel by an anonymous Indian.

Tātācāryula Kathalu by C.P. Brown. Collection of interesting anecdotes in Telugu related to him by one Tatachari.

Time of Yore or Tales from Indian History from the Invasion of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Panipat, by Soshee Chunder Dutt, written with Saurindra Mohan Tagore.

Abhimanyu Vadh, an Assamese drama based on an episode from the *Mahābhārata*. By Bharat Chandra Das.

Dakṣiṇa Gograhanam, a Telugu mythological play. By Kandukuri Viresalingam.

? *Draupadī Vastrāpaharaṇanu* by Kondubhotla Subrahmanya Shastri. A Telugu play on the humiliation of Draupadi by Duryodhana (published some time between 1881 and 1885).

Ghurur-e-Rad-Shah Chanda Hur Wa-Khurshid Nur, an Urdu play in two acts. By Mahmud Miyan Raunaq.

Gopikā Vinoda Athavā Śṛṅgāra Rasabharita Rāsakrīḍā Nāṭakavu, a mythological play in Kannada. By Chennappa Basalingappa Uppina.

Kāmāvatī Nāṭaka by Naginadas Mancharam. A social play in Gujarati.

Mādhuri, a mythological play in Hindi. By Bharatendu Harishchandra.

Mahārās Nāṭak, a mythological play in Hindi. By Khadag-Bahadur Mall. It presents a charming picture of Krishna.

Prahlāda Nāṭakamu by Kandukuri Viresalingam. A Telugu play on the story of Prahlada.

Vallāḷa Makarācan Yakṣakanam by Mukaiyatin Pulavar. Ed. by Paccai Perumal Nayakkar. A folk drama patterned after Kannada *Yaksha gana* deals with the heroic exploits of King Vallala of Tiruvanamalai.

Vārāṅganā Rahasya, a social satire in the form of a play in Hindi. By Upadhaya Badrinarayan Chaudhuri.

Vatasalāharaṇa Nāṭakavu, a mythological play in Kannada. By Sakkari Balacharya.

Durgeśa Nandinī tr. by B. Venkatacharya. Kannada. Bankim Chandra's Bengali novel.

Kannaḍa Vacana Bhāratavu. Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* rendered into modern Kannada by Revana Siddeshvara Shivayogi.

Karṇabīr tr. by Nagendranath Basu. Bengali. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (English).

Karpūramañjarī tr. by Balashankar Ullasaram Kanthariya. Gujarati. From Raja Sekhara's play in Prakrit.

Khurshid, adapt. by Mirza Qalich Beg. Sindhi. Based on the Gujarati original.

Kusumāñjali tr. by Vishnu Moreshvar Mahajani. Marathi. From the lyrics of Blake, Scott, Burns, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Browning and Longfellow (Total 41). Originally published in *Vividhajñānavistār* from 1883 to 1885.

Mahābhārata, 6 vols. tr. by Chotalal Narabheram Bhatta. Gujarati. From Sanskrit.

Māḷakāgnimitramu tr. by Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu. From Kalidasa's play *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Sanskrit).

Mudrārākṣasamu adapt. by Sitarama Shastri. Telugu. From Vishakhadatta's play *Mudrārākṣasa* (Sanskrit).

Mutrā Rākṣasam tr. by S. M. Natesha Shastri. Tamil. From the Sanskrit play of Vishakhadatta.

Prabodha Candrodayam tr by Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu. From the Sanskrit. First act was published in *Vivekavardhani*. The entire translation in book form was published in 1892.

Ṛgved Samhitā tr. by Ramesh Chandra Datta. Bengali. From Sanskrit.

Śukla Basanā Sundarī tr. by Damodar Mukhopadhyay. Bengali. Wilkie Collins' novel *The Woman in White*, (English) vol. II 1888; vol. III 1890.

Śūra Sena Carita tr. by Basavappa Shastri. Kannada. Shakespeare's *Othello* (English).

Amudrita Grantha Cintāmaṇi, a Telugu literary magazine founded and ed. by Pundla Ramakrishnayya mainly devoted to review and criticism. This monthly was published unintemporly for nineteen years.

Āryasahodara, a Gujarati monthly, Junagarh. Ed. by Bhanusankara Ranachodaji Shukla. Serialised translations many Sanskrit texts.

Asam Bandhu, a periodical, ed. by Gunabhiram Gohain Barua. Continued for only one year but it played an important part in the history of modern Assamese literature.

Hindosthān, a Hindi journal published from Kalakankar by Raja Rampal Singh, ed. by Madanmohan Malviya.

Pradīp, an Oriya periodical published from Cuttack, and ed. by Sarat Chandra Mukherji and Mrugenradhar Raychoudhury.

Priyamvadā, a Gujarati monthly started and ed. by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi for women's education. The name changed to *Sudarśan* in 1890.

Śilpa Puṣpāñjali, the first Bengali periodical on fine arts.

Sujana Manollāsinī, a Telugu literary monthly from Madras ed. by Edunutala Muttayya.

Tirāviṭa pāṇṭiyaṉ ed. by J. K. Rattinam A Tamil journal for the benefit of the scheduled castes and tribes in Tamil Nadu. Most of the contributions were in common Tamil.

1886

Theosophical Society is founded at Adyar.

Muhammadan Education Congress founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Later named Muhammadan Education Conference in 1890; renamed as Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Conference in 1895 and then All India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh.

Rasik Samāj, a Nepali literary organization at Benaras under the leadership of Motiram Bhatt, the most important figure in Nepali next only to Bhanubhakta.

The Sacred Kural of Tirvalluvar, by G. U. Pope. The most well known of all the English translation of the *Kural*.

b. Jagadish Chandra Gupta (d. 1957), a Bengali fiction writer, known for his grimly realistic stories.

b. K. P. Keshava Menon (d. ?), a Malayalam prose writer, journalist, essayist; author of many biographies, travelogues and plays. Editor of *Mathrubhūmi* (1923) for a long time.

b. Kanti Chandra Ghosh (d. 1948), a Bengali poet, remembered for his translation of Omar Khayyam.

b. Kaur Singh, Akali (d. 1953), a Punjabi scholar of Sikh religion and history.

b. Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra (d. 1926), a noted Oriya historian and essayist worked as a teacher in the Satyabadi National High School under Pandit Gopabandhu Dash.

b. Lochanprasad Pandeya (d. 1959), a noted Hindi poet of Dvivedi period.

b. M. S. Subramaniya Aiyar (d. ?), wrote extensively in Tamil, mostly on historical figures, and also stories for children.

b. Maithilisharan Gupta (d. 1964), one of the greatest modern Hindi poets. His first poetic work of importance *Jayadrath-Vadh* was published in 1910. Among his other noted poetic works are *Saket* (1932) and *Yaśodharā* (1932).

b. Ramnaresh Tripathi (d. 1962), a noted Hindi romantic poet.

b. Sundarlal (d. 1964), an essayist, known for historical writings in Hindi.

d. Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan (b. 1829), an Assamese scholar and writer.

d. Pratap Kanvari (b. 1816), wife of Maharaja Mansingh (1783–1843) of Jodhpur; a poetess.

d. Shri Ramkrishna Paramhansa (b. 1836), a saint who made a tremendous impact on the religious life of India. His conversations collected in *Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmrta* (1902–32) is considered a classic in Bengali literature.

Alaṁkār Bodhodaya by Sir Basudev Sudhal Dev. An Oriya work on *alaṁkār*, their definations, and their use in Oriya literature.

Barṇabodha by Madhusudan Rao. An Oriya primer. Even today Oriya childern begin their first lessons in Oriya alphabets through this book.

Bṛhat Kāvyadohan, in eight parts, by Iccharam Suryaram Desai. Compilation of Gujarati poems from the earliest times todate. The publication of eight volumes spread between 1886–1913.

Pērakarāti by Kanchipuram Ramaswamy Naidu. One of the largest Tamil lexicons.

Biśvakoṣa, a Bengali Encyclopaedia. First vol. (1886) was edited by Rangalal Mukhopadhyay and Trailokyanath Mukhopadhyay. Vols. II–XXII (1911) were compiled almost single-handed by Nagendranath Basu (1866–1938). The Hindi edition was published in 24 volumes (1916–1931).

Ambopadeśam, a poetical work of Natuvattacchan Namputiri. Almost every Malayalam poet belonging to the Venmani school has written a piece bearing the same title.

Bhakti Sarovara Mattu Jñāna Sarovara, Kannada songs on devotion and knowledge.

Candrabhāgā by Radhanath Ray. An Oriya poem based on the Greek mythology of the love between Daphne and Apollo transformed into a story of passionate love of the Sun God (of the famous Konark temple) for Chandrabhaga, the daughter of Ocean.

Ekānt Vāsī Yogī by Shridhar Pathak. One of the significant poems in Hindi literature in respect of mood and style.

Hīr-Rānjhā by Bhagwan Singh. A *Kissā* written in Punjabi on the love-legend of Heer and Ranjha.

Kaḍi O Komal by Rabindranath Thakur. It contains some of the early specimens of Rabindranath's passionate love poems.

Kavibhāratam by Kunhukkuttan Tampuran. A poetical work in Malayalam in which he describes the poets of that time, in a lighter vein, associating each of them with a character in the *Mahābhārata*.

Kabitā Kalāp by Govinda Rath. A collection of stray poems in Oriya for children.

Kedār Gaurī by Radhanath Ray. In freshness of style and diction it marks the beginning of the modern Oriya poetry. The theme of the poem is partly adapted from Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe' *(Metamorphosis)*.

The Last Day, a poem in English by Nobokission Ghosh, (*Pseud.* Ram Sharma).

The Lyrics of Ind., A collection of poems in English by Dvijendra Lal Roy.

Mithilā Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa by Chanda Jha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Maithili language.

Ranachoḍkṛta Kāvyasudhā by Ranachodharam Galaram. Stories in verse in the style of the eighteenth-century Gujarati poet Shamal.

Śyāmā Sarojinī by Jagmohan Singh Thakur. A Hindi poem on the romance of Radha and Krishna.

Hayāt-e-Sādī by Altaf Husain Hali. An Urdu work: The Life of Sadi with a review of his works.

Brāhma Dharmamu by Buchchayya Pantulu Mannava. A tract on Brahmo religion in Telugu.

Kṛṣṇa Caritra by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. A Bengali work projecting Krishna as a historical character and the Hindu ideal of perfection.

Vedānta Tattvasāra by Manjamma Kibbacchala. A work on Vedanta in Kannada prose.

Vidura Prajāgara Āda Rājnīti by Vaishnava Pyare Ram. A Rajasthani prose work on ethics.

Pāvalar Carittira Tīpakam by Arnold Sadasivam Pillai. A history of Tamil poetry based on Simon Casie Chitty's *Tamil Plutarch*.

Fasāna-e-khurshedī by Sayyad Afzaluddin Ahmad. An Urdu novel.

Hasāhasa by Purusottam Kahanaji Gandhi. A Gujarati novel with a comic strain.

Kāḷapuruṣa by Ramakrishna Balavant Naik. A Marathi novel on contemporary life.

Nūtan Brahmacārī by Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta. A social novel in Hindi.

Pativratā Bāyadīno Vahemī Bharthār by Edalaji Tarapureala. A Gujarati social novel about a devoted wife and her suspicious husband.

Patmini Capā by Muthuswamip Pillai. A Tamil novel. It is a story of an ideal housewife, her relationship with her parents on the one hand and her in-laws on the other.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kathāsārasangraha by Mummadi Krishnaraja Odeyar. Stories about Krishna in Kannada prose.

Saṃsār, by Ramesh Chandra Datta. A Bengali social novel defending widow remarriage.

Tennintiya Nāṭōṭik Kataikal by S. M. Natesa Shastri. This is the first edition of a collection of folk tales in Tamil.

Veṇu by Ganesha Mahadev Limaye. A Marathi novel on contemporary life.

Cāvittiri Nāṭakam by T. R. Govinda Rau. A popular drama in modern Tamil based on the Savitri myth, contrasting the European woman with the Indian.

Bālakṛṣṇa Vijaya by Narmad. A Gujarati mythological play about child Krishna.

Dhanī-Dhaniyāṇīṇo Kajiyo by Chetalal Bahacaradas. A light social play in Gujarati about a quarrel between a husband and a wife.

Fareb-e-Fitna alias *Chāhat-e-Zar*, an Urdu drama by Mahmud Miyan Raunaq.

Gayōpākhyānamu, a Telugu play by Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham, based on a pauranic story.

Taruṇīśikṣaṇanāṭikā by Narayan Bapuji Kanitakar. A Marathi play on female education.

Kajodān Duḥkhadarśaka Nāṭaka by Shivalal Keshavalal Thakur. A Gujarati play on the miseries of an ill-matched couple.

Kaliyug Aur Ghī by Ambika Datta Vyas. An allegorical play in Hindi.

Man Kī Umaṅg by Ambika Datta Vyas. A play in Hindi on the misery of India.

Pratāpa Nāṭak by Ganapataram Rajaram Bhatt. A Gujarati historical play on the valiant Rajput ruler, Rana Pratap.

Sajoḍā Sukhadarśaka Nāṭaka, published by *Ārya Hitecchu Sabhā*. A Gujarati social play about a happily married couple.

Sanyogitā Svayamvara by Shrinivas Das. A wellknown Hindi play based on a historical theme.

Satī by Jagmohan Lala. An Oriya drama of social resentment. Labanya, the beautiful wife of Sadhu Champatiroy become the victim of lust and passion of a king. But finally she came out victorious upholding her chastity.

Sītāraṇya Praveśa Nāṭaka by Sakkari Balacharya. A mythological play in Kannada.

Svapnāniruddha Nāṭakamu by Dharmavaram Krishnamacharyulu. A Telugu mythological play.

Daśakumāra Caritra tr. by Ranamana Chintala Sanjivaraya Shastri. Telugu. Dandi's *Daśakumāra Carita* (Sanskrit).

Daśakumāracaritanum Gujarātī Bhāṣāntara tr. by Bhanushankar Ranachodaji Shukla. Gujarati. *Daśakumāracarita* (Sanskrit).

Korān Śarif tr. by Girish Chandra Sen. Bengali. From the Arabic original.

Rāgamañjarī tr. by Kandukuri Viresalingam, Telugu. Sheridan's play *Duenna* (English).

Saṅgīt Śakuntala tr. by Pratapnarayan Mishra. Hindi. Kalidasa's *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* (Sanskrit).

Śrimadrāmāyaṇe Bālakāṇḍavu, tr. by Pattabhirama Suri. Kannada. The first canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Sanskrit).

Veṇī Saṃhāram tr. by Vaddadi Subbarayudu. Telugu. From Bhatta Narayan's Sanskrit play.

Yavaṉa Yāmiṉi Vinōtaṅkal tr. Anon. Tamil. Stories of Arabian Nights in two volumes.

Gorkhā Bhārat Jīvan, a Nepali periodical from Benaras ed. by Ramakrishna Varma.

Jñānasudhā, a Gujarati monthly journal sponsored by the Prarthana Samaj, ed. by Raman Abhai Nilakantha.

The Karnataka Bhāsojjivinī, a Kannada periodical.

Malayāli, a Malayalam newspaper started from Trivandrum by a group of reformists. First editors: Raman Pillai Ashram and C. V. Raman Pillai.

Sāmyabadī, ed. by Lalit Mohan Chakravorty. An Oriya magazine devoted to literary and religious writings; used to be distributed free.

Sikṣāya Bandhu, ed. Madhu Sudan Rao, Cuttack. A short-lived Oriya periodical devoted almost exclusively to the review of text-books.

1887

Est. Allahabad University.

Daya Ram Jethmal Sindh College was founded at Karachi. Between 1887 and 1921, it was the only seat of higher learning in Sindh. After 1921, a few other colleges came up. Before 1887, about a dozen Sindhis had graduated from Elphinstone College, Bombay.

Kerala Kalpadrumam; Trichur, an important printing press-cum-publishing house. Brought out a number of works by contemporary writers like Vallattol Narayana Menon.

Vidyāvivardhiṇī Press, Quilon, a printing-cum-publishing house established by a Reddiar. Brought out low-priced editions of Malayalam classics and popularised them.

Vidyā Vinodini, Trichur, publishing house-cum-printing press established by a book-seller named Sundrayyar at Trichur.

b. Swami Anand (real name: Himmatlal Ramachandra Mahashankar Dave) (d. 1976). Author of many philosophical works in Gujarati. A close associate of Gandhiji, helped him editing *Harijan* and *Navajivan*.

b. Arta Ballav Mohanty (d. 1963), an essayist and scholar of ancient and medieval Oriya literature.

b. Bala Krushna Kar (d. 1957), a journalist and writer for children in Oriya literature.

b. Bharat Chandra Naik (d. 1969), an Oriya writer, author of *Huenśānka Bhārata Bhramana* (Travelogue) and *Kumāra Sambhaba* (translated from Sanskrit).

b. Bipin Bihari Ray (d. 1975), an Oriya essayist and reputed scholar.

b. Brundaban Nath Sharma (d. 1955), an Oriya essayist.

b. C. I. Gopala Pillai (d. 1976), a Malayalam prose writer.

b. Chandramani Das (d. 1948), an Oriya poet; translated "The Deserted Village" from English into Oriya under the title "Bijana Palli."

b. Chunilal Vardhaman Shah (d. 1966), a prolific Gujarati writer of social and historical novels.

b. Ekanath Panduranga Rendalakar (d. 1920), a Marathi poet.

b. Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (d. 1952), one of the front-ranking Kashmiri poets. Played a crucial role during the freedom movement in awakening the masses. Popularly called 'the song bird of Kashmir'. Author of *Kalam-i-Mahjur* (?) According to CIL, I, he was born in 1885 (p. 380).

b. Indreshvar Barthakur (d. 1960), a noted Assamese poet and playwright. He used and popularised "Amritrakashar metre" in his poetry, as well as in his drama *Śrībatsa Cintā*.

b. Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi (d. 1971). An eminent Gujarati writer. Wrote novels, short stories, plays, biographies and essays. His significant contribution is in the field of historical novels. Among his important works are: *Gujarāt-nō Nāth* (1921), *Vērnī Vasūlāt* (1931), *Jaya Sōmanāth* (1940)—all novels; *and Gujarat and Its Literature* (1935).

b. Kishore Chandra Rajendra (d. 1903), an Oriya dramatist. He also composed *Caupadī* type of compositions.

b. Lakshimidhar Vajpeyi (d. 1935), known for his essays on poetics and religion in Hindi.

b. Lewis Mascarenhas (d. 1961), a Konkani poet and author of *Abranvancẽ Yadnyadan* (Abraham's Sacrifice), a verse drama. First editor of the Konkani periodical *Dirvem*.

b. Madhav Manjunath Shanbhag (d. 1950), one of the pioneers of modern Konkani movement.

b. Nalappattu Narayana Menon (d. 1954), major Malayalam poet of the Vallattol school. Translated Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*.

b. Pundi Seshadri (d. 1942), author of a collection of verses *Bilhana: An Indian Romance* (adapted from Sanskrit).

b. Ramanarayan Vishvanath Pathak (d. 1955). He had three pseudo names: *Śeṣa*, *Dvirepha* and *Svairavihari* used for the three types of writings, poems, short story and essays respectively. An eminent Gujarati poet, critic and short story writer.

b. Ramzan Bhat (d. 1918), a sufi poet of great merit. Wrote nazm and a masnavi-*Akandndun* (the only son), a Kashmiri version of the Issac and Abraham story.

b. Sarat Chandra Goswami (d. 1944) a noted Assamese short story writer and a novelist.

b. Shankaraprasad Chaganlal Raval (d. 1957), a Gujarati short story writer, critic and translator.

b. Sukumar Ray (d. 1923), a distinguished writer of Bengali juvenile literature; noted as the most accomplished writer of 'nonsense'. All his works, *Ābol Tābol* (1923), *Ha-ja-ba-ra-la* (1924), *Pāglā Dāśu* (1940) etc., were published posthumously.

b. Tarachandra Popatalal Adalaja (d. 1970), a Gujarati short story writer.

b. Yatindranath Sengupta (d. 1954), a Bengali poet, one of the first poets to try to write in a diction and style different from Rabindranath; sarcasm and disillusionment are the characteristic tones of his poetry.

b. Yogesh Chandra Chaudhuri (1948), a noted Bengali playwright.

d. Kaviyo Chimanajit (b. 1833), a Rajasthani poet known for his historical and biographical poems.

d. Rangalal Bandyopadhyay (b. 1827), a Bengali poet.

Nepali Grammar and English-Nepali, Nepali-English Vocabulary, by A. Turnbull. Darjeeling.

Arabikkathā, by Raman Pillashan. A kiḷippāṭṭu narrating the story of *Arabian Nights* in Malayalam verse.

Aśru Kaṇā by Girindra Mohini Dasi. A collection of Bengali lyrics.

Bustān-e-Satwat, Urdu *Dīwān* by Nawab Muhammad Naqi Ali Khan Satwat.

Cander Badan by Muhammad Buta Gujarati. A Punjabi *Kissā* on the love story of Chander Badan.

Cherry Blossoms, a collection of poems in English by Greece Chunder Dutt.

? *Dīwān-e-Saghīr*, Urdu poems by Saghir, Shah Ghulam Haidar *alias* Haidar Ali.

? *Gumān Bhāratī Rī Vel* (Ms.), a Rajasthani poem on a saint by Kavio Chimanaji. Composed between 1833 and 1887.

Hakīkat Rāi by Ganga Ram. A Punjabi *Kissa* based on the legend of Hakikat Rai, a martyr of the 18th century.

Indrajitia-Vadha-Kāvya by Dolataram Kriparam Pandya. A Gujarati epic on the theme of the death of Indrajit.

Jagat Sacai Sār, a Hindi poem by Shridhar Pathak.

Jānakī Maṅgal (Ms.) by Namdev Shri Krishnadas. A Rajasthani poem dealing with the marriage of Ram and Sita. First published in 1975.

Kāma Viḍambanā Hopīpada, satirical songs in Kannada on Lord Kama (i.e. the lord of Love) by Misara Gaurishankara Ramaprasada.

Kavitā Bhāṣā-I and II, by Misar Gauri Shankar Ramaprasada. Poems in Kannada.

Kāviṭac Cintu by Annamalai Reddiar. A new type of Tamil poem invented by Reddiar. It means song of *Kavadi*, which is a sling carried by devotees of Lord Muruga on their shoulders when making a pilgrimage to the temple. The songs are sung during such journey to alleviate the tedium of the journey.

Khudurukuṇī Oṣā Bā Tapoi Carita by Pandit Govind Rath. This Oriya poem highlights the naval glory of Orissa and narrates the story of Tapoi, the darling daughter of the traditional merchant of Orissa.

Kusumamālā by Narasinghrao Divetiya. Collection of poems heralding the beginning of a new type of lyric in Gujarati.

Mahābhārata by Raja Krushna Singha. A popular Oriya version of the *Mahābhārat*.

Nandikeśvarī, Radhanath Roy. A historical poem in Oriya. In treatment and appeal, this work struck a new note in Oriya poetry. The story is based on local history and legend, but there is a similarity between this poem and Byron's "Siege of Corinth."

Raibatak by Nabin Chandra Sen. A long Bengali poem of twenty cantos describing the abduction of Subhadra by Arjuna, an episode taken from the *Mahābhārata*.

Rāsakrīḍā by K. C. Keshava Pillai. An *Unnal Pattu* (a special form of Malayalam poem).

Shikwa-i-Hind (the Complaint of India), one of the important poems of Hali, the Urdu poet, lamenting over the vanishing glory of the Muslims.

Ślokapañcāśikā, a collection of Nepali verses by Devraj Lamichane, published from Allahabad.

Sṛṣṭisaundaryathi Man Par Thati Asar by Kant. A distinguished Gujarati *Khanda-Kavya*.

Bibidha Prabandha by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. A collection of essays on literary and other topics in Bengali (vol. II 1892).

Nāṭya Dīpikā by Narayan. The first work in Hindi on dramatic art based on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Resāla-e-Surma-e-Tahqiq by Shauq Nimvi, an Urdu work of criticism of *Gulshan-e-Faiz* (by Jalal of Lucknow).

Sarasvatī Nārada Vilāpamu by Kandukuri Viresalingam. A satire on the several inhibitions prevalent in the writing of classical Telugu poetry.

Kaṅkā Yātrā Prapāvam (*Gaṅgā Yātrā Prabhāvam*) by Duraiswami Mupanar. A travalogue in Tamil about the author's visit to the Ganga. The work describes the geographical and social aspects of the northern provinces of India.

Cukuṇa Cuntari by Vedanayakam Pillai. A social novel in Tamil. It deals with child marriage, and shows how such marriages have undermined the freedom and safety of women.

Dāstān-e-Amir Hamza Daftar Awwal (vol. I), Hafiz Sayyed Abdullah of Bilgram. Collection of Urdu stories *(dāstān)* in eight volumes. Last volume was published in 1900.

Indian Fables by P. V. Ramaswami Raju.

Kunda Latā by T. M. Appu Nedungadi. Marks the beginning of the history of the Malayalam novel, even though the work cannot claim much literary merit.

Pavitra Pramadā by Girajashankar Kashiram Dvivedi. A social novel in Gujarati about a young, beautiful and virtuous woman.

Rājarṣi by Rabindranath Thakur. A Bengali novellette.

Sarasvatīcandra by Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi. (Part II, 1882; Part III, 1898; Part IV, 1901). One of the greatest Gujarati novels reflecting the socio-political and intellectual life of the people in great depth and detail.

Sītārām, a Bengali novel by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. Also an illustration of Bankim Chandra's 'theory of culture'.

Suśīl Yamunā Athavā Vāsudev Balvant Phādake Yāñcya Baṇḍācī Dhāmadhūm by Balvant Manohar Pandit. A Marathi novel on contemporary life.

Hariścandracaritam Āṭṭakkathā by Raman Pilla Ashan. A Malayalam play (an *āṭṭakkathā*).

Iggappa Hegadeya Vivāha Prahasana by Karki Venkataramana Shastri Suri. The first social play in Kannada dealing with the problem of child marriage. Written in a dialect of Kannada and distinguished by stark realism.

Kanyā Vikraya, by Dhareshvara Shivarao Narnappa. A Kannada play (title of which means "Selling of Girls") on child marriage.

Naḷadamayantī Nāṭakada Pūrvārdha Naḷāraṇya Nāṭakavu by Bilagikara Krishnaji Bishto. A mythological play in Kannada.

Śaśirekhā Pariṇaya Nāṭakavu by N. Shivappa Shastri and Shankara Shetti. A mythological play in Kannada.

Śūrapadmāsura Vadham, an *aṭṭakkathā* by the Malayalam poet K. C. Keshava Pillai.

Saṃyogitā Haraṇa Nāṭaka, by Dolata Simha Harsing Thakor. A Gujarati social play about a young and virtuous woman.

Bhārata Vacana Hadinentu Parva. tr. by Misara Gaurishankara Ramaprasad. Kannada. Complete prose translation of the *Mahābhārata* (Sanskrit).

Karpūramañjarī tr. by Balashankara Ullasaram Kanthariya. Gujarati. From the original Prakrit play by Rajashekhara.

Kātampari Cāra Caṅkirakam tr. by Satagopacharalu. Tamil. *Kādambarī* (Sanskrit).

Meghdūt, tr. by Jagmohan Singh Thakur. Hindi. Kalidasa's *Meghadūtam* (Sanskrit).

Perṭiṭā Carittiram tr. by Natesa Sastri. Tamil. Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (English).

Vallābhanunaya tr. by Vishnu Moreshvar Mahajani. Marathi. Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well* (English).

Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa tr. by Misara Gauri Shankara Ramaprasada. Kannada. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Sanskrit).

Āryabhuṣaṇ, a Hindi monthly from Shahjahanpur ed. by Munshi Bakhtavar Singh for the propagation of Hindi.

Bhārat Bandhu, a Hindi magazine published from Aligarh ed. by Babu Totaram.

Bhāratībhūṣaṇa, a Gujarati magazine brought out and ed. by Balashankar Kantharma. Continued till 1895.

Itihāsa Mañjari, a Telugu literary monthly from Madras, ed. by Nori Gurulinga Shastri.

Mahārāṇi ed. by Ramanuja Cariyar. A Tamil quarterly from Madras for instructions to women in personal hygiene, housekeeping, rearing of children etc.

Nānak Parkāsh, a monthly periodical in Urdu, ed. by Arjun Singh.

Nasrāṇi Dīpikā, a Malayalam journal. First editor: T. J. Pylee. Continued to be published as daily from Kottayam under the title 'Dipika'.

Oḍiyā, ed. Dvarkanath Das, an Oriya-Bengali periodical from Balasore; later merged with *Nabsambād* and reappeared as *Oḍiyā Nabsambād*.

Upattiyāyar, a Tamil monthly journal exclusively devoted to the teaching profession. (*Upattiyayar* means 'a teacher').

Kavitā Sangraha, (Ist Part) by Ram Narayan Roy and Ram Krushna Sahoo. A collection of short Oriya poems.

Kissā-Rodā Jallalī written by Muhammad Buta Gujarati. A Punjabi *Kissā* on the local legend of Roda Jallali.

Kucēlopākkiyāṉam by Vallur Tevaraca Pillai. A Tamil narrative poem in *virutta* metre. It deals with the story of Kuchela's early life and his meeting with Lord Krishna.

Lakṣmīśvara Vilās by Chanda Jha. A narrative poem in Maithili interspersed with Sanskrit verses.

Nabodyam by Chandra Mohan Maharana. A book of poems in Oriya.

Naḷaṉ Kummi by Arunachala Nattar. A Tamil poem on the story of Nala and Damayanti in the *Kummi* form.

Riyaz-e-Sabir (Dīwān-e-Sabar), Urdu poems by Qadir Bakhsh Sabir.

Sanmati Śatakavu, a philosophical poem on *Sanmati* (Conscience) in Kannada by Shivashankara Shastri Siddhanti.

Uṣā by Radhanath Ray. An Oriya poem, displaying fine craftsmanship and power. The theme of the poem has connection with the *Mahābhārata*, Greek legends and the *Annals of Rajasthan*.

Vaḷinaṭaic Cintu, by Anon. A Tamil poem in the folk form *cintu*.

Vasantavijaya by Kant. Claimed to be an outstanding Gujarati *Khaṅḍa Kāvya*.

Vīravinoda (or *Karṇa Parva*), a narrative poem based on the 'Karṇa Parva' of the *Mahābhārata*, written in Rajasthani, by Ganeshapuri.

Kavijīvan by Navalaram Laksmiram Pandya. A biography of Narmad in Gujarati.

Pūrva Kavula Caritramu by Chi Venkataranga Kavi. Biographies of ancient poets in Telugu.

Dharmatattva, a Bengali prose work by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. Written in the form of dialogue between a teacher and a disciple the book is an exposition and analysis of Hindu religious doctrine.

Kamparāmāyaṇa Aruṅkavi Viḷakkam by Kavittalam Duraiswami Moopanar. An interpretation of the epic *Kamparāmāyaṇam* in lucid Tamil prose.

Candrakāntā, a Hindi fiction by Devakinandan Khatri with which started the tradition of *tilismi* novel in Hindi.

Padmamāli, a historical romance in Oriya by Umesh Chandra Sarkar. Considered as the first novel in the language. The events described in the story relate to the year 1835 when Niligiri and Penchagoda states suffered from mismanagement and instability.

Ṭīpu Sultān by Iccharam Suryaram Desai. A historical novel in Gujarati based on the life of Tipu Sultan.

Vāīkar Bhatajī by Dhanurdhari *alias* Ramachandra Vinayak Tikekar. A Marathi novel on contemporary life.

Bhāratoddhārak Nāṭak, a satirical play in Hindi by Sarada.

Gosaṅkaṭ, a religious play in Hindi by Ambika Datta Vyas.

Hāsya Sañjīvanī, Part I. An anthology of 19 Telugu farce/comedies of Kandukuri Viresalingam, (Part II, 1891; Part III, 1897).

Kanaka Latā Svayamvaram, a Malayalam play by Shrikanteshvaram Padmanabha Pillai.

Kaumudī Sudhākara Prakaraṇa, a play in Sanskrit by Chandrakanta, an inhabitant of Serapura (a place somewhere on the Brahmaputra river). The play resembles Bhavabhuti's *Mālati Mādhava*.

Pārijāta Haraṇa by Narayan Mitra. An Oriya drama on a mythological theme.

Patit Pañcam, a comic play in Hindi by Balkrishna Bhatt.

Pramiḷā Svayamvara Nāṭaka, a mythological play in Kannada by Mamadapura Gururao Raghavendra Rao.

Saṅgīta Subhadrāharaṇa Nāṭaka by Jhaverilal Dhanasukhram Diksit. A Gujarati musical play on a mythological theme.

Śrīkṛṣṇavijayam, a Malayalam *āṭṭakkatha* by K. C Keshava Pillai

Sūramayūra, a Sanskrit play on the exploits of Kumar Kartikeya, by Narayana Shastri.

Upahāravarmā Carita, a play in Sanskrit by Shrinivasa Shastri. Its theme is the political intrigue in Mithila involving the prince Upahara Varma.

Uttar Kāṇḍa, a mythological play in Hindi by Damodar Shastri.

Bhramaraṅga, tr. jointly by four Assamese playwrights: Ratnadhar Barua, Ramakanta Barkakoti, Gunjanan Barua, and Ghanashyam Barua. Assamese. Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* (English).

Fasāna-e-Jamīl tr. by Munshi Hamid Hasan. Urdu. From an English novel.

Gulivernī Musapharīo tr. by Jahangir Baheramaji Marjhaban. Gujarati. Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (English).

Homernum Iliad tr. by F. B. Karani. Gujarati. Homer's *Iliad* (English).

Kamalā Kaḷyāṇamu tr. by Panuganti Parthasarathirayanim Garu, Raja (Zamindar) of Panuganti. Telugu. Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (English).

Kumār Sambhaba, tr. by Ram Rudra. Oriya. Kalidasa's *Kumara Sambhava* (Sanskrit).

b. R. Narayana Panikkar (d. 1959), a Malayalam writer, historian of literature, lexicographer, translator and novelist.

b. Raghunath Singh Samyal (d. 1963), a major Dogri poet.

b. Ratnakar Pati (d. 1969), an Oriya essayist.

b. Shuka Deva Shastri (d. 1981), a Dogri poet and a writer in Sanskrit.

b. Tripurana Venkata Surya Prasad Rao (d. 1945), a Telugu poet and translator; translated Shakespeare's *King Lear* into Telugu. His *Bhārata Dharma Darśaṇam* (1910), a vision of India's dharma, inspired the younger Telugu poets.

b. Vrindabanlal Varma (d. 1969), a noted Hindi novelist and dramatist.

b. V.C. Balakrishna (d. 1915), a poet who laid the foundations of romantic poetry in Malayalam. Wrote *Oru Vilāpam* (1909).

First Konkani primer by Tomas Morao, Barao de Cumbarjua.

Ālo O Chāyā, a collection of Bengali poems by Kamini Ray.

Eva Ani Mori (Eve and Mary), an epic poem by Eduardo Bruno de Souza. A significant work in Konkani.

Gulzār-e-Khalīl (Dīwān-e-Khalīl), Urdu poems by Khalil, Mir Dost Ali of Lucknow.

Irāmāyana Venpā by Subramaniya Aiyar. A Tamil poem in *Venpa* metre. It describes the story of Rama as told in the *Kūrmapurāṇa*.

Kaccik Kalampakam by Poondi Aganganatha Mudaliyar. A Tamil work in *Kalampakam* form in praise of Lord Shiva. The term *Kacci* in the title refers to Kanchipuram, which has a big temple of Lord Ekampara.

Kalpanā Ane Kastūrīmṛga, *Svargagaṅgāne Tīre* and *Mṛgatṛṣṇā* by Kant. Three renowned *Khaṇḍa Kāvyas* written in Gujarati.

Kusumāvali by Dulataram Kriparam Pandya. A long narrative poem in Gujarati modelled after the Sanskrit narrative *Kādambarī*.

Nala Caritra, an Assamese poetic work on King Nala written in traditional Vaisnavite style, by Purnakanta Deva Sarma.

Nazme-Dard Mand, the *dīwān* of Mir Zakir Ali Yas of Lucknow, (compiled in 1875).

Saṅgīt Hajāmat by Mangesha Ramachandra Telang. First parody in Marathi poetry.

Satya Draupadī Saṃvadamu by Kandukuri Viresalingam. A Telugu poetical work in *Dvīpada* metre, written specially for the women.

Snehamudrā by Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi. A Gujarati poetical work in memory of the author's first wife in the form of story, tracing the evolution of love from its mundane level to its spiritual height.

Turaṅga Bhārata, a narrative poem in Kannada based on an episode in the *Mahābhārata*. By Paramadeva.

Vāṭpōkkik Kalampakam by Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai. A Tamil poem in *Kalampakam* form, in praise of Shiva enshrined at Vatpokki. It is a kind of *talapurāṇa*.

Yusuf Zulaikha, (Ms.) a masnavi written in Kashmiri by Darvesh Abdul Qadir (1868–1946). It consists of 1950 verses. (Year of publication not known).

Bhuvanamitra, a Kannada work in prose. By T. Ramacari.

Bombāi Citra, a collection of essays in Bengali on different aspects of life in Bombay. By Satyendranath Thakur.

Tivviya Tēca Yāttirai Carittiram by Narasimhalu Naidu. A travelogue in Tamil prose, narrating the pilgrimage undertaken by the author to Gaya, Banares, and other places.

Modern Vernacular Literature of Northern Hindustan by G. A. Grierson.

Representative Men of India: Portraits, Biographical sketches by Sorabji Jahangir.

Candrahāsopākhyāna, a prose work in Kannada on Chandrahasa, a mythological character. By M. R. Annaji.

Indulekha by O. Chandu Menon. One of the first novels in Malayalam. It depicts social life through a fascinating human story, and advocates social reform and individual freedom

? *Sharār-e-Ishq*, an Urdu story by Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Sarur.

Kali Kautuk, a satirical play in Hindi by Pratapnarayan Mishra.

Kalyāṇī Nāṭakam, by Kocchunni Tampuran. A play written on the model of Sanskrit *Nāṭakas*; the first of that type to have an original theme; belongs to the '*Bhāṣanāṭaka*' school of Malayalam drama.

Madhavānal Kāmkandal, a Hindi play (*swang natak*) by Shaligram Vaishya.

Mahājana Nāṭak, a farce in Oriya by Gauriballabh Pattanayak.

Mahāraṇya Puradhi Patyam, a Telugu farce by Kandukuri Viresalingam condemning some social practices and superstitions.

Rājā O Rānī, a Bengali play in five acts by Rabindranath Thakur.

Vāṇācura Nāṭakam by Kasturi Aiyankar ed. by Ci. Vira Swami Nayudu. A Tamil drama about the story of Banasura and his fight with Krishna. On his death, his daughter Usha is married to Krishna's grandson. It is also called *Usā Pariṇaya Nāṭakam*.

Viṣāda Saraṅga Dhara, by Dharma Varam Krishnamacharyulu. A Telugu tragedy based on a semi-historical theme.

Aḍaviya Huḍugi tr. by B. Venkatacharya. Kannada. Bankim Chandra's *Durgeśnandinī* (Bengali).

Jānakī Pariṇayam tr. by Champattil Chattukklli Mannatiyar. Malayalam. Ramabhadra Diksitar's Sanskrit play.

Melanī Mudrikā tr. by Keshav Harsad Dhruv. Gujarati. *Mudrārākṣasa* (Sanskrit)

Mṛcchakaṭik tr. by Govind Battal Deval. Marathi. From the Sanskrit play.

Padmāvatī tr. by Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta Hindi. Michael Madhusudan Datta's play *Kṛṣṇakumārī* (Bengali).

Ramāvarmā Līlāvatī Caritre tr. by A. Ananda Rao. Kannada. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (English).

Sikandarnamo tr. by Ghulam Muhammad. Sindhi. Verse translation from the Persian original work of the same title.

Śrīmadbhāgavata tr. by the Ruler of Talcher. Oriya. From the Sanskrit commentary of Sridhar Gosvami.

Śrī Pākavat Kītai (Śrī Bhagavad Gītā) tr. by Srinivasa Tatacariyar. Tamil. *Gītā* (Sanskrit).

Vinay Vinod tr. by Mahavirprasad Dvivedi. Hindi. Bhatrihari's *Śataka* (Sanskrit).

Asām Tārā, an Assamese periodical ed. by Giridhar Barua.

Āśā, ed. by Sadhu Charan Roy later by Reba Roy . An Oriya monthly sponsored by Brahmo Samaj. It provided forum for the women writers also. It was closed in 1891, but reappeared in 1892 for a few months.

Dīpak, an Oriya weekly published from Cuttack.

Indian Review, an English periodical from Madras, founder G. A. Natesan.

Jonākī, a monthly journal in Assamese, an organ of *Asamīyā Bhāṣār Unnati Sādhinī Sabhā*. It created a new literary awareness among the people of Assam. Some of the well known writers associated with it were Lakshminath Bezbarua, Chandra Kumar Agarwala, Hemchandra Gosvami, and Padmanath Gohain Barua.

Sāhitya Sammilanī Samālocanā, Patriot Press, Cuttack. This was the forum of an Oriya literary conference organised in 1886 and was published by the efforts of Sri Chaturbhuja Pattanaik.

Sambalpur Hitaiṣiṇī. An Oriya ed. by Nilamoni Vidyaratna. Its patron was Sir Basudev Sudhaldev. Continued for thirty-four years.

Udentechem Sallok. First Konkani newspaper. Published by Eduardo Jose Bruno de Souza.

Vidyāvinodini, a Malayalam literary monthly published from Trichur with C. P. Achyuta Menon as editor.

1890

? *Gorkha Bhāsā Pracārak Maṇḍali*, Bombay. Founded by Harihar Acharya Dikshit (1867–1940).

Jana Rañjini, Palghat, one of the earliest publishing establishments in North Kerala.

Karṇāṭaka Vidyāvardhaka Sangha is founded. It started a monthly called *Vāgbhuṣaṇa* and published many important books in Kannada.

Śikṣaṇ Prasārak maṇḍal is founded at Rajapur, Maharashtra.

The Abolition of *Lallup* in Manipur. Under the system of *Lallup* (a kind of tax) the poets and writers were to work in the court of the king and to contribute their works to the state.

b. A. R. Krishnashastri (d. 1968), a noted scholar of Kannada; editor of *Prabuddha Karnāṭaka*.

b. Babaji Baishnab Charan Das (d. 1961), an Oriya writer of devotional poems.

b. Balakavi, *alias* Tryambak Bapuji Thombare (d. 1918). A talented Marathi poet whose life was tragically cut short by a railway accident. He got the name 'Balakavi' at a poetic symposium at Jalgaon (1907). His poems were collected in *Bāḷkavīci Samagra Kavitā* (1942). See NBIL, III.

b. Bankanidhi Patnaik, an Oriya short story writer.

b. Becharadas Jivaraj Doshi (d. 1983), a Gujarati linguist, critic and storywriter.

b. Brajamohan Panda (d. 1966), an Oriya essayist and poet.

b. Dandinath Kalita (d. 1950), an Assamese novelist, poet and a playwright. One of his earliest novels is *Phul* (1910).

b. Dhan Gopal Mukerji (d. 1936), a poet and story writer in English.

b. Dhanasukhalal Krishnalal Maheta (d. 1976), a Gujarati short story writer and playwright.

b. Dibya Singh Panigrahi (d. 1948), an Oriya novelist and short story writer.

b. G. Ramakrishna Pillai (d. 1959), a Malayalam biographer and novelist; translated *Kamparāmāyaṇam* in Malayalam verse.

b. Ganeshshankar Vidyarthi (d. 1931), a noted Hindi journalist and essayist.

b. Gangaprasad Srivastav (d. 1976), a well known Hindi short story writer and novelist.

b. Gokuladas Dvarakadas Rayachura, (d. 1951) a Gujarati novelist.

b. Gyan Nath Bora (d. 1968), an Assamese prose writer and critic.

b. Hara Datta (d. 1956), a major Dogri poet, author of *Dogri Bhajanamālā.*

b. Ishvara Variyar (d. 1917), a Malayalam poet and critic.

b. Kishoralal Ghanashyamadas Masharuvala (d. 1952). Wrote several books expounding the philosophy of Gandhi.

b. Krishna Bihari Mishra (d. 1959), a Hindi critic.

b. Laksmi Narayan Sahoo (d. 1966), an Oriya essayist and biographer.

b. M. Bhagirathi Amma Tampuran (d. 1964), a Malayalam short story writer, poet and dramatist; wrote a biography of A.R. Rajaraja Varma (1953).

b. Madan Mohan Pattanaik (d. 1967), an Oriya poet and essayist.

b. Muhammad Siddiq Memon (d. 1958), a Sindhi literary historian.

b. Nanikram Vasanmal Thadani (?), a poet and playwright in English.

b. Narain Das Ratanmal Malkani (d. 1974), a Sindhi essayist.

b. Premankur Atarthi (d. 1964), a Bengali novelist and short story writer.

b. Raja Vallabh Sahay (d. 1963), a noted Hindi journalist and lexicographer.

b. Ramprasad Tripathi (d. 1982), chief editor of the *Hindī Viśvakoṣ* published by the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha.

b. S. Wajed Ali (1951), a Bengali short story writer.

b. Shailadhar Rajkhowa (d. 1968), an Assamese poet, and a playwright.

b. Sumati Lallubhai Shamaladas (d. 1911), a Gujarati poetess known for her collection *Kāvyajharanam.*

b. Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay (d. 1977), an eminent linguist; author of several works in Bengali and English.

b. V. Krishan Tampi (d. 1938), author of *āṭṭakkathas* and novels in Malayalam.

d. Bhau Mahajan (b. 1815), real name: Govind Vitthal Kunte. He started the Marathi periodical *Prabhākar* (1841) and edited it for twenty years.

d. Mahatma Jotibarav Govind Phule (b. 1827), the great Marathi social reformer and writer.

d. Neama Sahib (Niamat-ullah Paray) (b. ?), a noted Kashmiri poet.

Aijāzi Gharība, (Ms.) Kashmiri poems written by Ahmedullah Hakhbari. Year of publication not known.

Cakravākamithuna and *Devayānī* by Kant. Poems considered milestones in literary history of Gujarati.

Candradūta by Satchidananda Tribhuban Dev. An Oriya *Kavya* in nature of *Meghdūtam* by Kalidasa.

Jaina Rāmāyaṇa by Pandit Hemachandracharya. The Jaina version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Gujarati by a Jaina monk.

Kāfian written by Sadhu Ishar Das, a Hindu Sufi Saint. Short poems of devotional nature written in Punjabi, to be sung in *Kafi Ragini*.

Khriṣṭa, a Bengali poem on Christ by Nabin Chandra Sen.

Kīrtanāvalī by Dahiben Nanabhai, a collection of Gujarati devotional songs.

Kissā Hīr Ranjhā by Meeran Shah Sayyed. A Punjabi Kissa based on the famous love legend of Heer Ranjha.

Kulliyāt-e-Saba, Urdu poems by Mir Wazir Ali, (2nd edition).

Mānasī, a book of Bengali poems by Rabindranath Thakur. It reflects a distinctly mature note of his poetry.

Masnavī Gauhar-e-Intikhab, Urdu poems by Amirullah Taslım.

Niṣṭhā Nīlamaṇi by Sadananda Kavı Surya Brahma. An Oriya poem on philosophy and ideology of the *Radha Krishna cult*.

Pārbatī, a narrative poem in Oriya by Radhanath Ray. The story was partly inspired by Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. Although condemned by some contemporary critics, modern reader have eulogised it for "sheer aesthetic enjoyment".

Prācīna Kāvyamālā, vols. 1 to 11 compiled by Haragovindadas Dvarakadas Kamtavala and Natha Shankar Punjashankar Shastri. Compilations of the works of major as well as minor Gujarati poets of earlier period. Vols. 12 to 20 (1891); vols. 21 to 30 (1892).

Prahlādbhakti Kathā by Motiram Bhatta. A devotional poem in Nepali.

Primavera, poems in English by four authors: Stephen Phillips, Lawrence Binyon, Manmohan Ghose and Arthur S. Cripps.

Sāvitrī, by Hiranand Khemsingh. A Sindhi work based on the legend of Savitri and Satyavan.

Stepping Westward and Other Poems by Hari Prasad Singh Gour. Poems in English.

Vāṇī (Ms.), collection of philosophical verses in Rajasthani, by Lalagiri. Composed between 1836 and 1890. First published in 1964.

Nāṭyaprakāśa by Ranachodhabhai Udayaram. A Gujarati work on drama and stage.

Rāvaneśvara Kalpataru, by Lachiram. A Hindi work on poetics.

Resāla-e-Ifadat, by Muhammad Istafa Khurshid. An Urdu work on the principles of poetry.

Ramabai: The High Caste Hindu Woman by Ramabai Sarasvati. An autobiography in English.

Shirin Madam by Shirin Madam. An autobiography of an educated Parsi woman sarcastically called 'Madam'. The first autobiography of a woman in Gujarati.

Dakṣiṇa Bhārata Yātre, by K. Venkata Ramana Shastri. A travelogue in Kannada.

Mumbaīthī Kāśmīr by Jahangir Beheramaji. Marjhaban An account of the author's journey from Bombay to Kashmir. One of the early travelogues in Gujarati.

Bāllagnathī Thatī Hāni Viṣe Sarasvatī Guṇavantī Kathā by Ganapataram Rajaram Bhatt. A Gujarati novel depicting diverse effects of child-marriage.

Bhānumatī, by Padmanath Gohain Barua. An Assamese novel set on a historical background.

Gāmadani Gorī by Bahamanaji Navarojaji Kabaraji. A Gujarati novel about rural India.

Jaina Kathāsaṃgraha-I, compilation of stories in Gujarati from the Jaina scriptures, by Ghelabhai Giradharalal.

Miṭhi Churi, a story in Urdu by Munshi Muhammad Sajjad Husain.

Navīna Vārtā, a collection of Gujarati stories compiled by Lalaji Pitambar Mistri.

Niḥsahāy Hindu, by Babu Radhakrishna Das. A novel in Hindi projecting the Hindu view against cow-slaughter.

Purātana Khristī Itihāsāmamni Vārtāo by Ramabhai Joseph. Stories from Christian history. An attempt by a convert to acquaint the Gujarati readers with Christianity.

Sadhara Jesaṅga by Mahipataram Ruparam Nilakanth. A Gujarati historical novel about the Siddharaj Jayasimha, a medieval ruler of Gujarat.

Snehalatā, by Svarna Kumari Devi. A Bengali novel portraying for the first time problems of Westernized Bengalis (vol. II 1893).

Tūcakā Saṃgraha by Jahangir Baheramaji Marjhaban. A compilation of humorous anecdotes in Gujarati by the Parsi writer, himself a great humourist.

Wheeler's Tales From Indian History by Kanhya Lal Dave. Stories in English.

Vivēka Cākaram by Raja Husain Khan, a collection of Tamil stories.

Zīnat, by Mirza Qalich Beg. The first modern novel in Sindhi.

Abhijñāna Śakuntalā by Nanalal Maganalal Master. The Sanskrit play presented through Gujarati songs.

Bisarjan, a lyrical tragedy by Rabindranath Thakur centred around a conflict between humanitarian view of life and orthodox view of religion.

Gairvāṇi Vijaya, an allegorical play in Sanskrit by A. R. Rajaraja Varma.

Hammir Haṭh, a historical play in Hindi by Pratapnarayan Mishra written in *doha, savaiya, lavani* and *ghazal* forms.

Hariścandra Nāṭakam, a Telugu play on Harishchandra by Nadendla Purushottam. The author uses varieties of style according to the social status of the characters as per the tradition followed in Sanskrit plays.

Kṛṣṇa Nāṭakam by Venkatarama Nayakkar. A Tamil drama based on the *Gopikā līlā* depicted in the tenth book of the *Bhāgavatam*.

Litikāi, a farce written in Assamese by Lakshminath Bezbarua.

Pāṇḍavijaya Nāṭaka, a Kannada play based on the *Mahābhārata* by Motaganahalli Shankara Shastri.

Pārijātapa Haraṇamu by Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham. A Telugu play on the theme of Krishna's adventures in acquiring the *pārijāta* flower from Indra's garden. Four more plays were written on this theme between 1882 and 1910.

Pirakalāta Carittiram by Vempammal. An extremely popular Tamil drama based on the story of Prahalad.

Saṅgīta Līlāvatī Nāṭaka by Nanalal Maganlal Master. A Gujarati musical play with a social theme.

Satī Candrāvali, a historical tragedy in Hindi by Radhacharan Goswami.

Sītākaḷyāṇamu, a Telugu play on Sita by Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimhan.

Sakuntalā, an Urdu drama by Hafiz Muhammad Abdullah.

Baital Pacisī tr. by Gurdasmal Kripalani. From Sindhi. *Betālapañcaviṃsatika* (Sanskrit).

Cār Darvesh, tr. by Imambakhsh 'Khadim'. Sindhi. *Cahar Darvesh* (Urdu).

Dayāmati, tr. by Nanjanagudu Shrikantha Sastri. Kannada. From the Telugu fiction of Pantalu Vireshalingam.

Fatih-e-Bangālāh tr. by Diwan Krishnagopala. Urdu. Ramesh C. Datta's novel *Baṅga Bijetā*, (Bengali).

Gul Bakāvali, a Kissa, adapt. by Ahmad Khan Jablani. Sindhi. From Urdu.

Mālavikāgnimitram tr. by K. Narayana Menon. Malayalam. From Kalidasa's Sanskrit play.

Nāṭakakathā Ratnamāle tr. by S. Shrinivasa Rao. Kannada. A collection of Sanskrit plays.

Pāñcālī Parinayam, adapt. by Obba Mysore Nivasi. Kannada. Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (English).

Plaṭona Praśnottar tr. by Aladdin Shariph Salemahamad. Gujarati. Plato's *Dialogues* (English).

Vihār-Vāṭikā tr. by Mahavirprasad Dvivedi. Hindi. Jayadeva's poem *Gītagovinda* (Sanskrit).

Zunzārarāv adapt. by Govind Ballal Deval. Marathi. Shakespeare's *Othello* (English). Devised from Mahadevashastri Kolhatkar's translation, with modifications in name and references.

Allahabad Review, a monthly in English published by the Indian Press, Allahabad.

Bijuli, an Assamese periodical. Krisna Prasad Duwara, Padmanath Gohain Barua and Benudhar Raj Khowa were associated with it.

Dogra Mittara, the first Dogri, newspaper ed. by Durga Prasada Misra. It was a short-lived paper and no copies are extant today.

Hindī Baṅgavāsī, a Hindi newspaper from Calcutta ed. by Amritlal Chakravarti. Many distinguished Hindi journalists were associated with it.

Indian Social reformer, an English weekly. Founder K. Natarajan.

Karmaṇūk, a Marathi periodical ed. by Hari Narayan Apte. Most of his novels were published in this journal.

Kāvyasaṃgraha, a Marathi monthly magazine, by Javaji Dadaji. Published critical editions of old Marathi poetry.

Malayāḷa Manoramā (March 1890). Started by Kandattil Varugis Mappila. It became a nucleus from which the leading newspaper of the present day, *Malayāḷa Manoramā* (daily) and a number of periodicals descended.

Nākai Nīlalōcaṉi, ed. by G. Sadasivam Pillai a Tamil weekly from Nagapattinam.

Sāhitya, a well known Bengali monthly, ed. by Suresh Chandra Samajpati.

Sarasvatī, the first literary monthly in Sindhi started by Sadhu Hirananda.

Sudarśan, a Gujarati literary journal, ed. by Manilal Nabhu Bhai Dvivedi.

Sudhar Patrika, a women's magazine in this Sindhi language and in Gurumukhi script started by Sadhu Navalrai, Sadhu Hiranand's elder brother.

Tiricirapurat Tamiḻc Celvaṉ, ed. by Amirtam Pillai. A Tamil weekly. It used to publish short biographies of Tamil poets.

1891

British annexation of Manipur following the battle of Khongjom. Tikendrajit was publicly hanged.

Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad is founded by Amadul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami and Mulla Abdul-Qayyam. Now known as State Central Library.

Bhāṣā Poṣiṇī Sabhā, an association of writers formed in November 1891 at Kottayam under the auspices of *Malayāḷa Manoramā*. It evolved from a poet's meet called 'Kavi Samajam'. Its first President was Kerala Varma: and the first secretary, Varugis Mappila.

Cukuna Vilaca Capai (Suguna Vilāsa Sabhā), a dramatic organisation started in Madras by Pammal Sambanda Mudaliar. Many dramas were written in Tamil exclusively for this sabha. Its contribution to Tamil dramatic literature between 1890 and 1940 was considerable.

Malayali Memorial. A popular representation to Government of Travancore for establishment of representative government. Represented the ideal of individual freedom and social justice. Had its reflection in literature.

Patna Oriental Public Library, Patna, founded by Khan Bahadur Khuda Bakhsh Khan (pen-name, Jamil), now known as Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library.

Prāsavāda: A debate on *dvitīyākṣaraprāsa* (i.e., the correspondence of the second syllables of all the four lines in a stanza which was very popular in Malayalam poetry): whether or not *prāsa* (rime) should be maintained even at the expense of the contents by distorting words and adding meaningless words. It turned out to be a confrontation between writers who attached greater importance to form and conventions, and those who placed emphasis on the content or *bhāva*. Kerala Varma led the traditional group while his nephew Rajaraja Varma led the avant-gardes.

Wazir-i-Hind Press set up at Amritsar, the first printing press in the city, by Bhai Vir Singh.

b. Badrinath Bhatta (d. 1932), a Hindi dramatist and essayist noted for his humorous writings.

b. Bharati Dasan (d. 1964), a major Tamil poet. An immediate follower of Bharati. He changed his real name into Bharatidasan, meaning 'the disciple of Bharati'.

b. Brajendranath Bandyopadhyay (d. 1952), a Bengali scholar and literary biographer.

b. Charan Singh, Shaheed (d. 1935), a Punjabi poet and novelist.

b. Chatursen Shastri (d. 1960), a well known Hindi novelist.

b. Chintamani Acharya (d. 1957), an Oriya author who wrote about ancient history and mythological characters.

b. Dayanidhi Mishra (d. 1955), an Oriya short story writer and novelist.

b. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar (d. 1986). A versatile Kannada poet, critic, short story writer, novelist and translator. Recipient of the Jnanpith award (1985).

b. Nadir Beg (d. 1940), a Sindhi short story writer.

b. Narahari Dvarakadas Parikh (d. 1957), a Gujarati biographer and scholar.

b. P. Krishan Nair (d. 1957) author of *Kāvya Jīvita Vṛtti* (vols. 1 & 2, 1937 vol. 3, 1952), a treatise on Indian poetics and commentaries of *āṭṭakkathas*. A Malayalam scholar and critic.

b. Pallattu Raman (d. 1950), a Malayalam poet, novelist and dramatist.

b. Pranakrushna Parija (d. 1978), a reputed scientist; wrote many essays in Oriya.

b. Radhikaraman Prasad Singh (d. 1971), a Hindi novelist and playwright.

b. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (d. 1956), a great Tamil scholar, critic and lexicographer.

b. Shantaram Kamat (d. ?), a Konkani poet. Author of *Avoicho Ulo* (Mother's Call) and *Khanchea Koronn* (Treasure-chest).

b. Vatakkumkur Rajaraja Varma (d. 1970), a Malayalam scholar, biographer and critic; wrote the *History of Sanskrit Literature in Kerala* (1937–47).

d. Basavappa Shastri (b. 1843), the celebrated Kannada writer.

d. Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar (b. 1820), scholar and social reformer.

d. Sindhayacha Dayaldasa (b. 1798), a Rajasthani scholar and historian.

Amirul-Lughat by Amir Ahmad Amir Minai, a comprehensive dictionary of Hindustani, Agra, 1891, (pt. II, 1892).

Bāraṇā Gītā, Sindhi verses for children, ed. by Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani.

Damayantī Svayamvaram, by Basavappa Shastri. A narrative poem in Kannada based on the story of Nala and Damayanti.

Dīwān Bulbul, a collection of ghazals in Sindhi, by Shamsuddin 'Bulbul'.

Dīwān-e-Zauq, compilation of Ghazalyat of Zauq by Azad, Mohammad Husain.

Jaṇāṇ Saṃgraha by Govind Rath. Devotional poems in Oriya. (*Jaṇāṇ* is a type of devotional verse).

Kulliyāt-e-Ranj, Urdu poems by Fasihuddin Ranj, Tabib.

Mithilā Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa by Chanda Jha. An epic in Maithili published by the Union Press, Darbhanga.

Mulad Sharif, Urdu poems by Ghulam Imam Shahid.

Pāṇḍava Caritre, a narrative poem in Kannada by Tattekereya Ranga.

Śibarātra Brata kathā by Ganeshwar Misra. An Oriya work narrating the significance of the rituals observed as part of the worship of Lord Shiva.

Theatre Saṅgīt Bā Nāṭak Gīt by Gaurishankar Ray. A collection of Oriya songs used in theatrical performance.

The Confessor's Konkani Vade Mecum by Father Maffei A. F. X. Instructions in Konkani to Catholic priests who hear confessions.

Do. Ānandībāī Joshī by Kashibai Kanitkar. A biography of a great woman written in Marathi.

Jīvanādarśa, by Nil Kumud Barua. A collection of biographical sketches written in Assamese.

Nalla Bhāṣā (good language) by Kunnikkuttan Tampuran. Written in 'pure' Malayalam, without incorporating Sanskrit words. With it started the 'Pacca Malayalam' (Pure Malayalam) school of poetry.

Navalagranthāvali, ed. by Govardhanram Madhavaram Tripathi. Collection of miscellaneous articles by Navalaram Lakshmi Shankar Pandya.

Baranyun Akhānyun, Sindhi stories for children, ed. by Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani.

Be Baheno by Haragovindadas Dvarakadas Kantavala A Gujarati tale about contemporary society.

Life in an Indian Village, an amusing account of village life in South India in English by Thottakadu Ramakrishna Pillai.

Mārtaṇḍa Varmā, first historical novel in Malayalam, by C. V. Raman Pillai One of the first two Malayalam novels with literary merit, the other being *Indulekhā* (1889).

Mhaisūracā Vāgh by Hari Narayan Apte. A historical novel serialized first in *Karmāṇūk* from 1890.

Parīṣkārappati by Kunnukuli Kocchutomman. A Malayalam novel describing the social life of the Christians in Kerala focusing on spread of modern education and social change.

Kiristanav Ghorabo (A Christian Family). By Eduardo Bruno de Souza. First Konkani novel.

Teraz-e-Danish by Mufti Ghulam Hazrat 'Sabir'. A collection of eleven stories written in Persian all about the nature and behaviour of women. (Written in 1817).

Candrikā Nāṭikā, by Kunnikkuttan Tampuran. A Malayalam play in a rare form of Sanskrit drama, viz., *Nāṭikā*.

Hariścandra by Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham. A Telugu mythological play on the theme of Harischandra.

Kali vidhunana, by Narayana Shastri. A Sanskrit play in ten acts based on the story of Nala and Damayanti.

Kīcaka Vadha, by Sakkari Balacharya. A mythological play in Kannada.

Lakṣmaṇāsangam, by Kunnikkuttan Tampuran. A Malayalam play traditional theme and form.

Mayaṅk Mañjari by Kishorilal Gosvami. A romantic play in Hindi.

Poykaip Paḷḷu by Angamuthu Pulavar. A Paḷḷu, (a Tamil folk dramatic form) dealing with the life of the Pallar community (agricultural labourers). This drama also sings the praise of Pettannal pupati, the patron of the poet.

Praphulla by Girish Chandra Ghosh. A domestic tragedy in Bengali. One of the most well-known plays of Girish and highly praised by the contemporary critics. A faithful representation of the Bengali social life.

Rāmbanabās by Ram Shankar Ray. A mythological drama in Oriya. Its theme is the exile of Ramachandra as depicted in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Subhadrārjunam by Tottakkattu Ikkavamma. A Malayalam play in the traditional form on a theme drawn from the *Mahābhārata*.

Vikramaśaśikalā by Madhav Narayan Patanakar. An extremely popular Marathi play.

Andhra Raghuvaṃśamu tr. by Vavilala Vasudeva. Telugu. Kalidasa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (Sanskrit).

Gaṅgā Laharī tr. by Mahavirprasad Dvivedi. Hindi. From a Sanskrit poem of the same title written by Acharya Raja Jagannatha.

Jap Sahib tr. by Dayaram Gidumal. Sindhi. From the original of Guru Nanak.

Mahābhārata tr. by Sukhadayal (*alias* Shauk). Urdu. Parts of the *Mahābhārat*; the complete text was published in 1896.

Mahābhārata Ādiparva tr. by Gunanidhi Das. Oriya. *Mahābhārata* first canto (Sanskrit).

Makāpākavatam tr. by Varataraja Aiyankar. Tamil. *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* (Sanskrit).

Maṉōṉmaṇīyam, adapt. by P. Sundaram Pillai. Tamil. Lord Lytton's *The Secret Way* (English). It is a well known poetic drama in Tamil.

Mṛcchakaṭika tr. by Vavilala Vasudeva Shastri. The earliest Telugu translation of Surdraka's Sanskrit play.

Meghadūt tr. by Satyendranath Thakur. Bengali. Kalidasa's *Meghadūtam* (Sanskrit).

Nāgānandamu tr. by Vedam Venkataraya Shastri. Telugu. Harsa's Sanskrit play. Shastri uses different styles of Telugu according to the status of the character in the play, as per the tradition of Sanskrit drama.

Pārvati Pariṇaya Nāṭaka tr. by Kilabhai Ghanashyam. Gujarati. From the original Sanskrit of Bana.

Ṛtu Taraṅgiṇī tr. by Mahavirprasad Dvivedi. Hindi. Kalidasa's *Ṛtu Saṃhāra* (Sanskrit).

Satyarāja Pūrvadeśa Yātralu adapt. by Kandukuri Viresalingam. Telugu. Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (English).

Tilism tr. by Sadhu Hiranand. Sindhi. Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman* (English). The Sadhu died young and left it incomplete. Bherumal Meharchand Advani completed it.

Vikramorvaśīya Nāṭakam tr. by Sosale Ayyashastri. Kannada. From the original Sanskrit of Kalidasa.

Bhāṣā Poṣiṇī, a Malayalam quarterly journal; the official organ of *Bhāṣā Poṣiṇī Sabhā*; ed. Varugis Mappila. Became a monthly in 1896.

Cintāmani, a Telugu monthly founded by Kandukuri Viresalingam and edited by Pantulu Subba Rao. It organized a competitions of writing social novels in 1893 and historical novel in 1896. The magazine continued for seven years

Peṇmati Pōtiṉi, ed. not known A Tamil monthly journal mainly for women.

Sādhanā, a Bengali monthly journal. Its founder-editor was Sudhindra Nath Thakur, later it was ed. by Rabindranath Thakur.

Sarasvati, a Telugu literary monthly from Rajahmundry ed. by Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham.

Utkal Prabhā, ed. by Rajeshvar Mahapatra. An influential Oriya literary monthly published under the patronage of the Raja of Mayurbhanj Sri Rama Chandra Bhanja. It offered various prizes by organising literary competitions among the writers. it continued till 1923.

Utkal Patrikā, ed. by Trailokyanath Bandyopadhyaya. An Oriya monthly magazine promoting literatures on Brahmo faith.

1892

Split in the *Arya Samaj*.

Indian Council's Act marked considerable constitutional advancement in India. Some believed that the Act was a triumph of the Indian National Congress and an outcome of the political agitation carried on by that body.

Dadabhai Naorojee elected as member of British Parliament to represent India.

Orissa was declared a separate circle for the purpose of educational administration. Radhanath Ray was appointed as the first circle inspector of schools.

The Madras Hindu Social Reform Association formed by A. Subba Rao, K. Subba Rao and B. Varadacharlu.

b. Ashvini Kumar Ghosh (d. 1962), a noted Oriya dramatist.

b. Dharmeshvari Devi Baruani (d. 1960), a well known Assamese poetess.

b. Dhumaketu, real name: Gaurishankar Govardhanaram Joshi (d. 1965). An eminent Gujarati short story writer.

b. Gopalsharan Singh Thakur (d. ?), a Hindi poet.

b. Harabhai Durlabhaji Trivedi (d. 1979). An educationist and a writer in Gujarati.

b. Haribhau Upadhyay (d. 1972), a well known Hindi Journalist, worked in *Sarasvati* with Mahavirprasad Dvivedi.

b. Harishankar Sharma (d. 1968), a poet and critic in Hindi.

b. Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik (d. 1972), a Gujarati journalist and writer.

b. Ishvar Chandra Nanda (d 1966), considered to be the father of Punjabi drama Author of *Subhadrā* (1928), *Śāmi Śāh* (1949), *Jhalkāre* (1950).

b. Ishar Singh Ishar (d. 1967), a popular Punjabi poet.

b. Jatindranath Duara (d. 1966), a pioneer of romantic poetry in Assam.

b. Jugatram Chimanlal Dave (d. 1985), a noted biographer in Gujarati, also wrote for the children.

b. K. G. Kundanagar (d. 1965), a Kannada scholar and journalist; editor of *Vāg Bhūsaṇa* (1896).

b. Kalidas Kapur (d. 1977), a noted Hindi critic.

b. Krishna Chandra Gajapati Dev (d. 1974), the Raja of Paralakhimidi, an estate in Ganjam District; a patron of Oriya literature.

b. M. R. Shriniavsamurti (d. 1953), a noted Kannada playwright.

b. Mahadev Haribhai Desai (d. 1942), Gandhiji's private secretary for many years. Wrote several books in English and Gujarati.

b. Malayanil, real name; Kanchanalal Vasudev Mehta (d. 1919). A poineer of modern Gujarati short story.

b. Mohan Sundar Goswami (d. ?), an Oriya author who popularised lyrical dramatic performances.

b. Muhammad Bakhsh 'Vasif' (d. 1954), a poet and scholar, known for his first book of *Rubaiyat* in Sindhi.

b. Mula Raja Mehta (d. ?), a Dogri poet who also wrote in Hindi and Urdu.

b. Nawaz 'Ali Niyaz' (d. 1959), a Sindhi poet.

b. P. Shankaran Nampyar (d. 1954), a Malayalam critic, scholar and literary historian.

b. Fr. Paul Lewis Botelho (d. 1974), a poet in Konkani.

b. Pisupati Chidambara Shastri (d. 1951), a Telugu poet and critic.

b. R. K. Shanmukam Chettiyar (d. 1953) edited *Cilapattikaram* with elaborate commentary; helped Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar to found the Academy of Tamil Music of which he was the president for five years (1948–53).

b. Rayaprolu Subba Rao (d. 1984), one of the greatest poets of Modern Telugu literature. Author of *Telugu Tōṭa* (1914), *Snēhalatā Dēvi* (1913), *Vanamāla* (1947), *Jaḍakucculu* (1925) etc.

b. Ramanalal Vasantalal Desai (d. 1950). A popular Gujarati novelist.

b. Ravishankara N. Raval (d. 1977), founder editor of the Gujarati magazine *Kumāra*

b. Rochiram Gangaram Sadani (d. 1967), a Sindhi poet; translator of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, (1944).

b. Sachindra Nath Das (d. 1955), an Oriya poet.

b. Sailadhar Rajkhowa (d. 1968), an Assamese poet.

b. Shayada, real-name: Haraji Lavaji Damani (d. 1962). A Gujarati poet and novelist. Known as the 'king of ghazals'.

b. Shriram Sharma, noted Hindi journalist, editor of *Viśāl Bhārat* for some time; wrote several biographies.

b. Sudhakar Pattanaik (d. 1983), an Oriya essayist, author of *Sambad Patrare Odisāra Kathā*.

b. Uddeshi Champasi Vithaladas (d. 1974), a Gujarati playwright; founder-editor of *Navacetanā*, a literary magazine.

b. Vipulanandar (d. 1947), popularly known as Swami Vipulanandar, a great musicologist. Author of *Yāḻnūl* (1947), a work on ancient Tamil music, *Matanka Cūlamaṇi* (1926), a treatise on drama.

Gurjara Bhāṣāprakāśa by Vrajlal Kalidas Shastri. A history on the Gujarati language.

Ahalyā Staba by Gangadhar Meher. A Oriya narrative poem on a puranic theme.

Āndhra Padyāvaḷi by Venkata Samkhyayana Sharma Achanta (1864–1933). A collection of Telugu poems pertaining to Andhradesa and its past glory.

Ārya Gāthā, a collection of Bengali poems and songs by Dvijendralal Ray. vol. II 1893.

Maryādā, a Hindi magazine published from Allahabad, ed. by Pandit Krishna Kanta Malviya. At some stage it was edited by Premchand.

Ñāṉap Pirkācam ed. by A. Shanmuga Ratha Sharma. A monthly journal in Tamil from Jaffna. Started with a view to promoting the causes of Saiva religion and Tamil language and literature.

The Oriya, an English newspaper started by Madhusudan Das from Cuttack.

Śrī Bhārati, a Telugu literary monthly from Pithapuram ed. by Kulluri Venkatarama Shastri.

Name Index

[Barring a few, authors born after 1890 have not been included in the index]

Abdul Ahad Nazim 536
Abdul Ahad Fariq 235
Abdul Hakim Khan 26
Abdul Halim Sharar 244, 291, 520, 741
Abdul Qadir, Sheikh 251
Abdul Qadır, 'Bedil' 95, 96, 433
Abdul Latif 250, 252
Abdul Majid 251
Abdul Wahab 60
Abdullah, S. M. 262, 387
Abha Bai 84, 502
Abraham Panditar 260
Acharya, Pyarimohan 496
Achyuta Menon, T.C. 274, 533, 662
Achyudananda Swamı 493
Adam, W. 43
Adham Kavi 473
Adigal, Maraimalaı 225, 741
Adigalar, Ramalingar 535: first printed poems of 543
Advani, B. M. 577
Advanı, Gagan Singh 656
Advanı, T. S. 494
Adya Rangacharya 726
Aeschylus 2, 649
Afsos, Mir Sher Ali 421
Afzal Qadir, Syed 494
Agha Hashr Kashmıri 277, 595, 719
Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh 170, 174, 215, 246 259, 508, 676
Agarwala, Ananda 572
Agarwala, Chandra Kumar 241, 319, 541
Agarwala, Jyotı Prasad 721
Agarwala, K. P. 504
Agnihotri, Gangaprasad 551, 691
Agnihotri, S. 464
Ahmad Dehlavi, 484
Ahmad Hussain Khan 227
Ahalyabai 175, 291
Ahmad yar 61, 489
Aiyar, Att Narayana 377
Aiyar, Narayan 511, 526
Aiyar, Rajan 565
Aiyar, V. V. Swaminathan 692
Ajwani L. H. 60, 240, 375
Akbar, 3, 193, 206, 265, 593
Akbar Allahabadi 244, 324–5, 483
Akbarabadi, Shiva Narayan 105
Alexander, 264
Alı Asghar, Syed 266
Amanat (Sayyıd Agha Hasan) 121, 434, 502, 505
Amaru 606, 708
Amherst, Lord 29
Amır 63
Amir Ahmad Mınai 452
Amir Khusrau, 4, 350
Ampadı Kunnukrishnan Putuval 431
Amrıtam Pıllaı 481
Anand, Mulk Raj 733
Anand, Swamı 632
Anandaranga Pillaı 69
Anant Phandi 53
Andal 10
Anıs 62–3, 91, 376–7, 420, 597; and growth of *marsia* 92, 94; *Anisia* 92
Annadurai, C.N. 758
Annajı Raya, M.R. 229
Anna Saheb *see under* Kırloskar
Annapurna 613
Annapurna Debı 249, 390, 608
Antonio, Aphonso 722
Antonio, Dom 71
'Anwar', A. Md. Bachal 526
Anwar, Shujauddin 488
Appa Rao, G.V. *see under* Gurazada
Appar 349
Appu Nedungadı, T.M. 393
Apte, Hari Narayan, 19, 214, 215, 230, 246, 248, 250, 290, 339, 335, 362, 525, 532, 652, 655, 667, 678, 679, 689, 701, 718; emergence of, 215; first novel of 215; and Keshavsut 246–7; stories of, 304; historical novels of 292–3; social novels of 299–300.
Apte, V.G. 253–4, 574
Arberry, A.J. 374
Archemedes 262, 264
Arıf, Kalhero 150
Arif, Krishan Singh 466, 688
Aristophanes 109, 495
Aristotle 262, 605
Arnimal 419

Arjan Dev 60, 352
Arnold, E. 229, 386
Asad Mir 604
Asan, Kumaran, 239, 252, 321–2, 569; inaugerator of a new poetry 321–2; and Sri Narayana Guru 257; and Tagore 321–2
Asan, P. Raman Pilla 475
Ashapurna Debi 758
Asher, R.E. 387
Ashob, Piyarelal 462
Ashok 3, 348, 352
Ashvaghosha 348
Asiya, Bankidas 54, 66, 433, 444, 460
Asopa, Ram Karana 225
Assumpçao, Manoel da 71
Atish 62, 64, 489
Attar Singh 61, 139, 151, 289, 376, 380, 382
Aurangzeb 206
Avadhan, V.V.S. 260
Avvaiyar 111
Ayodhyaprasad 422
Ayyappa Paniker, K. 392
Azad, Md. Husain 157, 175, 243, 244, 265, 267, 268, 454, 603, 655
Azizullah Haqqani 504

Babar 265
Bacon 180, 376, 522, 524, 590, 714, 725
Badrilal 143
Bagchi, Yatindra Mohan 588
Bagle, Dinanath 712
Bahadur Shah Zafar 95, 129, 495, 497, 510, 513, 527
Bahram Gaur 234
Bailey, Benjamin 435
Bajpeyi, Ambika Prasad 599
Bajpeyi, Beni Pravin 54
Bal, Nanda Kishor 325–6, 577, 712
Balacharya, Sakkara 190, 277, 281
Balak Ram 670
Balkavi *see* Thombre, T.B.
Balakian, A. 6
Ballantyne, R. 143
Balliwala, 182, 271
Balu Rao, S. 230
Balzac 308
Bana 108
Bananath 520
Banaji, M.M. 523
Banda Bahadur 265
Bandahnawas Gisudaraz 261
Bandyopadhyay, Bhavani Charan 454, 489
Bandyopadhyay, Bibhutibhushan 670
Bandyopadhyay, Charu Chandra 586
Bandyopadhyay, Durgadas 379
Bandyopadhyay, Hemchandra 155, 157, 159, 181, 188, 194, 313, 315, 317, 383, 469, 548, 722
Bandyopadhyay, Indranath 491, 593
Bandyopadhyay, Ishan chandra 315
Bandyopadhyay, Karunanidhan 587, 712
Bandyopadhyay, Kedarnath 529
Bandyopadhyay, Krishnamohan 80, 107, 112, 432
Bandyopadhyay, Lalit Kumar 545
Bandyopadhyay, Manik 752
Bandyopadhyay, Panchkari 538
Bandyopadhyay, Rangalal 130, 145, 146, 147, 515, 597
Bandyopadhyay, Tarashankar 296, 693
Bandyopadhyay, Tinkari 265
Baṅga Mahila see Ghosh, Rajendrabala
Bapat, Amarapurkar 108
Bapat, Nagesa Vinayak 598
Baral, Aksay Kumar 247, 519
Barbarua, Hiteshvar 582
Barbarua, Radhanath 480
Bardoloi, Devanath 284, 569
Bardoloi, Nabin Chandra 577
Bardoloi, Rajanikanta 242, 288–9, 542, 713
Bardoloi, Rudraram 186
Barhat, Kesari Singh 236
Barhat, Shiva Bakhs 236
Barq, Jwala Prasad 250, 502, 528
Barua, Birinchi Kumar 375, 765
Barua, Chandradhar 281, 573
Barua, Durga Prasad Majindar 281
Barua, Gunabhiram 120, 170, 176, 467, 513, 601
Barua, Hara Kanta 434
Barua, Hemchandra 186, 205, 464, 518, 524, 603
Barua, Jaduram Deka 420
Barua, Svarnalata 249
Basak, Nilmani 182, 427, 463, 497
Basavanna 350
Basu, Amritlal 193, 238, 283, 500, 621
Basu, Buddhadeb 751
Basu, Chandranath 479

Basu, Mankumari 314, 529
Basu, Manindralal 687
Basu, Manomohan 188, 189, 192, 193, 456
Basu, Nabin Chandra 118
Basu, Rajnarayan 268, 593, 699
Basu, Rajshekhar 600
Basu, Ram 56, 452
Basu, Ramram 70, 432
Basu, Ramgati 175
Basu, Yogendranath 504
Basu, Yogindranath 264
Bateson, F.E. 11, 372
Bausani, A. 96, 97
Bawa Budh Singh 272, 591
Beams, John 138, 142, 544
Bedil, *see under* Abdul Qadir
Bee, *see* Gupte, Narayan Muralidhar
Beg *see*, Mirza Qalich Beg
Belasare, K.B. 228, 731
Bendre, D.R. 681
Beni Madho, Rana 126
Beschi, J. 71, 425
Betab, Narayan Prasad 271, 565
Bethune, J.E.D. 112, 490, 495
Bezbarua, Dinanath 432
Bezbarua, Lakshminath 241, 242, 281, 319, 545, 651, 736; essays of, 260; and *Jonāki* 259; plays of, 281; beginning of Romantic poetry in Assamese 319
Bhadra, Jagabandhu 383
Bhagwan Singh 151, 629, 672
Bhagavat, Rajaram Ram Krishna 263, 496
Bhai Gurdas 60
Bhai Sukha Singh 470
Bhai Vir Singh, 242–3, 362, 564, 671, 695, 745; epic of 313–14; novels of 289–90; journal of 259; and Sikh identity 243; and *Singh Sabha* 257
Bhangale, Jagannath D. 230
Bhanja, Upendra, 55, 162, 664, 666
Bhanubhakta, Acharya, 90, 237, 433, 538
Bharatendu Harishchandra 143, 144, 157, 231, 237, 355, 361, 385, 388, 493, 548 571, 572, 574, 576, 580, 583, 585, 589, 606, 615, 624; and Hindi poetry 152, 169, 170, 176, 178; and Hindi theatre 191–2, 193–4; on Hindi-Urdu 143–4, 322; tr. from Bengali 182, 548; from Sanskrit 191
Bharati, *see* Subramania Bharati
Bharati, Gopal Krishna 248
Bharati Dasan 653
Bharatiya, Shiv Chandra 236, 272, 502, 700
Bhartrihari 565, 590, 646
Bhasa 348, 502
Bhate, Govind Chimanji 373
Bhatt, Balkrishna 169, 386, 479, 603
Bhatt, Dhananjay 584, 592
Bhatt, Gangapataram Rajaram 268, 283
Bhatt, Manishankar R. 245, 313, 315
Bhatt, Padamakar 54
Bhatt, Motiram 237, 538
Bhatta, Badrinath 653
Bhatta, Lachiram 474
Bhatta, Manilal C. 258, 533
Bhatta, Nanabhai 609
Bhatta, Raghunath 90
Bhattacharya, Gangakishor 439
Bhattacharya, Kamala Kanta 242, 313
Bhattacharya, Kanti Chandra 138, 544
Bhattacharya, Krishna Kamal 472
Bhattacharya, Ram Kamal 462, 524
Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhar 695
Bhavabhuti 225, 227, 315, 525, 607, 663, 758, 771
Bhavani, Rani 175
Bhave, Vishnapanth 119, 490
Bhide, Balakrishna Anant 572
Bhujanga Rao, M. 735, 738
Bhima Bhoi 153, 506
Bhijo Bhagat 494
Bilhan 580, 750
Bishto, Bilagi Kara Krishnaji 277
Blavatsky, Madam 172, 595
Blumhart, J.F. 389
Bora, Lambodar 519
Bora, Satyanath 639
Boriah, Cavelly Venkata 29, 359
Bose, H. 310
Bose, Khudiram 327
Brahmananda, Swami 491
Brenan, G. 7
Bridel, D. 3
Brijlal 148
Broker, Gulabdas 146, 381–2
Bronson, Miles 138, 465
Bronte, Charlottee 175
Brown, C.P. 425, 442, 449, 471, 473, 499, 618
Brown, David 29
Brown, Nathan 465, 485

Buckingham, James Silk 439
Buddha 260, 323, 348 352
Bulbul, Lachman Raina 148
Bulbul, Shams-ud-din 325, 654
Bunyon, John 32, 180, 475, 567; biography in Telugu 509; tr. of *Holy War* 367; also see *The Pilgrims Progress*
Byron G. 155, 315, 318

Caldwell, R. 266, 469, 505, 666
Campbell, A.D. 443
Campbell, T. 130
Carey, F. 75, 440, 443
Carey, William, 34, 71, 419, 420, 424, 425, 434, 435, 436, 437, 440, 463
Carlyle, T. 262
Caunter, Hobart 114, 116, 512
Ceaser, Julias 264
Chaitanya 352
Chaitanya, Haodijam 232
Chaitanya, Krishna 378, 383
Chakbast, Brijnarayan 609
Chakko, I.C. 582
Chakrabarti, A. 710
Chakrabarti, Biharilal 160, 162, 164, 250, 315, 319, 597, 671
Chakrabarti, N. 379
Chakradhar 68
Chandrabati 110
Chandravarkar, N.G. 172
Chandu Menon, O. 113, 239, 289, 293–4, 295, 339, 362, 486, 661, 730
Charan Singh 225, 272, 500
Chariyar, V.M.S. 56
Charyulu, P. Ananta 478
Charyulu, P. Shrinivasa 284
Chatre, K.L. 499
Chatre, Sadashiv Kashinath 453, 455, 477
Chatre, Vireshvar Sadashiv 104, 481
Chatrik, Dhani Ram 151, 577
Chatterji, Chatterjee, *see* Chattopadhyay
Chattopadhyay, Bankimchandra 44, 84, 133, 168, 171–2, 174, 178, 245, 247, 290, 291, 299, 303, 315, 325, 357, 361, 469; attitude towards West 325; on Congress 220; contemporaries of 204–12; defence of Westernization 333–4; essays on Sanskrit poetry 335; on *Gita* 257–8; interpretation of Krishna 257; novel in English 198–9, 354; early novels 199–201; second phase of novels 203–04; novel-triad 245, 251–2, 257; political novel of 207, 210, 213–4; popularity of 229–30; last phase of 287–8; translation of Bankim in other languages 182, 188, 229–301, 389, 579, 620, 635, 636, 640, 667
Chattopadhyay, Biharilal 283
Chattopadhyay, Harindranath 693
Chattopadhyay, Nagendranath 176
Chattopadhyay, Purna Chandra 304
Chattopadhyay, Ramananda 663, 750
Chattopadhyay, Sanjib Chandra 178, 462
Chattopadhyay, Sarat Chandra 310, 582
Chattopadhyay, Suniti Kumar 7–8, 140, 648
Chatterton Thomas (Thomas Rawley) 619
Chaturvedi, Banarasi Das 264
Chaudhuri, Aksay Chandra 315, 493
Chaudhuri, Badrinarayan 282, 506, 626
Chaudhuri, Nirad C. 687
Chaudhuri, Pramatha 546
Chaudhuri, Raghunath 323, 596
Chaudhuri, Ramakanta 281, 383, 483
Chauhan, Subhadra Kumari 379
Chemanji, Kaviya 150
Chelapparamp 161
Cheriyan Mappila 745
Chettiyar, Muttappa 466
Chettiyar Virapatra 114
Chetty, Gopal Krishnamma 209–10
Chetty, Narahari G. 567
Chetty, Simon Casie 426
Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham 211, 238, 259, 291–2, 541, 662
Chinnay Suri, P. 106, 108, 169, 226, 334, 428, 503, 509, 515, 516, 535
Chiplunkar, L. K. 104, 170, 507, 524, 673
Chiplunkar, Vishnushastri 173, 177, 215, 220, 224, 231, 246, 325, 494, 595, 598 biography of 261; essays on Sanskrit poetry 335; translations of Shakespeare 228; translated into Hindi 231
Chitty, S. C. 174, 267
Chunder, Bholanath 178
Cicero 264
Cirapak Kavirayar 251
Clark, T. W. 116, 378
Clive, Lord 561
Collins, Richard 398

Collins, Wilkie 204, 627. see also *The Woman in White*
Comb, George 497
Cooke, Mary Ann 111
Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. 586
Cope, W. A., 7, 371
Cowper, W. 156, 181, 598
Croce, B. 11
Curzon, Lord 282
Cuzain, Victor 229

Dabir, 91, 92, 376–7, 422 597; and *marsia* 92–3; *Dabiria* 92
Dadu 153, 329, 593
Dagh 63, 264, 456, 734
Daji, Bhau 133
Dalhousie, Lord 83
Dalpatram Dahyabhai Travadi 66, 84, 100, 101, 102, 104, 120, 146, 147, 173, 245, 246, 385, 441, 495, and Children's literature 253; essay on caste system 104; and modernity 100–01; a poem on widow remarriage 120; and Parsi theatre 385; translation of a Greek play 109
Dalpatram, Bhai 60, 475
Damodar 61
Dandekar, Morabhat 104, 481
Dante 155, 601
Daptardar, Vithoba Anna 569
Dar, Lassi, 427
Dar, Rahman 687
Darekar, Govind T. 573
Daro, Bishnu Narayan 532
Dariya Khan 60, 494
Das, Bhakta Charan 55
Das, Bholanath 164, 242, 313, 314, 383, 514
Das, Bichitrananda 459
Das, Brajasundar 305
Das, Chandramani 467
Das, Dasarathi 55, 374
Das Giridhar (Gopal Chandra) 119, 144, 459
Das, Gobinda Chandra 247, 506, 734
Das, Gopal 51
Das, Gopal Ballabh 297, 519
Das, Harihar 476, 595
Das, Harinandan 474
Das, Jagannath 51, 69
Das, Keshava 54
Das, Jibanananda, 698
Das, Jnandil 152, 588
Das, Lala Shrinivas 214, 239,282, 283, 494
Das, Madhusudan 488
Das, Mukunda 592
Das, Nilakantha 618
Das, Paramananda 454
Das, Radha Krishna 239, 282, 284, 536, 696
Das, Raghubir 55, 373
Das, Raghunandan 272, 520
Das, Ramarupa 428
Das, Shamacharan 109
Das, Shyam Sundar 264, 282
Das, Sisir Kumar 372, 375, 382, 388
Das, Upendranath 192–3, 489
Das, Vijaya 51
Dasaji, Harideva 426
Dasaji, Jivan 430
Dasgupta, R. K. 372
Dash, Gopabandhu 387
Dasu, A. N. 462
Dasu, Shriramulu 484
Dasvani, Hasaram 303
Datta, Aksay Kumar 103, 104, 174, 182, 441, 497, 502, 557
Datta, Amarendranath 283
Datta, Ashvini Kumar 220
Datta, Bhupendranath 327
Datta, Gauri 206, 557
Datta, K. K. 112
Datta, Michael Madhusudan 56, 88, 91, 93, 98, 120, 154, 159, 164, 168, 186, 188, 194, 230, 247, 281, 311, 317, 318, 344, 347, 361, 447, 491, 521, 539, 666; on the English language 88; and Ghalib 98; poems of 154–5; plays of 184–5; on Shakespearean model 184–5; Sonnets of 159; translates *Iliad* 181
Datta (Dutt), Ramesh Chandra 175, 181, 206–7, 231, 267, 292, 488, 594, 663, 702; translates the Sanskrit epics 223; the *Rgveda* 226.
Datta, Satyendranath 609, 734, 745
Datta, Sudhindranath 711
Datta, Tarachand 76
Datta Kavi, *see* Ghate, Dattatreya Konda
Dave, Durgaram Mancharam 427
Dave, Ranchodbhai Udayram *see* Ranchodhbai

Day, Lal Behari, 198, 206, 209, 447
Dayananda, Swami 172, 173, 261, 355, 446, 579, 614
Dayaram 100, 359, 463, 498
Dayashankar, Nasim 430, 480
De, Bishnu, 758
De, Panchkari 729
de Cunha Jose Gerson 139, 140, 479
de Menzes, A. 528
de saussure, F. 12
de Souza, Eduardo Bruno 233, 465, 644, 655
Derozio, Henry 30, 79–80, 359, 428, 46,
Desai, Ambalal S. 479
Desai, Bulakiram C. 498
Desai, Iccharam Suryaram 169, 288, 388, 501, 595, 603, 625, 641, 703
Deshmukh, Gopal Hari *see* Lokahitavadi
Deshpande, Kusumawati 156, 189
Deuskar, Sakharam Ganesh 260, 550, 729
Dev, Amiya 332
Dev, Narendra 639
Dev, Radhakanta 111, 439, 440
Devachandra 475
Devakunjari Ammal 250
Deva Sharma, P. 281
Deval, Govind Ballal 226, 227, 246, 279, 280, 651, 702
Devale, Ragho Narayan 114
Devi Chand 90
Devi Ditta 373, 430
Devi Prasad 282, 485
Dhanajibai, Master Pestanji 113
Dhaneshvara, S. 225
Dhekiyal, Ananda Ram 491
Dhiro 52
Dholshaji, Dahyabhai 278, 385, 541
Dhruva, Ananda Shankar 245, 301, 548
Dhruva, Harilal Harshadaray 508
Dhruva, K. H. 226, 517
Dikshita, T. B. 225
Din, Lala Bhagvan 322, 538
Dinkar, Ramdhari Singh 752
Disreli, B. 293
Diti Singh, Giani 272, 501
Divetiya, Bhimarao Bholanath 496
Divetiya, Narasimharao 334, 517
Dora Svammyya, O. Y. 260–1, 262, 708
Dryden, J. 181
Duff. A. 481
Dufferin, Lord 220
Duleraya, K. 682
Durga Prasad 266
Dutt, Gooru Churun 472
Dutt, Greece Chunder 460
Dutt, Govin Chunder 451
Dutt, Hur Chunder 91, 112, 456, 497
Dutt, K. C. 80
Dutt, Omesh Chunder 466
Dutt, Rajnarain 91
Dutt, R. C. *see under* Datta
Dutt, R. Palme 220
Dutt, Roby 614, 716
Dutt, Shoshee Chunder 91, 593
Dutt, Toru, 164, 181–2, 509, 588, 597–8; ballads of 223; new lyrics 164, 317, translated by Kanitkar and Keshavsut 181–2
Dvivedi, Hazariprasad 744
Dvivedi, Mahavir Prasad 226, 239, 259, 323, 555, 646, 652, 657, 658, 660, 700, 714
Dvivedi, Manilal, N. 225, 245, 260, 334, 335, 394, 514, 642, 652, 691
Dvivedi, Nabhulal 421
Dvivedi, Sudhakar 268

East, Hyde 29
Edward (Prince of Wales) biography of 729, 734; poems and plays on 583, 588, 593, 722, 748
Eliot, T. S. 372
Elphinstone, M. 29, 102
Embree, A. T. 373
Ernst, F. 3
Euripides 57, 193, 306
Ezuttacchan, 351, 519

Fabricius, Johann 32
Fallon, S. W. 65, 142, 374
Fani Badayuni 595
Faqir, Shams 471
Fariq, Abdul Ghaffar 554
Farwell, Nidhi Levi 103, 138, 445, 507
Fasihuddin Ranj 111
Fernandes, J. A. 559
Fielding, H. 229, 278, 612, 737.
Firaq Gorakhpuri (Raghupati Sahai) 681
Firdausi 92, 149
Flood, John L. 371
Fokkema, D. W. 12, 372
Forbes, A. K. 100, 176, 536

Forbes, D. 507
Forster, G. 24
Franji, Seth Pestanji 183, 271
Fraser, R. W. 8
Frow, John 335

Gaekwad, Bapu Saheb 52
Gaekwad, Madhav Rao 385
Gadagkar, Lakshmana Rao 289
Gahamari, Gopal Ram 239, 538, 612, 662, 713
Galaganath, V. T. K. 239, 546
Gandhi, Mahatma 260, 286, 468, 549
Ganganaik Bhanu Keshav 384
Gangopadhyay, Dwaraka 182
Gangopadhyay, Taraknath 206, 478, 575
Garibaldi 177, 264
Gauda, M. L. S. 227, 685
Gauri, Mahmud 59
Gedin, P. 39, 373
George, K. M. 231, 321, 375
Ghalib, Mirza Assadullah Khan 26, 91, 94, 95–9, 128, 129, 131, 167, 244, 317, 357, 359, 547, 550; biography of 263, 264; *Dastambu* 515; diary of 128–9, first *dīwān* in Urdu 377, ghazals of 96–8; letters of 105–06, 167; life, 95, Persian writings 26; prose writings 105–06, 383; visit to Calcutta 95–6.
Ghalib, Hakim Ghulam Md. Khan 527
Ghate, D. K. 318, 324
Ghose, Aurobindo, *see* Sri Aurobindo
Ghosh, Chittapriya, 392
Ghose, Manomohan 223, 549
Ghose, Nabokissen 468
Ghosh, Benoy 125
Ghosh, Girish Chandra 188, 227, 247, 279, 282–3, 285, 479, 503, 607, 657, 736
Ghosh, Harachandra 109, 437, 502
Ghosh, J. 169
Ghosh, Kaliprasanna 474
Ghosh, Kashiprasad 30, 79, 359, 428
Ghosh, Pratap Chandra 201
Ghosh, Rajendrabala 250, 305, 393–4, 608
Ghosh, Ram Chand 176
Ghosh, Sisir Kumar 260, 473, 660
Ghulam Farid 151
Ghulam Imam, 423
Ghulam Jilani 439
Ghulam Md. Hanfi 235, 549
Ghulam Rasul 61
Gidumal, Dayaram, 240, 261 656, 661, 667, 725, 728
Gilchrist, J. B. 70–1, 141
Giri, Dinadayal 420
Giri, Hastalal 239
Giridhara 108, 498
Girindra Mohini Dasi 249, 514
Girija Kunwari 481
Godbole, Parashuramapant 109, 524, 574
Godkari, R. G. (*also* Govindagraj and Balakram), 279, 318, 319, 623
Godse, Vishnuram 270, 379
Goethe, 24, 319
Gohain-Barua, Padmanath 242, 281, 284, 288, 560, 690, 699
Gokak, V. K. 8, 371
Gokhale, B. K. 386
Gokhale, G. K. 221, 259
Gokhale, N. R. 230
Goldsmith, O. 118, 156, 211, 274, 315, 322, 602
Gonda, I. 8
Gonji, Ramaji 114
Gopal Chandra *see* Das, Giridhar
Gopal Singh 483
Gopaldan, Kaviya 150
Gosain, Rohinidatta 424
Goswami, Hem, 242, 319, 564
Goswami, Indira 373, 387
Goswami, Kishorilal 305, 536, 662
Goswami, Radhacharan 282, 517
Govinda Pillai, P. 175, 490
Govinda Ram, T. R. 273, 433
Goya, Faqir Md. Khan 424
Grant, Charles 29, 85
Gray, Thomas 228
Grierson, A. 67, 267, 375, 376, 390, 645
Growse, F. S. 142
Gsteiyer, M. 3, 371
Gul Md. 'Gul' 85, 150, 426, 518
Guleri, Chandradhara 307, 613
Gundappa, D. V. 643
Gundhert, H. 104, 482, 487, 497, 521
Gunjikar, Ramchandra Bhikaji 169, 201, 478
Gupta, Bal Mukund 259, 260, 535
Gupta, Ishvar Chandra 65–6, 100, 102, 125 146, 431, 518
Gupta, Maithili Sharan, 19, 314, 322, 323, 628, 766
Gupta, Narayani 131

Gupta, Rajani Kanta 174, 266, 491, 597
Gupta, Ramnidhi 471
Gupta, Rampran 261
Gupte, Narayan Muralidhar 324, 563
Gurazada Venkata Appa Rao 238, 255, 256, 276–7, 305, 391, 526, 662
Gurjar, Vitthal Sitaram 309, 624
Gurmukh Singh 491
Gurney, A. K. 204, 485
Gwal 54

Hafiz 59, 177, 525
Hafiz Kashmiri 149, 493
Hakam Jatta 55
Halbe, L. M. 197, 198, 199, 509, 524, 734
Halhed, N. B. 24
Hali, Altaf Husain 94, 156, 157, 158, 243, 324, 334, 382, 467, 597; biographies by 261–2, 263; criticism of traditional poetry 334; *Musaddas-e-Hāli*, 157; tr. into Kashmiri 234, 244.
Hamal Laghari 60, 428
Hans Swami 269
Hardy, P. 377
Hare, David 29
Harishchandra *see* Bharatendu
Harlekar, K. 250, 573
Harsha 315, 590, 603
Hasan, M. 65
Hashim Shah 61
Hastings, Warren 24, 27, 372
Hazarika, Dutiram 425, 527
Hazarika, M. Ahmed 555
Hazarika, T. 693
Hazlitt. W. 145
Heine, H. 229
Hemadri 68
Hemachandra 312
Hemachandra, N. 230, 268, 308–09, 506, 707
Henriques, H. 71
Herder, J. F. 24
Hiranand, Sadhu 228, 530, 652, 657, 665
Homer, 154, 155, 562, 641
Hugo, Victor, 182
Husen, Mir Musarraf 93, 251, 252, 268, 486, 625
Hutom 168, 169, 179, 472, 521, 527
Hyde, H. B. 372

Ibrahim 251, 672
Ibrati, Mir Wazir Ali 539
Ikka Amma, T. 274, 480, 533
Ilayatu, Macchattu, N. 476
Ilayatu, Raman 538
Ilbert, C. P. 613
Imam Bakhsh 61, 530
Imam Bakhsh Satbai 132
Indira Devi 167
Insha Allah Khan 40, 62, 419, 437
Iqbal, Muhammad 27, 222–3, 314, 325, 395, 587; early verses in Urdu 222; choice of Persian 222–3; nationalistic songs 325, 326–7, *Shikwa* 328–9 verses for children 254
Iraniyar 69
Ismail Merathi 253, 479
Iyenger, M. A. Ramanuja 532
Iyenger, K. R. Srinivasa 376
Iyenger, Masti Venkatesa 653
Iyer, Muttuswamy 285
Iyer, Rajaram 248
Iyer, V. V. S. 305

Jadeja, D.D. 257
Jagtiani, Lalchand Amardınoamal 623, 742
Jainendra Kumar 732
Jambhekar, Balashastri, 104, 106, 431, 484
Jan Sahib 63
Jane, Ambalal B. 264
Jasimuddin 721
Jauss, H. R. 335
Jawan Singh, Maharana 470
Jayadeva 652, 668
Jehangir, Sorabji 261, 511
Jervice, G. 453, 497
Jha, Bhanunath 420
Jha, Bhubaneshvar 573
Jha, Chanda, 149, 235, 312, 456, 640, 642
Jha, Harshanath 481
Jha, Jagmohan 464
Jha, Jivan 272, 488, 742
Jha, Mukunda 519
Jha, Ravinath 473
Jhaveri, K. L. M. 316
Jhaveri, R. G. 422
Jindal, K. B. 143, 305
Joan d' Arc 264
Johnson, S. 176, 180, 264, 472, 558, 589
Jones, William 24
Joshi, Dr Anandabai 176
Joshi, Girish Ballabh 237

Joshi, Ila Chandra 715
Joshi, P. C. 127, 379
Joshi, Ram 53
Joshi, Shiva Kumar 186, 278
Joshi, Uma Shankar 393
Joshi, Varman Malhar 614
Jotwani, M. 59, 376
Jurat, Shaikh Qalandar Bakhsh 429

Kabir 60, 153, 260, 329
Kachru, Braj B. 374
Kadar Yar 61, 421
Kafi Shah 234
Kalelkar, Kaka Saheb 623
Kak, Mirza 462
Kalapi, 178, 245, 269, 573
Kalaswalia, Kartar Singh 265, 609
Kalidasa 5, 109, 160, 163, 179, 188, 226–7 315, 505, 531, 548, 558, 580, 585, 607, 627, 637, 641, 642, 651, 656, 657, 674, 680, 691, 696, 709, 736, 742, 749
Kamat, M N. 305
Kanakasabai Pillai V. 506
Kanakasundaram Pillai 530
Kanhoba, Moraba, 168
Kanishka, 348, 352
Kanitkar, Govind Vasudev 181–2, 706
Kanitkar, Kashibai 176, 250, 261, 661
Kant 245, 246, 313, 316–7, 542, 644
Kantewala, D. 207
Kantharia, Balashankar V. 245, 514
Kar, Bishvanath 259, 305
Karaikkal Ammaiyar 110
Karamat Ali, 419
Karanth, Shivaram 716
Kartmuddin, Maulavi 173
Kartyani Amma, A. 681
Kaul, Ishvar 460
Kaul, Master Zinda 618
Kaul, Nand Lal 587
Kaul, T. N. 18, 59, 89, 148, 234
Kautilya 226
Kaviraj, Gopinath 587
Kaykobad 251, 314, 514, 728
Keay, F. E. 53
Keith, W. B. 205
Kelkar, Narasimha C. 229, 264, 565
Kelkar, S. P. 172
Kempis, Thomas á 531
Ker, W. P. 11, 335
Kerala Varma, Valiya Koyil Tampuran 162, 163, 190, 260, 262, 273, 481–2, 545, 547, 707
Keshava Pillai, K.C. 321, 545, 662
Keshavsut, 19, 182, 225, 319, 355, 538, 733; and Apte 246; contribution to Marathi poetry 247, 317–8, translations 182, 225, 228, 247
Khadilkar, Krishnaji Prabhakar 246, 282, 284, 565, 679, 748
Khan, Hamid Ali 221
Khan, Husain 303
Khan, Syed Ahmed, 103, 125, 132, 142, 143, 157, 169, 175, 243, 291, 324, 436, 477, 483, 502, 518, 528, 540, 673; attitude towards British 125–6; biographies of 261–2; and Akbar Allahabadi 324; and Numani 262
Khandekar , Vishnu Sakharam 693
Khare, Vasudeva Shastri 515, 661
Khare, Vishnu Shastri 265
Khatan, Kawasji 183
Khatiwada, Homnath 314
Khatri, Devakinandan 237, 239, 523, 684
Khatri, Kartik Prasad 260, 498
Khatri, Kashinath 491
Khilandas, Jethanand 272
Khilnani, K. C. 240, 253, 479, 654
Khot, Raghunath Narayan 133
Kibbacchale, M. 258
Kirloskar, Balvant Pandurang 188–90, 231, 264, 279, 477, 575, 624
Kirtante, V. J. 186–7, 524
Kishan Singh, Arif 151
Knight, M. S. 227
Kolhatkar, Shripad Krishna 246, 279, 280, 560, 685, 714
Konkamadi, S. R. M. 210
Kosambi, Dharmananda 582
Koshi, Arch Deacon 393, 448, 483, 611
Krailsheimer, A. J. 7, 371
Kralwari, Maqbul Shah 148, 492, 499, 588
Kreri, Amir Shah 149, 469
Kripalani, K. 216, 301, 332
Kriparam Khidiya 54
Krishna Rao, C. S. R. 227
Krishna Chaitanya 161, 162
Krishna Shastri, A. R. 231
Krishnaraja, Mummadi 77
Krishnamacharya, D. 275
Kshetrayya 39
Kulandaiswamy Pillai 291

Kulkarni, A. V. 260
Kulkarni, Ramachandra 225
Kulkarni, S. R. 68, 156
Kulkarni, Venkatesha Tirako *see*, Galaganath
Kumara Gupta 348
Kumaraswamy Pillai 225
Kunte, Mahadev Moreshvar 156, 552
Kunwar Singh, 126, 127
Kurmal Jain 191
Lacey, Charles 104
Lahiri, Durgadas 175, 514
Lakhanpal, P. L. 105
Lakkhu 374, 473
Lakshmana Pillai, Tc. 533
Lakshmana Singh, Raja 143, 381, 449
Lakshmi Bai, 126, 127, 265, 673
Lakshminarasimham, C. 255–6, 689
Lakshminarayana, Unnava 569
Lakshmishvara Singh 149
Laldas 303, 509
Lal Ram Dhan 234
Lal Sohanlal 173
Lala, Jagmohan, 188, 280, 467, 589
Lala Sitaram 514
Lalal, Umardan 236
Lalla Ded 110
Lallujilal 70, 75, 423, 62
Lalu Bhagat 150
Lele, Ganesh Shastri 225
Limaye, Krishnaji Pandurang 587
Lokahitavadi 113, 173, 220, 266, 445, 491, 540, 615, 660
Long, the Rev James 185, 519, 521
Longfellow, H.W. 181
Longjam Prashuram 421
Loti, Piere 229
Lytton, Lord 273

Macaulay, T. B. 29, 30, 86–8, 103, 109, 136, 355, 463
Macauliffe, M.A. 758
Machwe, P. 228
Madan Gopal, 151, 381, 382
Madarilal 121
Madhaviya, A., 563, 655
Madhavanuja 230, 318, 565
Madhavi Dasi 110
Mahadeviyakka 110
Mahajan, Bhau 105, 475, 502
Mahajani, V. M. 228
Mahapatra, Godavarish 692
Mahapatra, Khageshwar 391, 393
Mahatab, Hare Krushna 697
Mahdi Trali 235
Maheshwari, H. 128, 376, 379
Maheta, Sarada Ben 265
Mahmud Gami 507
Majumdar, Krishna Chandra 177, 468, 525
Majumdar, Mohitlal 639
Majumdar, Pratap Chunder 473
Majumdar, R.C. 376
Malabari, B.M. 137, 215, 245, 261, 500 583, 699
Malayanil (Kanchanlal Vasudev Mehta), 309, 658
Malviya, Madan Mohan 261, 523, 703
Mancharam, Mehtaji Durgaram 113
Mandalik, R.V.N. 170
Mandalik, V. N. 134
Manier, U. M. 246, 376
Manikkavasahara 176, 601
Mansingh, M. 35, 54, 373, 390, 391
Mapilla, Cheriyan 517
Mapilla, K. C. 564
Mapilla, K. V. 514
Maqbul Shah Kralawari 89, 421
Marathe, K. B. 201
Marcus Aurelius 264
Marfatia Nagindas T. 186, 528
Marjhaben, Jahangir Beharamji 269, 303 488, 651, 673, 695
Marshman, Joshua 32, 373, 474
Martanda Varma, Utram Tirunal 433
Marx, K., 84, 126, 376
Maupassant, G. 306, 308
Mazhar 62
Mazzini 177, 264
McGregor, R. 141, 214, 381
Meenakshisundaran Pillai, Mahavidwan 152, 434, 645
Meghani, J.K. 681
Meher, Gangadhar 252, 314, 316, 323, 526, 659, 672
Mehta, C. 119, 309
Mehta, Nandashankar T. 201, 202, 465
Mehta, Ranjitram 309
Mehta, Sharadaben 309
Mehtaji, Durgaram 103
Menon, Vallathol Narayan, *see* Vallathol
Menon, Parameshvara 226
Mewaram Parmanand 240, 536

Mian Md. Bhakhs 151
Mill, John Stuart 177
Milton, J. 109, 110, 154, 155, 181, 315, 505, 531, 547, 567, 612
Mir Taqi Mir 39, 62, 359, 429
Mir Amman 70, 108
Mir Ali Ansat Rask 129
Mir Khursid Ali 437
Mir Nafis 597
Mir Yar Ali Khan 63, 438 *see* Jan Shaheb
Mirabai 110, 260, 282
Mirja Mir 149
Mirza Qalich Beg, 182, 240, 284, 297, 339, 362, 501, 602, 650, 690, 691, 709; children's literature 253; plays of 191; translations by 225, 227–8, *Zinat* 297–8
Mirza Qurban Ali Beg 430
Mishra, Ganeshwar 295
Mishra, Godavarish 638
Mishra, Jagadish Prasad 385
Mishra, Jayakanta 373
Mishra, Jwala Prasad 282
Mishra, Pratapnarayana 225, 239, 284, 386, 509
Mishran, Surya Malla 84–5, 127, 128, 434
Mitra, Dinabandhu 177, 521, 540, 561
Mitra, Premendra 727
Mitra, Pyarichand 113, 114, 176, 197, 199, 200, 433, 516
Mitra, Rajendralal, 104, 138, 174, 497, 531
Mitra, Tara Mohan 143
Mitra, Tarini Charan 468
Mitra, Umesh Chandra 120, 509
Modak, Kashinath, *see* Madhavanuja
Mohanty, Chintamani 323
Mohanty, Gopinath 297
Mohan Singh 698
Molière 181, 238, 544, 621
Momin, 91, 94–5, 419, 505
Moore, T. 315
Morapant 53
Mudaliyar, Arunachal 176
Mudaliyar, Kashi Vishvanath 120
Mudaliyar, Kumaraswami 422
Mudaliyar, Sambanda 273
Mudaliyar, T. C. 264
Mudaliyar, Vedagiri 499
Muhammad, Prophet 176, 261
Muhammad Ghauri 207
Muhammad Mahsan, 'Bekas' 150
Muhammad Zakaullah 261
Mujeeb, M. 97, 98, 133, 144
Mukherjee, Sujit 347, 371, 372
Mukherji, Dhana Gopal 647
Mukherji, Harish Chandra 503
Mukhopadhyay, Ashutosh 532
Mukhopadhyay, Bhudeb 114, 138, 258, 293, 450, 544, 661
Mukhopadhyay, Bibhutibhushan 697
Mukhopadhyay, Damodar 501
Mukhopadhyay, Prabhat Kumar 308, 569, 701
Mukhopadhyay, Trailokya 308, 486, 661
Muktanand 359
Mullens, Hannah Catherine 112, 499
Mulji, Karsandas 134
Municami Pillai, M. 187
Munshi, K. M. 633
Munshi Mahmud Miyan *see* Raunaq
Mushaffi 40, 62, 63, 359
Mustafa Khan Shefta 65

Nabhaji 182, 502
Nadim, Abdul Ahad 89, 472
Nadir Ali Khan 245, 542
Nadir, Kakorvi 228
Nafis, *see* Mir Khurshid Ali
Nagar, Amritlal 391
Nagendra, 8, 11, 70
Nages 318
Naidu, K. 281
Naidu, N. 269
Naidu, P. Gopal Rao 267
Naidu, Sarojini 223, 596
Naidu, Seshachalan 691
Naik, Keshav Ammat 319
Naik, M. 223, 372
Naik, Ramakrishan Balavant 667
Nakkirar 69
Nallaswami Pillai, J. M. 519
Nambudiri, Venmani Achan 161, 437
Nambuduri, Venmani Mahan 161, 486
Namdev, Shri Krishnadas 150
Nanalal, 225, 245–6, 317, 587
Nana Phadnavish 265
Nana Sahib 126
Nanak, Guru 65, 153, 173
Nanda, Chandra Shekhar 260, 305
Nanda Kumar 265
Nannay 350
Napoleon 264

Naoroji, Dadabhai 133, 221, 222, 657
Narasmihachar, S. G. 226, 526
Narayana Guru Sri 257
Narayana, Menon, K. 161
Narayana Rao, H. 529
Narayan, R. K. 739
Narayanaswami Iyer, P. 238
Narayana Tirtha 233, 347
Narayanan, A. 383
Narla, V. R. 210, 277, 387,391
Narmad, 125, 157, 173, 175, 177, 317, 383, 460, 516, 518, 540, assessment of 146, 381–2; attitute to 1857 Rebellion 125; biography of 263; compared with Dalpatram 147, 379; his view of poetry 144–5
Nasikh 63, 64, 95, 121, 129, 470
Nasim, Asghar Ali 533, 672
Natarajan, J. 372, 375
Natesan, G. A. 646, 689
Narayane Nambiar, K. C. 274
Natavattu Mohan Nampuri 226
Navalar, Arumuka 524
Navalar, Ghulam Qadir 460
Navalar, Sabhapati 480
Nayanar, K. 260
Nazir Ahmad 202–03, 466, 589
Nazir Akbarabadi 40, 64–66, 100, 140, 359
Nazm, Tabatabai 228
Nazrul Islam, Kazi 698
Nehru, Jawaharlal 643
Nelson 264
Neminath 480
Newton, John 497, 504
Niaz Fatehpuri 305
Nidhu Babu 56
Nightingale, F. 175, 264, 265, 661
Nihal Chand 150
Nilkanth, Mahipatiram, 176, 207, 288, 334, 386, 534, 540, 650
Nilkanth, Ramanabhai 278
Nirala, (Tripathi, Suryakanta) 682
Nishulananda, Swami 489
Nivedita, Sister 328
Nizami, 59, 92, 178, 224, 594
Numani, Shibli 243, 256, 262–3, 266, 334, 511, 661, 673, 717, 746; *Al-Kalām*, 258; affinity with Bankim 258; as a biographer 262–3; his principles of historical writings 263; travelogues 269, 673
Nund Reshi 149
Nyayaratna, Ramgati 175, 266, 456

Odeyar, Mummadi Krishnaraj 545, 594
Ojha, G. H. 260
Ojha, Rupa Shankar Uday Shankar 539
Ojha, V. A. 494
Oka, V. K. 215, 253, 473
Olcott, Colonel 172, 595
Omar Khayyam 59
Opo Adho 478
Ovid 159, 316, 527

Paccu Muttalu 177, 433
Padmanabha Pillai, S. 274
Padmanji, Baba, 112, 114, 115, 182, 200, 339, 454, 597
Padmavati Debi Phukrani 249, 387
Pal, Bipin Chandra 514, 715
Pal, Kristodas 112
Pal, Nilmani 108
Palande, Bhaskar Damodar 108, 505
Pampa 350
Panda, Harihar 535
Panditar, A. 517
Pande, Gurdia 54
Pandurang, Atmaram 172
Pandurang, Balwant *see* Kirloskar
Pandurang, Dadoba 115, 433, 610
Pandya, Chandra Shankar N. 617
Pandya, Dolatram K. 508
Pandya, Kantilal 264
Pandya, Mohanlal Vishnulal 282
Pandya, Navalram L. 263, 278, 466
Panigrahi, K. C. 711
Panigrahi, S. 520
Pant, Sumitranandan 704
Pantulu, J. R. 519
Pantulu Mannava, B. 258
Paramadev 312
Paramanand 59, 148, 234
Parameswaran Nair, P. K. 163, 273, 274
Paranjape, S. M. 227, 533, 696
Paray, Asad 526
Parasaram 85
Parasnis, Da. Ba 265, 673
Parikh, Dhiru 38
Parnell, T. 181, 315
Parthasarathy, R. 386
Patel, Dada Bhai 191
Patel, Pannalal 297

Pathak, Shridhar 315, 322, 518, 629
Patra, S. C. 373
Pattanayak, Bhikhari Charan 284, 591
Pattanayak, Bicchanda Chandra 451, 716
Pattanayak, D. P. 372
Pattanayak, Gopal Krishna 55
Pattanayak, K. C. 704
Patvardhan, V. J. 205
Pavagi, Narayan B. 266, 269, 666
Perrault, Charles 330
Phadke, Vasudev Balwant 213, 595
Philippose, U. 540
Phukan, Anandaram Dhekiyal 106, 138, 176, 252–3, 452, 500
Phukan, Ghanasyam Kharghariya 465, 600
Phukan, Kashiram Tamuli 428, 480
Phukan, Nilmani 600
Phukan, Yaduram Deka 471
Phuknani, Padmavati Devi 501
Phule, Jotivarav Govindarav 112, 171, 252, 384, 450–1, 568, 648
Phullauri, Shraddharam 173, 388, 460, 589
Pindar 2
Plutarch 175
Poe, Edgar Allen 306
Pope, G.U. 516, 628, 703, 753
Prabhu, Sheshagiri 506
Pradhan, Ganga Prasad 237
Pradhan, Kumar 90, 375, 390
Pradhan, B. Ramchandra 156
Praharaj, Gopalchandra 260, 573
Prakash Ram 59, 148, 234, 439
Prasad, Jayshankar 643
Prasannamayi Debi 249
Pratap, Rana, 193, 265, 283, 598
Pratapaditya, 216, 285, 386
Premananda, Swami 482, 507
Premchand, 6, 214, 250, 296, 305, 310, 347, 394, 600
Princep, James 464
Prithviraj, 207, 292
Priyambada Debi 560, 706
Punekar, Kavyananda 555
Puran Singh 605
Puri, Ganesh 449
Purohit, Gopinath 228, 529, 685, 689, 691
Purohit, K. J. 304
Puttanna, M. S. 504, 702

Qadir Bhakhs 'Bedil' 150
Qalandar, Shah 148
Qudrat 498
Qutb Shah 150, 432

Radhakrishan, S. 639
Radharani Debi 721
Raeside, I.M.P., 206, 209, 386
Raghava Iyenger, R. 238
Raghavendra Rao, M. G. 277
Raghunath, Daitavi 280
Rahalkar, N. S. 318, 598
Rahamatullah, S., 373
Rai, Amrit 141, 142, 381
Rai, Dhanpat, *see* Premchand
Raina, Lachman (Bulbul) 431
Rai, Lajpat 261
Rai, Nawab, *see* Premchand
Rai, Shashibhushan 269
Rajagopalachari, C. 596
Raja Krishna Singh 312
Rajaraja Varma, A. R 117, 225, 231, 239, 321, 322, 528, 618
Rajaraja Varma, E. 501–02
Rajaraj Varma, M. 468
Rajadhyaksa, M. V. 189
Rajkhowa, B. 281, 564, 756
Rajendra Prasad 618
Rajsingh Sandu 84
Rajwade, V K. 201, 530
Raju, Ramaswamy 194–5, 386
Ramabai, Pandita 172, 178, 250, 268, 515, 650
Ramachandrarudre, K. 291
Ramachandra Shastri, K. 436
Ramadasu, V. 265
Ramadasu, Yedla 520
Rama Dhan 502
Ramagacharyulu, S. V. 262
Ramakrishna Paramhansa 257–261, 282, 283, 355, 466, 629
Ramakrishna Pillai, K. (Svadeshabhimani) 591
Ramakkurap, K. C. 468
Ramalinkar, 152–3, 383, 535
Ramamurti, C. V. 255
Ramaraya, A. 261
Ramaswami, Cavelly (Kavali) Venkata, 30, 494
Ramavarma, Svatitirunnal 432
Ramchandra, Master 104, 107, 250, 483, 490

Ramdas, Swami 69, 351
Ram Sahai Tamanna 173
Ramana Pillai, C. V. 239, 274, 289, 514, 655, 701
Ranade, Madhav Govind 269, 692, 711
Ranade, R. D. 224, 292
Ranade, Ramabai 269
Ranchodbhai Udayram Dave 185–6, 278, 385, 468, 534, 540, 649
Ranchodji, Diwan 52
Rangin, Saadat Yar Khan 464
Ranjit Singh, Maharaja 60, 83, 173, 427, 471, 610; a Persian epic on 583; a Punjabi *Jangnāmā* on his invasion of Kabul 610
Rao, C. S. 227
Rao, C. V. 564
Rao, K. N. 526
Rao, K. V. Lakshmane 265, 582
Rao, Madhusudan 162, 164, 176, 225, 240, 241, 243, 249, 259, 383, 501, 601, 677
Rao, M. B. 262
Rao, Panje Mangesh 305
Rao, Raja 752
Rasasundari Debi 177, 584
Rasmani, Rani 175
Rasul Mir, 234–5, 556
Rath, Baladev 55, 100, 482, 601
Rath, Gobinda 253, 324, 488, 601
Rath, Harihar 225, 696, 697
Rath, Mrityunjay 226, 609
Rattan Singh Bhangre 61
Rattinam, J. K. 171
Raunaq 271, 441
Ravi Varma Tampuran, K. 564
Ray, Amita 372
Ray, Annada Shankar 726
Ray, Bharat Chandra 56, 191
Ray, Dasharathi 56, 100, 425
Ray, Dilip Kumar 686
Ray, Dvijendralal 247, 284, 285, 528, 659, 699, 717, 736
Ray, Gauri Shankar 169, 295 469
Ray, Harachandra 439
Ray, Kalidas 643, 753
Ray, Kamini 249, 532, 644
Ray, Nabin Chandra 106, 468
Ray, Nanda Kumar 108, 508
Ray, Prafulla Chandra 523
Ray, Radhanath 162, 164, 176, 240, 241, 243, 259, 269, 313, 323, 383, 488, 649, 660, 666; narrative poems of 315–7; comparision with Michael and Kant 316–7; travelogues by 269
Ray, Rajkrishna 491
Ray, Rammohan 27, 29, 74, 76, 78, 79, 96, 104, 106, 133, 176, 261, 355, 356, 359, 375–6, 451, 453, 459, 461; and English education 29, 445; newspapers edited by 27, 77, 443, 444; Persian work 27, 74; translations from Sanskrit 29, 74, 76, 78, 435, 436.
Ray, Ramshankar 188, 204, 280–1, 295–6, 393, 469, 511, 602, 656, 702
Ray, Reba 249, 390, 582
Ray, Satyajit 308
Ray, Sukumar 634
Ray Chaudhuri, Upendrakishor 253
Ray Vidyanidhi, Yogesh Chandra 518
Raya Kavi, Va. Su. 504
Razdan, Krishna, 89, 234, 493
Renou, L. 7
Rendelkar, Eknath 324, 383, 633
Reynold, G. W. M. 215
Rice, B. L. 465, 694
Richardson, D. L., 80, 109
Rind, Nawab Ahmad Alikhan 473
Rishbud, N. S. 198, 199, 540
Roberts, Henry 702
Robertson, T. W. 277
Robinson, John 499
Robinson, W. 472
Rohal 60
Rohalkar, M. V. 209
Rose, Sir Hugh 127
Rousseau, J. 171
Rumi 59
Rupa Devi 497
Rupanarayan Sinha 727
Russell, R. 96, 291, 372
Rusva, Mirza Muhammad Hadi, 244, 298, 339, 362, 515, 701

Sabat, Kuntal Kumari 704
Sachal. Sarmast 60
Sada Ram 151
Sadal Mishra 70
Sadarangani, H.I. 325
Sadasivam Pillai, Arnold 441, 667
Sadi, 59, 244, 394
Sadiq, M. 97, 98, 142, 211, 212, 222, 263,

269, 373, 375, 376, 381, 387, 388, 393
Sajjad Haider 305
Sajjad Hussain, 169
Sakkari, Balacharya 508
Sakkari, Gopalacharya 225
Saksena, R. B. 39, 62, 65, 92, 94, 121, 175, 244, 245, 373, 375, 377, 379, 383, 384, 388, 390, 391
Saldanha, Mariano Jose 592
Salik, *see* Mirza Qurban Ali Beg
Samajpati, Suresh 259, 308, 555
Samanta, Abhimanyu 55
Samanta, Chandra Shekar Singh 260, 462
Samantarai, Bholanath 269
Samaur, Sankardan 128
Sanaullah. Kreri 432
Sanjana, J. E., 146, 147, 174, 381–2, 599
Sankara Kurup, G. 710–11
Sankhyayana Sarma, A. V. 305
Sankrityayan, Rahul 664
Sankunni, K. 226, 696
Sapre, Madhav Rao 307
SarDessai, M. 233
Sarkar, Biharilal 261, 678
Sarkar, Mani Mohan 119
Sarkar, Umesh Chandra 295, 511, 640
Sarkar, Yogindranath 253, 688, 699
Sarshar, Ratan Nath, 211, 212, 229, 250, 484, 518, 602, 716
Sarur, Munshi Durga Sahai 244, 250
Sarur, Jahanabadi 228
Sarur, Rajab Ali Beg 114, 497, 550
Sarvanamutha Pillai, Ti. Ta. 290, 678
Sarvottam, G. 265
Sastri *see under* Shastri
Satagopacharulu 226
Satthiahandhan, K. S. 526
Satyanarayan, Vishvanatha 676
Sauda 62, 63
Savarkar, V. D. 264, 614, 686, 754
Schimmel, A. 374
Schultze, B. 71
Scott, W. 156, 199, 228, 288, 315, 543, 616, 621, 657
Seal, Brajendranath 317, 319, 532
Sen, Atul Prasad 559
Sen, Chandi Charan 231, 481
Sen, Debendranath 247, 514, 716
Sen, Dinesh Chandra 267, 268, 538, 729
Sen, Girish Chandra 464, 631
Sen, Jaladhar 269, 519
Sen, Keshab Chandra 170, 172, 355, 470
Sen, Ksitimohan 60
Sen, Nabin Chandra 155, 159, 268, 313, 314, 315, 317, 486, 649, 666
Sen, Pramada Charan 253
Sen, Priyaranjan 383
Sen, Rajani Kanta 536, 766
Sen, Ramprasad 56, 351
Sen, Sukumar 9, 185
Senapati, Fakir Mohan, 33, 169, 173, 240, 241, 243, 248, 339, 362, 477, 543, 548, 603, 660, 725; *Chamāṇa Aṭhaguṇṭha* 296–7; *Lachma* 295–6; poems of 323–4, short stories 303, 305, 307, 393, travelogue 269, 295–6
Senapati, Mohini Mohan 604
Sengupta, Yatindranath 634
Serebryakov, I., 85
Sergent, J. 425
Seshaiyangar, D. V 207
Seth, Tribhuvanadas 264
Shah Abdul Latif 351, 524, 539
Shah Mohammad 61, 486
Shah Qalandar 600
Shaikh Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi 111
Shaikh Qalandar Bakhsh Jurat 62
Shajahan 206
Shakespeare 109, 110, 118, 119, 180, 181, 227–8, 242, 273, 280, 285, 315, 356, 385, Indian response to 187–8, 355; and Indian stage 109, 118f; and Parsi Theatre 191; popularity of 187–8; and Marathi stage 279, 280, 284; and Milton 110; Tagore and 285; translated into Sanskrit 228; translations in modern languages 119, 180–1, 227–8, 498, 540, 548, 553, 559, 567, 576, 585, 594, 602, 603, 627, 637, 641, 642, 651, 663, 669, 668, 675, 680, 685, 691, 697, 702, 709, 719, 731, 736, 743, 749, 757, 763, 770, 771
Shamlal Dehlavi 173
Shamsuddin 'Bulbul' 511
Shankar Dev 4
Shankerseth, Jagannath 119
Sharar, Abdul Halim 244, 291, 520, 741
Sharma, Basanta 90
Sharma, Chiranjibi 225, 663
Sharma, Durgeshvar 228
Sharma, Jagannath 282
Sharma, Nandalal 226

Sharma, Ramvilas 9
Sharma, Nathuram 322
Sharma, Sadashiva 237
Sharma, Shrikantha 226
Sharp, H. 372
Shashya, Rangaraya 153
Shastri, Bal Gangadhar 113
Shastri, Basavappa 190, 227, 238, 277, 356, 477, 654
Shastri, Chatursen 653
Shastri, D. Venkata Krishna 686
Shastri, Ganapati 519
Shastri, Haraprasad 501, 601
Shastri, Krishna 103
Shastri, Krishnamurti 284
Shastri, Lakshmana 456
Shastri, M. Suryanarayana 225
Shastri, K. Ramachandra 226
Shastri, N. Shivappa 277
Shastri, Natesha 226, 248, 517
Shastri, Ram 284
Shastri, Ramprapanna 234
Shastri, Ravipati Gurumurti 468
Shastri, Sant Ram 235
Shastri, Satyacharan 265, 700
Shastri, Shivanath 171, 182, 266, 486, 679
Shastri, Shivashankara 226
Shastri, Shyama 357
Shastri, Sosale Ayya 277
Shastri, Shrinivasa 494
Shastri, V. G. Suryanarayana 238, 273, 556, 688, 718
Shastri, V. K. 174, 225, 226, 228
Shastri, Vavilala Vasudeva 275, 276, 497, 585, 598, 602
Shastri, Venkata Ramana 269
Shastri, Vedam Venkataraya 238, 275, 284, 502
Shauq, Hakim Nawab Mirza 271
Shefrion, Andre 229
Sheikh Imam Bakhsh Nasikh *see* Nasikh
Shelley, P. B. 181, 264, 315, 318
Sheridan, R. 118, 181, 229, 274, 616, 662, 696
Sheshagiri Rao, C. 190
Shikdar, Radhanath 113, 506
Shikdar, Tarachand 499
Shila Bhattarika 111
Shirin Madam 268
Shivaprasad 54, 543
Shivaprasad, Raja, 106, 142, 191, 381, 445
Shivaji 68, 147, 171, 176, 206, 292, 293; festival 221, 738
Shivaram 55, 373
Shivashankar Pillai, T. 297
Shivnath 234
Shrikanthaiah, B. M. 323, 613
Shrikrishna Das 260
Shriram Murti 175
Shudrak 227
Shukla, Ramachandra 305, 307, 389, 618
Sirvalkar, V. R. 284
Sitaramayya 220
Simha, Krishna 179
Simha, Kaliprasanna 168; *also see* Hutom
Sinha, Martha Saudamini 175
Sinha, N. Sarat Chandra 389
Sitapati, G. V. 254, 255, 276, 373, 384, 387
Socrates 264
Sophocles 57
Spear P. 219
Spencer. H, 190, 313, 749, 750
Sri Aurobindo 18, 221, 223, 224, 268, 327, 355, 563, 677, 735, 766
Srikantesa Gauda, M. L. 277, 498
Sri Ram, Lala 251
Srinivas Iyenger, K. R. 752
Srinivas Chargulu, P. 261
Srinivasa Rao, K. 275, 276
Srinivasa Shastri, V. S. 224
Subba Rao, K. 283
Subba Rao, Nyaypati 392
Subba Rao, T.V. 262
Subbaraja Kavi, V. 275
Subbayya, Venkata 153
Subramania Bharati 248, 314, 327, 328–9, 611
Subramania Iyer, S. 224
Suchitra Devi, 390, 605
Sudhaldev, Basudev 493, 646, 660
Suman, 84, 149, 235, 376
Sumati 309
Sundaram Pillai, P. 273, 506
Surat Singh 150
Sutton, A. 114
Svarnakumari Debi 249, 306, 506, 584, 650
Swamigal, Dandapani 264, 472
Swar, Pahalmansingh 237
Swift, Jonanthan 641, 657
Syed Ahmad Khan *see under* Khan
Syed Akbar Husain *see under* Akbar Allahabadi

Tagore, Abanindranath 253, 267, 268, 559, 678
Tagore, Balendranath 554
Tagore, Debendranath 172, 242, 268, 437
Tagore, Dvijendranath 225, 313, 472
Tagore, Jotindra Mohan 456
Tagore, Jyotirindranath 181, 193, 227, 229, 306, 491, 598, 621
Tagore, Prasanna Kumar 118
Tagore, Rabindranath 19, 153, 164, 177, 180, 265, 285–6, 297, 304, 305, 310, 317–9, 321, 322, 329, 335, 339, 362, 523, 689, 690, 705, 712, 723, 735, 741, 746, 748, emergence of 247; novels 215–6, 301–02; new poetry 317, 319–21, 322, 329; personal essays 260; plays of 189–90; 285–6; short stories 304, 305–7, 310; translations by 180, 229, 231, travelogues 270
Tagore, Satyendranath 225, 269, 476, 656
Tagore, Sudhindranath 259, 550, 657
Tagore, Yatindramohan 191
Taine, H. A. 2
Talekar, Shrikrishna Shastri 169, 525
Taleyarkhan, J. A., 207
Talib, G. S. 313, 314
Talib, Vinayak Prasad 271
Tambe, Bhaskar Ramachandra 568
Tampi, Irayimman 117
Tampi, Ravivarman 509
Tampi, V. K. 231
Tampuran, Kocchunni 161, 274, 314, 514
Tampuran, Kunhikuttan 161, 164, 274, 532, 655, 656, 662, 665, 717
Tarabali, Saifuddin 148
Tarkachudamani, S. 258
Tarkalamkar, Madan Mohan 253, 437
Tarkanidhi Aghornath 109
Tarkanidhi, Ramnarayan 109, 120, 184, 505
Tarkaratna, Tarashankar 108, 182, 495, 505
Tarkavagish, Gaurishankar 103, 465
Tarkhadkar, Atmaram Pandurang 134
Tarkhadkar, D. P. 177, 566
Taskin, Mir Husain 422
Tasso 155
Tatachariyar, Srinivasa 225
Tatachariyar, Tecika 179, 594
Tennyson, A. 181, 315
Thakor, B. K. 225, 549
Thakur, Jagmohan Singh 225, 511
Thakur, Mohan Prasad 70
Thakur, Techand, *see*, Mitra, Peary Chand
Thakur, *also see under* Tagore
Thapa, Prithiman 750
Thombre, T. B. (Balakavi) 318, 647
Thompson, E. 306
Tikendrajit 232
Tilak, B. G. 170, 207, 224, 229, 246, 260, 261, 327, 328, 508; and Congress 221; *The Orion* 224; song on 700, and Shivaji festival 221, 738; and Tagore's play 286; *Veda Kāla Nirnay* 260
Tilak, Lakshmibai 250, 391, 569
Tilak, Narayan Vaman 318, 391, 523
Tipu Sultan 205, 291, 327
Tirupati Venkata Kavalu 226, 323
Tirunal, Kartika 117
Tirunal, Maharaja Swati 117
Tiruvalluvar 348, 509
Tod, J. 184, 266, 291, 452, 524
Tota Ram 239
Trailokyeshvari Devi 249
Trevelyan, C E 29
Trilochana 148
Tripathi, Devakinandan 582, 686
Tripathi, Govardhanaram M. 245, 248, 263, 362, 506, 644, 659, 700, 735, 745
Tripathi, Mansukhram S. 176, 261, 472
Trivedi, Kamalashankar P. 511
Trivedi, Ramendra Sundar 260, 533, 729
Trivedi, Vijayalakshmi 309
Trivedi, Vishnuprasad R. 699
Tukaram 231
Tulsidas 182, 525
Tulsi Ram, Munshi 182
Tyabji, Badruddin 134
Tyagaraja 51, 357, 486
Tynjanov, J. 10
Trumpp, E. 515, 590

Udayraj Ujal 235–6
Ulloor, Parameswara Iyer, 239, 321, 322, 323, 588
Umar Dan Lalas 497
Upadhyay, Ayodhya Singh 322, 535, 701
Upadhyay, Brahma Bandhav 327, 523, 685
Upattiyayar, K. 187

Vaidya, Chintaman Vinayak 522
Vaidya, Ramachandra Pandurang 517
Vallathol 19, 239, 322, 323, 592, 706
Vallathol, Gopal Menon 609
Valmiki 179, 595, 607, 637, 709, 719, 731, 763
Variyar, C. K. 535
Variyar, E. C. 510
Varma, Totaram 486
Vasudevacharya, K. 228, 230, 277, 538
Vatsyayan, S. H. 231, 356
Vedanayakam Pillai 100, 163, 207–08, 209, 598
Vemana 663, 725
Venkatacharya, B. 230, 389, 482, 709
Venkata Krishnaiah 289, 480
Venkata Rao, Gulavadi 298, 339
Venkatarangacharyalu, P. 173
Venkatanarasimha, C. 262
Venkataratnam. Pantulu, K. 169
Victoria, Queen, 265; biography of 689 (by Viresalingam); elegy on 712, 713; panegyries for 382, 482, 712, 716
Vidyabhushan, Y. 177, 264, 482, 589
Vidyalamkar, Mrityurjay 70, 440
Vidyapati 5, 6, 75, 347, 642
Vidyaratna, Ramnarayan 109, 509
Vidyasagar, Ishvar Chandra, 70, 104, 106, 108, 109, 112, 120, 158, 169, 182, 253, 261, 268, 382, 441, 487, 505, 507, 522, 567
Vidyavinod, Kshirod Prasad 247, 285, 529, 690, 724, 725
Vidyarthi, Nilmani 258
Virabhadrachari 262
Virabhadra Charyulu, K. 227
Viresalingam, K. 169, 171, 179, 180, 211, 238, 256, 275, 362, 385, 489, 588, 594, 602, 615, 617, 627, 644, 657, 673; autobiography of 268; biographies written by 260, 264; novels 209, 210, 239; plays 231, 256, 385
Virgil, 88, 155
Visanji, Thakker Narayan 230
Vishakhadatta 77
Vivekananda, Swami 133, 219, 327, 337–8, 530, 686; on colloquial speech 256; Hindu revival and 257; on industralization 337–8; religious essays 258; speech at Chicago 664; travelogue 270
Viyog Hari 682
Vyas, Ambika Datta 268, 513, 594, 616, 641, 695

Wade, T. Russel 235
Wahab Paray 149, 484
Wajed Ali, S. 648
Wajid Ali Shah, Akhtar, 83, 121, 446, 508
Wali 351
Walliwallah Muttu 89
Ward, William 32
Warish Shah 61
Weber, A. 3, 371
Wellek, R. 11, 12, 17, 372
Wellesley, Lord 70
Wilberforce, W. 29
Wilde, Oscar 285–6
Wilkins, C. 24
Wilson, H. H. 174
Winternitz, M. 3, 371
Wordsworth, W. 156, 315

St. Xavier, Francis 32

Yajnanarayana, I. 283
Yajnik, Jhaverilal 466, 544
Yajnik, R. K. 119, 271, 379, 384, 391
Yates, J. A. 255
Yates, William 140
Yathavakkala Annamayya 51
Yogendra, Brahmananda 153

Zaidi, A. J. 93
Ziegenbalg. B. 32
Zauq 63, 91, 94–5, 377, 504, 527
Zvelebil, K. 69, 163, 273, 375

Title Index

[Items mentioned in the index occur predominantly, though not exclusively, in the part one of the book]

Abakāśa Cintā 699
Ab-e-Hayāt 175, 267
Abhijñāna Śakuntalam (occurs also as *Śakuntalā*) Goethe's quatrain on, 24; popularity of 179, 225; recreated by Abanindranath 253, 678; tr by M. Adıgal, 749, by Jyotırindranath 226; by Laksman Sıngh 143, 381; by Kerala Varma 163, 190, 273, 612, by Kirloskar 189; by Mırza Qalıch Beg 685; by Narmad, 607; by Nanda Kumar Ray 119; by Basavappa Shastrı 190; by B K. Thakore 742; by Vıdyasagar 108, 109, 505, by P Venkata Rangacharyulu 580, by K. Vıresalıngam 616
Abhimanyu Vadh 483, 578, 626
Abodh Bandhu 169, 531
Ācār Prabandha 258
Accounts of the Jains 29, 428
An Account of the Loyal Mohammedans of India 125
Ādi Granth 350, 590, 758
Aditi Kuṇḍalaharaṇa 117, 507
Advancement of Learning (Bacon), tr. Bengalı 522, 524; Hindi 714; Sanskrit 376; Sindhi 590, 725; Telugu 725
Aeneid, tr. Bengali 522, 524; Hindi 714
Ahalyābāī 695
Ahalyā Staba 659
Aijāz-ul-Mohabbat 26, 457
Ain-i-Akbari 132; tr. Bengalı 538
Aitihāsik Upanyās 114, 116
Aitihya Mālā 226, 389
Ajāmila 275
Akanandun 89
Akbar, 675
Akbar Nāmā 235, 556
Akhlāq-e-Hindī 75, 423
Ākho Dekhā Gadar 391
Ālāler Gharer Dulāl 114, 197, 210
Ālekhya 745
Alif Laili 702
Alik Bābu 589
Alliyaracāṇi Mālai, 163, 551
All's Well that Ends Well, tr. ın Marathi 228, 637
Āmār Jīban 177, 754
Ambopadesam 629
Amerikecā Pravās 269
L'Ami des Enfants 76
Amirta Vacani 169, 170, 373, 537
Amiya Nimāi.Carıt 260
Amrıta Bazar Patrika 170, 260, 595
Ānand 253–4, 743
Ānanda Maṭh, 203, 213–4, 219, 230, 248, 257, 287, 290, 295, 355, 388; tr. ın Gujaratı 714, tr. ın Tamıl 757; tr. ın Telugu 749
Anārkali, 292
Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan 223, 610
Andher Nagarī Caupaṭ Rāja 194, 207
Andherı Nagarino Gardavasen 207, 606
Andhra Bhāratamu Vacanamu 179
Andhra Bhāṣā Carıtra Samgrahamu 267, 688, 699
Andhra Bhaṣā Sañjıvanı 169, 562
Andhra Kavulu Carıtramu 264, 700
Andhra Patrikā 306
Anglo-Saxon and the Hindu 88, 505
Anguriya Bınımay 293
Aniruddha Vilās 90
Añjalı 390, 728
Annals of Rajasthan 184, 291
Antahpur 373
Anutāpinī Kāmini 109, 509
Anwat-i-Akhrat 148
Ārāish-e-Mahfil 75
Arthaśāstra 226; tr. Hındı 749
Arthaśāstra Paribhāṣā Prakaraṇ Pahile 507
Arunodaı 104, 120, 252
Arutpā 153
Ārya Tivviya Teca Yāttirai Caritram 269
As you Like It; tr. in Assamese 770 tr. in Hindi 685; tr. ın Malayalam 612
Asam Bandhu, 170, 627
Asām Burañjīr Puthī 107, 480
Asamīya Lorār Mitra 252, 491
Āsārus-Sanādīd 107, 132, 175, 487, 502
Aśok Carit 265

Aśrumatī 193
Assam News 170, 603
Aṭal Bahādur 237, 238, 736
Athiyaravadhani 207
Ātma Bilāp 159
Ātma Carit 177, 521, 761
Ātmakathā Saṃkṣepam 177, 433, 566
Avadh Panch 212, 291, 324
Avadh Akhbār 169, 518
Ayodhyār Begam 231; tr. in Marathi 757
Aziz Ain Sharif 228

Bābāji Nāṭak 188, 280
Baḍā Bāzār 236
Badhira Vilāsam 19, 766
Bagh-e-Bahār 191, 424
Bagh-e-Urdū 75, 421
Bahār-e-Ishq 271, 551, 560
Bāhire Rang Cang 205
Baharistān-e-Naz 111
Bahrām aur Sirin 191
Baikuṇṭher Khātā 285
Baital Paccisi tr. Persian 475, tr. Sindhi 651
Bālvivāha Nibandh 104
Bāla Bodh 253, 607
Bāla Bodh Muktāvali 75, 426
Bālak 253
Bālak Bandhu 253
Bālamitra Bhāg 76
Bāmābodhinī Patrikā 170, 531
Bāmātoṣinī 113
Banabālā 280
Banāt-un-Nash 202
Bande Mataram 743
Baṅga Bijetā 206, 575; tr. Hindi 685; tr. Urdu 231
Baṅga Bhāṣā O Sāhitya 267
Baṅgadarśan 169, 171, 174, 213, 301, 304, 568
Baṅgādhipa Parājay 201
Bāng-i-Dira 222, 326
Baṅgal Baṅgālinī 186
Banhi 242, 725
Bankim Candra 230
Bārāṇiyūn Ākhāniyūn 253, 655
Bārmāha Seri Ranjikā 90
Battīsu Putri Kathalu 487
Batris Simhāsan 421
Bauddhābatāra Kābya 323
Bebuj Nāmā 149
Bena Caritra 158
Bengal Herald 27
Bengal Peasant Life 198, 206
Betāl Pañcaviṃśati 106, 108, 114; in Telugu 489
Bhadrārjun 119, 499
Bhagabata Ṭuṅgīre Sandhyā 259, 723
Bhāgavata 225, 350 tr. Gujarati 679, 702; tr. Kannada 585; tr. Nepali 661, 663; tr. Oriya 646; tr. Sindhi 731; tr Tamil 656
Bhāgyavati 388, 460, 589
Bhaktamāl 182, 450, 502; tr. Urdu 602
Bhakta Sarvasva 556
Bhānubhakta Jīvan Caritra 177, 606
Bhānumatī 288, 392, 611
Bhānusimha Ṭhākurer Padābalī 619
Bhārat Durāśā 194
Bhārat Jananī 182, 194, 589
Bhārat Mātā 194
Bhārat Mitra 595
Bhārat Saṅgīt 712
Bhārat Śramajībī 171, 576
Bhāratbarṣīyetihās Sār Saṃgraha 107
Bhāratbarṣara Itihās 173, 553
Bhāratbarṣiya Upāsak Sampradāy 173–4, 557
Bhārati 215, 253, 590
Bhāratīya Prācīn Lipimālā 260, 695
Bhāratīya Sāhityer Itihās 9
Bhāu Bandaki 284
Bhavani Mandir 735
Bhīma Bhuyā 297, 519
Bhram Bhañjan 181, 547
Bhūgol 103
Bhūgol evam Jyotiṣ Ityādi Biṣayak 77
Bhūt O Mānuṣ 308, 684
Bibāsinī 295, 393
Bibidha Prabandha 172, 260, 635
Bibidhārtha Samgraha 174, 497
The Bible
and the growth of prose in Indian languages 75; effect of the translations of 27–8, 33, 71, 75; tr. in different languages 420, 425, 427, 428, 430, 433, 435, 439, 442, 443, 447, 448, 461, 489, 495, 590, 621
Bicitra Prabandha 260, 746
Bidhabā Bibāha Nāṭak 120, 509
Bidrohe Bāṅgalī 379
Bidyāsundar 118
Bijay Singh 290
Bijuli, 334, 652, 669

Bilva Mangal 231
A Biographical Sketch of David Hare 176
A Biographical Sketch of the Rev. K. M. Banerjee 176
Biographical Sketches of the Dekkan Poets 30, 453
Biographies of Poets 176
Bīrakumāra Badh 314
Birahinī Bilāp 323
Birāṅganā 159
Bīrbāhu Kābya 155, 534
Biṣād Sindhu 93, 251
Bodh Kathā 76, 455
Bodhsudhā 205
Bodhāyani 169
Bombāi Citra 269, 645
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme 181, 187
Bouṭhākurānīr Hāṭ 216
Bṛhat Kāvyadohan 288
Brahma Dharmamu 258
Brāhma Vivāha 276
Brāhmaṇācc Kasab 171, 551
The Bride of Lammermore, tr Bengali 621
The Bride's Mirror 386
Brajāṅganā 159, 524
Bṛtrasaṃhār Kābya 155
Buḍo Śāliker Ghāḍe Rō, 184, 521, tr. Hindi 231, 282
Buḍhābara 281
Buḍhāpā Kī Sāgaī 236, 272, 742
Būstān-e-Hikmat 471
Būstān-e-Satwat 634
Būstān-e-Sukhan 426
Buddhadeva Carita 282
Buddhi Prakāś 185, 300, 505

Cād Bibi 285
Caitālī 319
Caitanya Līlā 282
Cākar Darpaṇ 193, 296, 580
Cakki Caṇkaran 274, 674
Cakravākamithuna 316, 317
The Calcutta Review 267
Cander Badan 149, 312
Cander Hari 272
Candrabhāgā 315
Candragupta 293
Candrakāntā 640
Candrakāntā Santati 684
Candramati 231
Candramukhī Vilāsam 274, 620
Candraprabhā 388
Candraprabhā Hosa Kādambariya 684
Candraprabhā Viraha Varṇaṇam 571
Candraśekhar 203, 204; tr. Tamil 757, tr. Telugu 770
Candrasen 589
Candrāvalī 228, 231, 680
Candroday 77, 450
The Captive Ladie, 88, 91, 184, 491
Cār Darveś 230, 651
Cār Darveś Kathālu 178, 531
Cāru Carit 108–09, 513
Cārucitra 326
Cārumukh Cittaharā 180, 534
Cārupāṭh 103, 182, 502, tr. Oriya 547
The Caste 277
The Castle of Perseverence 195
Cato, tr. Hindi 486; tr. Marathi 229, 743
Cattiyavalli 291
Caturdaśpadī Kabitābalī 159, 539
Cāvittiri Nāṭakam 273, 631
Caurapañcāśikā tr. Tamil 580; tr. Telugu 580
Cha Māṇa Āṭhagunṭha 296–7, 477
Chatrapati Śivājī-Varil Povāḍā 171
La Chaumiere Indienne 386
Chāyāmayī Kābya 601
Childe Harold 315
Chinna Patra 167
Choṭa Galpa 673
Chuchundarībadh Kābya 383
Cilikā 315, 660
Cintāmani 259, 392
Cimcōn Vilācam 187, 567
Citamparak Kummi 163, 551
Citrā 285, 319, 320, 682
Citranaliyamu 275
Citrāngadā 285
The Code of Gentoo Laws 24
Cokher Bāli 301, 724
The Comedy of Errors, popularity of 187–8; tr. Assamese 227, 242, 641; Bengali (by Vidyasagar) 533; Kannada (by B. Venkatacharya) 585; Marathi 590; Sanskrit 180, 590
Compendium Doctrine Christianae 71
Congress-Gītā, 745
Comus, tr. into Tamil 719
Cora Grahaṇa Tantra 289
The Cultural Heritage of India 8
Cup Kī Dād 244

Cūryōtayam 170, 554
Cuvatēca Kītaṅkal (Svadeśa Gitāṅgal) 248, 753
Cymbeline, tr. Bengali 180, 548, Kannada 749; Marathi 181, 598, 642; Sindhi 228; Tamil 690

Dakṣa Yajñam 117
Dakṣina Ḳetalak Bhāgani Musāfarinnuni Varṇaṇa 178, 552
Ḍamaru Carit 308
Darbār-e-Akbarī 265, 695
Darpaṇ 77, 459
Daśakumāra Caritra tr. Gujarati 631; Tamil 594; Telugu 631
Dastanbu 128–9, 380, 515
Dātyūha Sandeśam 383, 688
Dayāmati 231, 651
De Imitatione Christi 531
Debī Caudhurānī 203, 245, 257, 287, 290 tr Telugu 763
Deś Darpaṇa 173, 557
Deśī O Bilātī 308
Detective Bahādur Sherlock Holmes 763
Devi Kumudvati 725
Devrānī Jeṭhānī Kī Kahānī 206, 557
Devayāni 316
Devocionario de Missa, em Lingua do Pais 512
Dharmatattva 221, 257–8
Dharma Vicār, 173, 625
Dharmavati Vilsamu 292
Digdarśan, 77, 104, 252, 439, 474
Dilārāma Katha 90
Dil Gudaz 244, 291
Dilrām 297
Dīnabandhu 171
Dīp Nirvān 207, 584
Thę Divine Comedy 314
Dīwān-e-Amānat 546
Dīwān-e-Asir 551
Dīwān-e-Ātash 483
Dīwān-e-Barkat 455
Dīwān-e-Barq 502
Dīwān-e-Dard 489
Dīwān-e-Faridi 151
Dīwān-e-Ghālib 377, 475
Diwān-e-Goya 534
Diwān-e-Gul 150, 518
Dīwān-e-Hali 660
Dīwān-e-Jan Sahab 551
Dīwān-e-Majrūh 694
Dīwān-e-Momin 505
Diwān-e-Zāfar 495
Dīwān-e-Zauq 527, 654
Do Ānandibāi Joshī 261, 655
Do Johnson 177, 589
Don Quixote 211, tr. into Urdu 229, 674
Dosate Pārasī Banuan 105, 113, 505
Dukhinī Vālā 282, 696
Dulālī Vāli 305
Durgādas 285
The Dumb Lady (by H. Fielding) tr. Gujarati 278
Durgeśnandinī 182, 199, 229, 230, 291; first tr. of 389; tr. Gujarati 681; Hindi 616; Kannada 627, 646, Malayalam 230, 389; Tamil 758; Telugu 770; Urdu 291
Duryodhanar Urubhaṅga 281
The Dutt Family Album 136, 556
Dvādaś Nāri 175

Ekā Rātrīcā Ghoṭālā 669
Ekāc Pyālā 392
Ekānt Vāsī Yogī 315
Ekei ki bale Sabhyatā 184, 521, tr. into Nepali 231, 238, 725
Electra 57
Elokeśī Beśyār Kathā 204, 590
Enquirer, The 80, 457
Essays 180
Essays in Indian Economics 224
Eva ani Mori 233, 644

Faerie Queene 313
The Fair Penitent 109
The Fakeer of Jungheera 30, 79, 359, 452
Fārbas Jīvana Caritra 176, 552
Fasāna-e-Ajāeb 114, 477
Fasāna-e-Āzād 168, 211–12, 601
Fatih-e-Bangālāh 651
Fawā-e-Dun-Nāzirin 104, 483
A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language 138, 507
Fighan-e-Delhi 130, 530
Florā-Florinḍā 291, 520
Fortune's Wheel 388
The Friend of India 439, 465
Fugitive Pieces 91, 497

Gadādhar 284
Gaḍḍālikā 600

Gāekoār Darpaṇ 193
Galpa 713
Gāmadānī Gorī 650
Gaṅgābharan 593
Gaṅgālahari 54, 455, 656, 719
Gaṅgāvataraṇam 662
Ganj-e-khūbī 75, 421
Gāon Buṛa 281
Garet Baritānā Khāteni Musāpharī 177, 524
Gayōpākhyānam 275
Gerusalemme Liberata 155
Ghāśīrām Kotwāl 168, 531
Ghātakavadham 393, 590
Gītā
English tr. of 24, tr. in Indian languages 224–5, 257, 463, 499, 531, 596, 612, 646, 708, 737, 749, 770
Gīta Govinda 108, 351, tr. in Gujarati 668; in Hindi 652, in Kannada 562; in Oriya 474
Gītāñjali 19, 329, 355, 766
Godān 600
Godhan Rakṣā 258, 600
The Golden Threshold 223
Gorā 19, 303, 355, 769
Gorakṣā Nāṭak 392
Goṛāy Galad 285
Gorkhā Bhārat Jīvan 259
Gorkhe Khabar Kāgat 237, 714
Gosaṅkaṭ 392
Govinda Samanta 206, 210, 296, 575
A Grammar of the Bengal Language 33
A Grammar of the Gentoo Language 437
The Greek Myths 255, 256
Grīty Nāmā 89
Gujarāṭ Deśācā Itihās 173, 625
Gujarātana Ketalāk Atihāsik Prasaṅgo 173, 584
Gujarātanā Prācīn Sāhityanā Itihāsanū Digdarśna 267, 735
Gul-e-Bakāwali 75, 424; tr. in Sindhi 651
Gul Khāndān 182
Gulab 186, 528
Gulāb Simha 691
Gulāmgirī 171, 451, 570
Guldastah-e-Shajaat 178, 595
Gulliver's Travels 238; tr. in Gujarati 641; tr. in Kannada 657; tr. in Telugu 657, 702
Gulrez 89, 492
Gulzar ain Gulnar 228
Gulzar-e-nat 672
Gupta Nivandhāvalī 735
Gurmukhī Akhbār 491, 603
Guru Dakṣinā 281, 724
Guru Gobinda 265
Guru Gobinda Singha 684
Gurū Granth Sāhib 6
Gurū Nānak Prakāś 446
Guṭkā 381, 531, 543
Gyārah vars kā Samay 307, 724

Hadibadeya Dharma 312
Halate Yogīrāj Śrī Bhartiharīji 312
Hāmbirrāv āni Putalābāī 205
Hamlet 284,
tr. in Malayalam 685; tr. in Marathi 616, tr. in Kannada 736; tr. in Tamil 869
Hammir Hath 284
Hanumānnātak Bhāsa 662
Hanumanudbhavam 534
Haradhanu Bhanga 281
Harūn Rashīl 89
Hāsya Sañjivanī 169, 585, 641
Hāsya Vardhani 169, 581
Hatat Nabāb 181, 187, 621
Hatims' Tales 390
Hayāt-e-Ghālib 700
Hayāt-e-Hāzir 761
Hayat-e-Jāved 244
Hayāt-e-Sādī 630
Hayāt-e-Sir Sayyid 729
Hazār Dāstān 178, 547
Hektar Badh 181
Hemlatā 291
Hem Koṣa 705
Hemalate Prabhākara 308
Henriette Temple 293
Henry IV 119
Hero and Hero Worship 262
Heroides 159, 527
Hind ane Britānnia 288, 388
Hind Swaraj 260, 549, 768
Hindī Bangabāsī 259
Hindola 314
Hindī Pradīp 169, 591
Hindi Tamil Dictionary 592
The Hindu 170, 585
Hindu Dharma Śāstra Samgrahamu 516
Hindu Patriot 170, 503
Hinduo-nī-Padatī 157

Hindusthanā Madhyenū Ek Jhumpadum 386, 534
Himal 89
Himālaya 269
Hinduśāstra 668
Hirā 191
Hīrak Cūrṇa 385
Hīr Rānjhā 312
Hīr-wa-Ranjha 26, 431
History of English Literature 267
A History of Indian Literature 8
History of Malayalam literature 175
History of the Symbolist movement 6
Hitabādī 304
Hit Kathā 597
Hitopadeśa 54, 75, 143, 303; tr. in Bengali 421; tr. in Kannada 680, 696, 714; tr. in Urdu 621
Hṛday Vīṇā 319
Hukumnāmā 69
Hunnarakhānanī Hind Par Caḍhāī 100, 495
Husna dildār 227, 691
Hutom Pyācār Naksā 168, 527

Iggappa Hegaḍeya Vivāna Prahasana 278, 636
Ilakumara 447
Iliad 154, 159, 181, 524; adapt. in Bengali 583; tr. in Bengali 382, 562; tr. in Gujarati 228, 641
Ilion 766
The Importance of Being Earnest 286
Imtihān-e-Rangur 63
Inder Sabha 121; adapt in Kannada 668; tr. in German 379; tr. in Nepali 237
Indian Cottage 386
The Indian Field 170
The Indian Heroine: Being Some Incidents of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857 589
Indian Mirror 170, 525
The Indian Muse in English Garb 137, 583.
Indirā 203, 303, 392; autobiographical narration 204; tr. in Sanskrit 731
Indirā (tr. of Tennyson's *Princess*) 181; tr. in Marathi 553
Indirā Bāi 289
Indire 755
Indradhanu 204, 334,393, 669
Indulekha 112–13, 239, 289, 293–95, 645, 661; tr. in Telugu (*Kalāvati*) 763
Indumatī 316
Induprakāś 170, 528
Inglaṇdcā Pravās 178
Inglaṇdeshvari Aur Bhārat Jananī 594
Inglāṇḍman Pravās 177
Inglāṇḍni Musapharī 534
Irāja Nāyakam 51, 426
Iraṇiya Nāṭakam 562
Iraṇiya Vilacam 701
Iraṭcaṇiya Manōkaram 699
Iśopaniṣad 436
Itihāsmāla 432
Īśvarasya sarvavākhyāni see under Bible
Ivanhoe 228; tr. in Telugu 770

Jagadvinod 54, 429
Jaina Rāmāyaṇa 312
Jālim Ṭuliā 278
Jāmāi Bārik 567
Jam-e-Jam 461
Jāme Jamashad 77, 459
Jamidār Darpaṇ 251, 296
Jām-i-Jahān-Nāmā 27
Janā 283
Janam Sākhī 26, 69, 426
Jangī Khāwar 235
Jaṅgnāma-e-Hazrat Ali 314, 536
Jaṅgnāmāh Singhān te Faraṅgiān 85, 486
Jaṅgnāmi Amīr Hamzā 235
Janmabhūmi 326
Jānu Banyanu Caritra 107, 509
Jarāsandha Badha 314
Jasusi 239
Jātīya Sāhitya 532
Jāved Nāmā 314
Jayadrath Vadh 19, 314, 323
Jaykumārī Vijay Nāṭak 186, 534
Jaymati 284
Jel Darpaṇ 580
Jerusalem Delivered 155
Jila-ul-Qulubbi Zikril-Mahabub 107, 477
Jñānabhaṅga Taraṅginī 238, 725
Jñānasudhā 259, 306
Jñānaprakāś 386
Jñāna Sindhu 104, 477
Jñāti nibandh 104
Jonākī 241–2, 259, 319
Joti 685
A Journal of Forty-eight Hours of the year 1945, 80, 465
Juāri-Khuāri 386

Julius Ceaser, production of 118; tr. in Gujarati 702, Marathi 181, 567; Telugu 181, 497, 585
Jyotiruday 289

Kabi Kāhinī 593
Kabitābali 162
Kacaba Kacabi nun Bhajan 52
Kādambarī 108, 119, 179, 182, 226; dramatic form of 226, 756; popularity of 226; tr. Bengali 505; Gujarati 612, 621; Kannada 702, 714, 725; Oriya 547, Tamil 226, 637; Telugu 544, 731
Kaḍi o Komal 319, 629
Kāḷ 227, 703
Kalaha Priyā Prahasanam 231, 696
Kalāvatī 231, 703
Kaḷaviyal 69
Kali Kautuk 386
Kalı Kāla 281
Kālmṛgayā 285
Kalpanā 319, 705
Kalyāṇa Kalpavalli 229
Kamalā Kānter Daptar 168, 383, 579, tr. in Kannada 696
Kamalāpāḷa Carittiram 248, 684
Kāminī Kāntar Caritra 204–05, 385
Kān-e-Jud 26, 453
Kanak Sundarī 236
Kāñcan Mālā 292
Kāñcī Kāberī, Bengali poem 188, 189; Oriya play 280, 597, 602
Kāniyār Kīrtan 186, 524
Kanyā Śulkam 238, 255, 256, 276, 280, 526; and *The Caste* 277; production of 390
Kanya Vikraya 278, 636
Kapālkuṇḍala 199–200, 230; tr. Hindi 714; tr. Kannada 696; tr. Telugu 708
Karan Ghelo, 201–02, 386
Karmaṇūka 259, 292, 304
Karma Yoga 258
Karṇāṭaka Guṇamañjarī 77, 447
Karṇāṭaka Subhadrā Vijayanāṭakam 231
Karpura Mañjari, tr. Gujratı 627, 637; tr. Hindi 585
Karunā 215
Kāśmīr-nō Pravās 178, 660
Kata Cintāmaṇi 114, 487
Kaṭaka Vijay 284
Kathā 116, 209, 320, 322, 336, 705
Kathāsarit Sāgar, tr. Gujarati 763; Hindi 621; Tamil 736; Telugu 662
Kauṭalya Kuṭhāra 226
Kavi Caritra 175, 537
Kavi Jīvitamūlu 175
Kavi Priyā 54
Kavi Vacan Sudhā 161, 544
Kavitā Kalap 253, 629
Kavitā Lahari 390
Kedār Gauri 315
Kesar Vilās 236, 272, 708
Kesari 737
Khahi Ngamba 232
Khair-Khāk-e-Hind 104, 490
Khālsa Samācār 243, 703
Khamba Thoibigi Warini 232, 701
Kheyā 329
Khubsuratbālā 231
Khuda ki Rahamat Maulad Sharıf 176
Khum Khāna-i-Jāveed 250
Khursid 191, 627
Kīcaka Vadh, 281, 282
Kīcaka Vadham 117
Kīcaka Vilācam 273
Kıng Lear, tr. Kannada 702; Malayalam 669; Sindhı 709
Kīrtibilās 119, 120, 499
Kiśora Candrānanda Campu 374
Kıśora Candrānanda Caupadī Cautıśā 55
Kıssā Hīr Rānjhā 539, 649
Kíssā Puran Bhagat 619
Kissā Rodā Jallatī 640
Kissā Saiful Muluk 539
Kıssā Sassī Punnun 527
Kissā Shāh Bahrām 583
Kıssā Śırin Farhad 566
Kissā Sohni Mahivāl 485
Komārarāmana Nāṭaka 284
The Konkani Language and Literature 139, 605
Kristanv Ghorabo 389
Kṛpābar Baruār Kākatar Topola 260, 729
Krpaner Dhan 238, tr in Nepali 771
Kṛṣṇa Caritra 257, 630, in Sanskrıt 556
Kṛṣṇa Kānter Uil, 203, 204, 230, 594; tr. Gujaratı 685; tr. Sanskrıt 743, tr. Telugu 771
Kṛṣṇa Nāṭakam 273, 651
Kṛṣṇa Patrikā 306
Kṣaṇikā 319, 320, 705
Kṣetra Parikramā 312
Kulavantī Athavā Ajñana vilāp 312

Kulīn Kul Sarvasva 120, 505
Kulliyāt-e-Mīr 430
Kulliyāt-e-Nasikh 478
Kulliyāt-e-Nathr-i-Farsi-e-Ghālib 547
Kulliyāt-e-Nazir 561
Kulliyāt-e-Taslim 561
Kumāra Sambhavam 225; tr. Kannada 708; Malayalam 696; Oriya 641
Kundalatā 393, 636
Kural 509, 524, 628, 729, 753
Kurukṣetra 155, 314
Kuruppillākkaḷari 274, 701
Kurān Sharif; 25; tr. Bengali 631, Tamil 621

Lachmā 295, 296
Lady of the Lake 156, adapt in Marathi 543
Lady Windermere's Fan 286
Lāharī 288
Laila Majnun 191, 602, 677
The Lake of Palms 719
Laksmī 109, 495
Lakṣmījñān 103, 491
Lakṣmīsundara Vijayamu 291
Lalitā 315, in Telugu 763
Lalitā Dukkh Darśak Nātak 186, 278
Laṇḍanum Pārisum 270
Langoi Shagd Thaba 76, 421
Lāvā Rāsa 150
Lehrān de Hār 243, 745
Līlā Caritra 68
The Literature of Bengal 75
The Literature of the Spanish People 7
Litikāi 281
Lok Rahasya 168, 575
Love Songs and Elegies 223, 694
The Lyrics of Ind 630

Macbeth, tr. Bengali 180 (Rabindranath Thakur), 227 (Girish Chandra Ghosh), 576, 626; Kannada 680; Marathi 227, 284, 696; Sindhi 228 Tamil 227, 567, 743; Telugu 227
Madan Gopāla Śatakam 51
Madalapañjī 69
Madd-wa-Jazr-e-Islam 157
Mādhabī Kaṅkan 206; tr. Telugu 771
Madhlī Sthitī 215
Madhiya Śam Siya 176, 531
Madinār Gaurab 266
Madyapān Dukhdarśak Nāṭak 186
Mahābhārata, 4, 26, 49, 53, 281; tr. in different Indian languages, 53, 56, 75, 148, 178, 179, 224, 225, 312, 421, 567, 590, 594–5; 607, 627, 635, 637, 656, 691,696, 702, 709, 719, 725, 731; tr. by Kaliprasanna Singh 179; by Krishna Singh 179; by K. Viresalingam 594–5
Mahāpuruṣonān Caritra 175, 557
Maharajā Mānsingh rī Khyatna 176
Mahārāni Padmāvati 284
Mahārāṣṭra Jīban Prabhāt 206, 594
Mahāśmaśān 250, 314
Mahāśvetā 119, 544
Mahāvilasīt 181, 228
Mahāvīracarita 226
Mahāyātrā 316, 383
Mahendra prabhā 237
Mahilābalī 175
Majār Galpa 308
Mālapalli 569
Mālati Mādhava 179, 225, 226, 525, prose adapt. Kannada 743; tr. Gujarati 603; Kannada 680; Malayalam 696; Marathi 525; Tamil 603;
Mālavikāgnimitram, tr. Gujarati 558, Kannadu 691, Malayalam 651, Tamil 603, Telugu 627
Malayala Manoramā 259, 652
Manajirāv 227
Mana Indriyalem Caritra 233
Mānasī 319, 320
Mānbhāvan 228
Maṇīpṛavāla Śākuntalam 163, 612
Manipur Itihās 232
Mañjughoṣa 288
Māṉōnmaṇīyam 273, 656
Manorañjan 304, 567
Manorañjanetihās 440, 455; also see *Pleasing Tales*
Manu Saṃhitā 226, tr. in Oriya 663
Maqalat al Hikmat (Bacon's Essays) 590
Mārī Hakīkat 177, 540
Mari Yātairāmaṉ Katai 308
Mārtaṇḍa Varma 239, 289, 655
Māsik Patrikā 105, 113
Māsir-i-Tālībī-fi Bilād Afranj 429
Mata Samgha Viṣaya-Kōpanyāsamula 258
Māyār Khelā 285
Mayūra Sandeśam 163, 672
Māzā Uttar Hindusthānacā Pravās 270, 747
Un *Medicine Malgree Lui*, tr. Gujarati 544

Meghadūtam, 160, 163, 179, 225, 501, 696, 719, 771; tr. by Balacharya Gopalacharya Sakkari (Kannada) 662, by Jagmohan Singh Thakur (Hindi) 637; by Kumaran Asan (Malayalam) 321; by A. R. Rajaraja Varma (Malayalam) 680; by E. Rajaraja Varma 502 (Malayalm); by Raja Laksman Singh (Hindi), 607; by Satyendranath Thakur (Bengali), 656 by R. M. Shivalingappa (Kannada) 771
Meghnādbadh Kābya 154, 155, 156, 230, 383
Meghnadvadh 281, 674
Mejo Bou 182
The Merchant of Venice, adapt. in Bengali, 109, 502; popularity of 180, 187; production of 119; tr. Kannada, Hindi 685; Sindhi 691; Malayalam 641, 642, 719 Tamil 559 576, 731; Telugu 743; Urdu 227, 697
Mevār Patan 285
Mhaisūracā Wāgh 292
A Mid-Summer Night's Dream; tr. Kannada 737; Sanskrit 228, 675; Tamil 669
Miltoner Jīban Carit 534
Mīrābāyī Nāṭakamu 282, 708
Miran Sahebaṇkar Rojnāmcā 259
Mirāt-ul-Ākhbar 27, 77, 96, 377, 444
Mirāt-ul-Urūs 202, 297, 387, 553
Mishnah 6
Mocangaḍ 201, 205, 562
The Modern Review 750
Moha Mardana 54
Mohammad Caritra 107
Mōkaṇāṅki Vilācam 284, 701
Mōkaṇāṅki 290, 678
Mrcchakaṭika 108, 179, 226, 275, 279 tr. Bengali 513, Marathi 525, 646; Tamil 691; Telugu 656, 749
Mṛṇmayī 575; tr. Kannada 709
Mṛṇāliṇī 199, 201, 553
Mucirām Guḍer Jīban Carit 168, 620
Mudrārākṣasa, tr. Bengali 562; Gujarati 646; Hindi (by Bharatendu) 580; Malayalam 669: Marathi 544; Tamil 627; Telugu 627, 757
Mugdhavabodh 69
Mukaiyatin Purāṇam 51
Mūkanāyak 280
Muktāmālā 196–7, 201, 206, 524, 718
Mukur 305
Munājāt-e-Bewa 158, 244
Musaddas-e-Hāli 93, 157, 597
Mysteries of Old London 209, 215

Naba Kathā 308, 701
Naba nārī 499
Nabaratnamālā 231, 749
Nadir Shah 284
Nāgānanda, tr. Kannada 675; Marathi 537 Tamil 709; Telugu 656
Nahuṣa Nātak 119
Naivedya 321, 329
Nala Caritra 312; 662
Nala Caritram 274
Nala Damayanti 186
Nal-Damayanti Yā Damayanti Svayamvar Naṭak 690
Naḷaṉ Kummi 312
Nalinī Basanta 548
Nānaker Jīban Carit 176, 537
Nanda Kumar 285
Nandaka Rājyamu 276, 602
Nandikeśvarī 315, 316, 635
Napimārkal Varalāru 176, 543
Nārāyaṇrāv āṇi Godāvari 209, 598
Nārī Caritra 175
Narma Gadya 537
Narma Kavitā 515, 539
Narpōtakam 104, 490
Nasnāṇī Dipikā 259
Nasr-e-Nazīr 423
Naṭakaviyal 238, 273, 688
Nathari Firangiz Thekame Avi 119
Native Opinion 170, 534
Naukā Ḍubi, 741
Navarāttiri Nāṭakam 51
Naval Kathā Viṣe Ek Vicār 308–09
Nazm-e-Mubarak 468
Nemināth Śaloka 80, 480
New India 715
Nhānā Nhānā Rās 246
Nibandhamālā 173, 220, 231, 696
Nij Vṛtānt 713
Niladevi 606
Nīldarpaṇ 177, 182, 185, 186, 192, 193, 296 compared with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 185; and national theatre 192; tr. Marathi 567
Nindā Khanum 181, 187, 616
Nirguniara 259, 669

Nirjhariṇi 326
Nīti Candrikā 169
Nīti Candrikā Vigrahamu 108
Nīti Darpaṇ 114, 469
Nīti Kathā 75, 114, 439, 457, 478, 620
Nīti Vinod 148, 578
Noṇṭi-nāṭakam 51
No'v Ahadnāmā 235
Nṛsimha Caritra 314
Nuh-Sipihr 4
Nurjahān (Bengali) 284, 756; (Hindi) 292 (Urdu) 191
Nurjahanu Caritra 265

O Concani 663
Oḍiśāra Itihāsa 107, 485, 597
Odyssey 228, 690; tr. in Kannada 690
On the Imitation of Christ 531
The Oriental Fabulist, 75, 423
The Orion 224
Oru Kathā 700
Oru Vilāpam 760
Oru Viṇapūvu 321–2, 746
Othello
influence on Rohatkar 209; production of 119; tr. in Bengali 576; tr. in Kannada 181, 356, 627, 680; tr. in Marathi 227, 278, 544; tr. in Tamil 719; tr. in Telugu 763, 771 tr. in Urdu 227, 669, 680

Pābūjī rā Soraṭhā 156
Padārthasār 103, 108, 507
Padārtha Vidyā 103
Padmābatī 184
Padmamāḷī 204, 295
Padmapriya 110
Padmāvat 93
Padmāvati 646
Padminī Upākhyān 130, 145, 515
Pāgalinī 272
Pākhaṇḍa Vikhaṇḍana 571
Pākhaṇḍ Viḍamban 191
Pal o Barjiniā Itihās 109, 509
Pālāmau 178, 611
Palāśīr Yuddha 155, 578
Pallīcitra 326
Paṇ Lakṣāmt Koṇ Gheto? 667
Pānapatacā Mukābalā 284
Pāñcālī Pariṇayam 227, 651
Pañcatantirak Katai 76, 449
Pañcatantra 75, 108, 169, 303, 435
Pāndava Caritre 314
Pāṇḍava Pravāsamu 757
Pāṇḍava Vijayam 668
Pāṇḍavajaya Nāṭaka 651
Pāṇḍavayaśendu Candrikā 465
Panjabi-English Dictionary 677
Panjabi Grammar 682
Panjābi Vyākaran 546
Paṇḍiti Koṣa 457
Paṇḍitī Vyākaraṇ 467
Panniraṇṭu Rājākkaḷ Katat 691
Pannūl Tiraṭṭu 694
Paradise Lost 109, 155, 181; tr. in Bengali 109, 505; tr. in Tamil 612, 531
Paradise Regained 181; tr. in Tamil 547
Pārasya Itihās 75, 463
Pārbatī 649
Pāribārik Prabandha 258, 611
Paribrājak 270, 530
Parmārtha Guruvin Katai 71
Parīkṣā Guru 213, 214–5, 239, 282
Paronnōṭī Pariṇayam 295
Parthenon 80
Pārvati 316
Paścima Tārakā 169
Paścimodayam 104
Pativratā Satīō 258
Paul et Virginia 109, 509
Peṇputtimālai 100
Pericles tr. in Kannada 691
The Persecuted 80
Pharāsī Prasūn 229
Phāṭkā Janjāl 272
Phular Cāki 319, 746
Phulmani āru Karuṇā 204
Phulmani O Karunār Bibaran 112, 114–5, 499; tr. in different languages 378
The Pilgrim's Progress 32, 109, 180, 579, the first tr. of an English work 32; tr. in Assamese 379; tr. in Bengali 75; tr. in Kannada 379, 487, 702; tr. in Malayalam 379, 483; tr. in Marathi 379, 475; tr. in Punjabi 379, 492; tr. in Tamil 612, 674
Piratāp Cantira Vilāsam 194–6, 589
Piratāpa Mutaliyar Carittiram 207–08, 387, 598
Pizarro tr. in Marathi 662
Plaṭona Praśnottar 652
Pleasing Tales 440, 455 also see *Manorañjanetihās*

Plutus 109, 495
The Police of Pig and Sheep 193
Porsyā Svayamvaram 227
The Poverty in India 221, 222
Poyakaip Paḷḷu 273, 656
Prabās Milan 272, 715
Prabhākar 77, 104, 457, 475, 478
Prabhās 155, 314
Prabhās Yajña 282
Prabhāt Saṅgīt 164
Prabhāvatī Haraṇa 117, 507
Prabodh Candrodaya 108, 191, 497; tr. in Gujarati 540; tr. in Telugu 627
Prabodh Pacas 54
Prācīn Panth Prakāś 61
Prācīn Sāhitya 335
Prahlād 275
Prahlād Carit 54
Pramiḷā Svayamvara Nāṭaka 277
Pramilārjunīyam 685
Praphulla 283, 656
Pratāpa Nāṭak 283
Pratāp Singha 285
Pratāpacandra Vilāsam
see *Piratāpacantira Vilāsam*
Pratāpa Rudradev 227
Pratāparudrıyamu 238, 276, 284, 502
Pratikraman Bālavabodh 69
Pravās Nāṭak 385
Prāyaścitta 286
The Precepts of Jesus 79, 442
Premācā Kaḷas 228
Prem Līlā 228
Primavera 223
The Princess 181
The Princess Kamala or The Model Wife 292
Priyadarśike 669
Priyamvadā 170, 259, 627
Pṛthurājarāso 312
Pṛthvirāj Cauhān 292
Pullēlikkuncu 393
Pune Vaibhave 215
Punitap Pōr 567
Puran Bhagat 312
Puram Prabandham 164
Puru Bikram 193, 575
Puruṣa Parīkṣā 75, 642

Qisāi Patwāriyān 149
Qisās-e-Hind 175, 267
Qissa-e-Agargul 571
Qissa-e-Hātimtaī 420
Qissā-e-Kāmrup 491
Qissā-e-Punjab Singh 534

Rādhā Kānhaıyyā Kā Qissā 121
Rādhārānī 203, 303 tr. in Kannada 743; tr. in Telugu 771
Rāgamañjari 631
Raghuvamśa 143, 179, 182, 225; tr. in Bengali 548; tr. in Hindı 589; tr. in Marathı 616; tr. ın Oriya 548, 567; tr. ın Telugu 656
Raghuvir 725
Rahasya Sandarbha 174
Raibatak 155, 314, 635
Rāj Kāhinī 253
Raī nō Parvat 278
Rājā 19, 286, 770
Rājā Bhoj Kā Sapna 381, 445
Rājā Lākh Dātā Singh 243, 272
Rājā Madan 201
Rājā O Ranī 285
Rājā Pratāpādityā Carıtra 76, 420
Rājā Śivājī 156
Raja Yoga 258
Rajanī 203, 204, 589
Rājaśekhara Carıtra 209, 210, 238, 602, 683
Rajmohan's Wıfe 198–9, 516
Rājnīti 75, 423
Rajput Jīban Sandhyā 206, 598
Rajsimha 203, 287–8, 667
Rājya Samācāram 104, 487
Rāmcarıtmānas 93
Rām Navamī 19, 120, 158, 186, 513
Rāmrājya Vıyog 279
Rāmrasa Laharia 148
Rāmāvatār Carit 89
Rāmāyaṇa, 49, 75, 76, 77, 89, 148, 281, 303; *adhyātma Rāmayaṇa* 90, 725; *Jaina Rāmāyana* 649; tr. by Bhanubhakta (Nepali), 90, by Chanda Jha (Maithili) 148; Ganapati Shastri (Malayalam) 770; Vallathol (Malayalam) 763; translations in different Indian languages, 52, 108, 148, 178–9, 224–5, 235, 474; 518, 521, 556, 567, 580, 581, 590, 594, 603, 607, 621, 632, 637, 645, 669, 680, 685, 719, 767, 770; tr. English 702
Rāmtanu Lāhirī 266

Rānā Sūrat Singh 243, 290, 313–14
Rang Main Bhang 323
Rānī Ketki Kī Kahānī 419
Raṇvīr Prāyaścit 148
Rasa bhūṣaṇa 54, 431
Rasaputra Vijayamu 283
Rasāyana Śāstra Viṣayak Samvād 103, 468
Rāser Itibṛtta 177
Rasik Prakāś Bhaktamāl 107, 472
Rasselas
popularity of 109, 180; tr in Bengali 378, 513; tr. in Kannada 737; tr. in Malayalam 680; tr. in Sindhi 558; tr. in Urdu 378, 472
Ratnābalī 108; tr. in Bengali 492; tr. in Oriya 284
Ratnākar campu 55
Ratnalakṣmī 207, 606
Ratnaprabhā 198, 540
Ratnāvali 385; tr. in Hindi (Bharatendu) 385; tr. in Bengali 108; tr. in English 184; tr. in Tamil 590, 603; tr. in Telugu (Viresalingam) 603; tr. in Sindhi 642
Rāvaṇa Vijayam 117
Rāvaneśvara Kalpataru 649
The Rise of the Marathi Power 292
The Rivals, tr. Marathi 696; Telugu, 674
Robinson Crusoe 109; tr. in Bengali 378, 499; tr. in Gujarati 607; tr. in Kannada 378; tr. in Tamil 544
The Romance of History 114, 512
Romeo and Juliet tr. in Bengali 180, 378, 490, 534; tr. in Gujarati 379; tr. in Hindi 691; tr. in Kannada 646; tr. in Marathi 181, 612, 757; tr. in Sindhi 228, 763
Roshanara 283
Rubāiyat-i-Umar Khayyam 224, 731
Rukamāṅkatu Vilācam 273
Rūpanat 273, 679
Rupram Mahipatram 134
Rustam-o-Sohrab 191
Ṛg Veda 13, 226
Ṛg Veda Samhitā 627
Ṛtucitram 694
Ṛtu Taraṅgini 657
Ṛtu Vilāsam 706

Saadat Yar Rangin 63
Sabha Josingar 303
Sadārāma 274, 523, 725
Sadhābā Śatak 177, 525
Sadhabār Ekadaśī 185, 540
Sādhanā 259, 306
Sadhara Jesaṅga 207, 288
Sāhitya 259, 308
Sahr-i-Hilāl 148, 534
Sāhitya Darpaṇ 145
Saif-ul-muluk ain Badi-ul-Jamal 150, 561
Sakhā 253, 617
Salim-wa-Mehrun-Nisa 308
Samācār Candrika 77, 444
Samācār Darpaṇ 77, 439
Samālocanā 231, 691
Sāmājik Prabandha 258, 660
Sambād Kaumudi 77, 443
Sambād Prabhākar 77
Sambalpur Hitaiṣinī 259
Samkṣepa Vedārtham 71
Samson Agonistes 181, 187; tr. in Tamil 567
Samudra Laharī 90
Samudra Darpaṇ 385
Sāmya 171–2, 384, 597
Saṃyogita Svayamvava 283, 631
Sandhyā Saṅgīt 164, 611
Saṅgīta Naiṣadham 274, 662
Saṅgīta Śāradā 280
Sām Nāma 148
Sansār 296
Sāradāmaṅgal 160, 162, 315, 597
Sarasvatī 239, 240, 259, 305, 652, 710; tr. in Telugu 657, 697
Sarasvatī Candra 245, 300–1, 636
Saralā 206
Sarat Sarojini 193
Sarojinī 193, 231, 580; tr. in Marathi 714
Sarveśvara Śataka 51
Sasaui Punhu 150
Sāthī 253, 669
Satī 280, 631
Satīhita Bodhinī 169, 617
Satvant Kaur 290
Satya Hariścandra 191, 275
Satyārtha Prakāś 173, 446, 579
Satyavati Caritra 211
Satyavatī Caritramu 615
Saubhadra 189
Saudāminī 204, 393, 594, 736
Savāī Mādhavarāvācā Mṛtyu 284
The School for Scandal 181, 187
The Secret Way 273

The Sects of the Hindus 174
Selaiya Ākhyān 52
Seuti Kiran 281
Shah Elia 228
Shahid-e-Rana 268, 689
Shāhnāmā 59, 92, 149, 719
The Shair of Ministrel and other Poems 30, 79, 455
Shakwa-e-Hind 158, 244
Shamshad Marjana 228
Shāms-ul-Ākhbar 27
Shaqın Malkā 520
She Stoops to Conquer tr in Marathi 668
A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields 181–2, 585
Shikwa-i-Hind 324, 635
Sijāru Caritramu 181
Sikandarnāmā tr. from Nizami's work in Kashmiri 767; in Sindhi, 646, in Urdu 92, 179, 224, 594
Sīkhān de Rāj dī Vithiā 173, 540
Sinder Sudhār 169, 541
Singhāsan Battisi 26
Sipāhī Yuddher Itihas 174, 226, 597
Sirājdaullā 285
Sirajuddaulla 327, 736
Siraj-ul-Akhbar 372, 475
Sītāharaṇ 281, 383
Sītārām 245, 257, 287, 636; tr. in Kannada 714
Sītāramya Pravesha Nāṭak 277
Sītā Svayamvar 119, 477
Slayer Slain 393
Smṛti Citre 391
Sonār Tarī 319, 320
Songs to Myrtilla 677
Soz-e-Vatan 310, 600
The Spirit of Islam 491
Sphuṭa Goṣṭi 304
The Statesman 581
The Strand 305
Stray Leaves 534
Strībodh 19, 105, 113, 513
Strī Carita 114, 505
Strīdharma Shikṣā 303
Strī Nīti 258
Subhadrārjunam 274, 656
Subhāṣit 305
Sudarśana 259, 652, 675
Sudarśan Gadyāvalī 335
Sudhākar 143, 495
Sudhārak 259
Sudhār Patrikā 240, 652
Sudharmār Upākhyān 249, 387, 620
Sufiānā Kalām 59, 148
Sugana Sunthari 208
Sujana Manorañjini 169, 535
Sukanyā Caritre 312
Sukhāndan-e-Fars 267
Sultānā Cand Bibi 285
Sundarī Subodh 105, 113, 513
Sundrī 243, 289–90
Surāṭ Mitra 169, 531
Surendra Binodinī 192, 193, 580, 581
Surucı Kuṭir 182
Sūryakānta 289, 661
Suryodaya 293
Svadeśa Mitran 327
Svapna Prayān 313, 472, 579
Svapna Vāsavadattā tr in Malayalam 502
Svargārohana Parva 75, 419
Svarnalatā 206, 210, 296, 575
Svatantra 169
Svīya Caritramu 268
Syad-ul-Ākhbar 27

Śājāhān 284
Śālāpatrak 169, 525
Śankar Digvijay 189, 575
Śāntiniketan 258
Śāpa Sambaram 226
Śarāb Kaur 272
Śārada 239, 295, 661, 730
Śarmisthā 182, 184, 518; tr English, 518, tr Hindi, 603
Śāradotsab 286
Śaśirekhā Parinaya Nāṭakavu 277, 636
Śasu Vahuni Ladai 207, 386, 453, 540
Śilpa Puṣpāñjali 628
Śikhar Vamsotpatti 150
Śirastedar 215
Śivarāja līlā 382
Sivarāja Vijayam 176, 557
Śivājī 276
Śivājī Caritra 284, 690, 701
Śivājīno Vāghnakha 293
Śrī Gurū Nānak Prakās 61
Śrī Gurū Partāp Suraj 61
Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kathāsāra Samgraha 303
Śrī Mumbāina Samācār 77, 445
Śrī Pākavat Kītai 225
Śrī Raṅga Rāja Caritra 209, 567
Śrī Tukārām 282

Śrīmadbhāgavata, see under *Bhāgavata*
Śrīmadbhāgavadgīta see under *Gītā*
Śuddhāndhra Bhārat Samgraham 179, 594–5
Śuka Saptati 108
Ṣaṭṛtu Jhamāla 236
Ṣoṛośī 308

Tāciltar Nāṭakam 120, 513
Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq 133, 169
Takhel ngamba 233
Tales from Shakespeare 109
Talisman 228; tr. Sindhi 657; Tamil 771; in Urdu 737
Talmud 6
Tambirān Vaṇakkam 71
Tamil Magazine 77, 458
The Tamil Plutarch 174, 267, 518
Tamilppulavar 238
The Taming of the Shrew, tr. Kannada 770; in Malayalam 668, in Marathi 663
Tanā nanā dhanā 282
Tārā (tr. of *Cymbeline*), 598, 642
Tārā Kumārī Svayamvara 186
Tārīkh-e-Bundelkhand 173, 620
Tārīkh-e-Suba-e-Avadh 173
Tattvabodhinī Patrikā 104, 478
Taubat-un-Nusah 297
Tazkarat-ul-Kamlin 107
Tazkira-e-Hindi 111
Tēcinkurājan Nāṭakam 187
Telugu Nāḍu 312
The Tempest, tr. Bengali 180, 548; in Marathi 228, 581, 731; in Oriya 280–1; in Tamil 181, 603, in Urdu 691
Tenāli Ramakrishnuni Kathālu 521
Thorale Mādhavrāv Peśāve 186, 524
Tilottamā Sambhab Kābya 154, 313
Tin Vilākkam 51
Tiṇa Varttamāni 104, 508
Tinappaṭi Cēṭi Kurīppu 69
Tipu Sultān, 641
Tirāviṭa Mattiya Kālāk Kataikaḷ 308
Tirāviṭa Paṇṭiyan 171, 628
Tirāviṭappirākacikai 267, 701
Tiruppukaḷ 489
Tiruvaruṭpā 382, 543
Tolkappiyam 578
Tom Jones 229
Totā Itihās 75, 425
Totā Kahāni 420
The Travels of a Hindoo 178, 552
The Tribune 170, 608
Triṣaṣṭhi-Lakṣmaṇa-mahāpurāṇā 69
Tūcakā Saṃgraha 303
Tūhfat-ul-Muwahhidin 27, 423
Tuḷābīṇā 69
Tuṅki Kahānio 309
Turaṅga Bhārata 312, 644
Tutināmā 59, 108, 178, 479, 522
Tuttināṇā Ennum Kiḷikkatai 178
Twelfth Night, tr. Bengali 567, in Telugu 641
Two Gentlemen of Verona 228, tr. in Kannada 691, in Sindhi 763

Ūd-i-Hindī 167, 547
Udanta Mārtaṇḍa 77, 104, 450
Udāsinī 315
Udayabhān 714
Udayabhānu 742
Udayapuracā Itihās 660
Uday Laharī 152, 588
Udbhrānta Prem 584
Uddhava Dūta 463
Udentechem Sallok 233, 465, 646
Umaiyāpikai Piḷḷaittamil 601
Ūmar Kāvya 723
Umdat-ut-Tārīkh 173, 620
Umrao Jān Ada 244, 298–9, 701
United Service Gazettee 474
Unmādinī 393
Upadeśa Candrikā 104
Upadeśa Muktāvalī 723
Upahār 678
Upahāra Varma 494
Upanisad 29, 67, 74, 76, 78, 241, 247, 329, 357
Upanyāsa Payonidhi 260, 768
Upanyās Taraṅginī 237, 720
Urdū-e-Mualla 167, 552
Urdū Zubān Ki Tārīkh 619
Urmilā 309
Urvaśī Nāṭak, 770
Uṣā 316, 640
Uṣā Haraṇa Kathā 492
Uṣākal 292
Utaytārakai 104, 475
Utkaḷa Bhramaṇa 660
Utkala Dīpikā 33, 169, 295
Utkaḷa Lakṣmī 672
Utkala Madhup 204, 393, 595, 710
Utkala Sāhitya 305
Utkala Saṇskāraka 576
Utkala Śubhakarī Patrikā 554

Uttama Kapola Karasandas Mūlājī 176, 593
Uttara Gograhaṇa 275, 620
Uttararāma Carita, 179, 225, 275 translated into Bengali 522, Gujarati 663, 680, Kannada, 663; Malayalam 663; Marathi 518, Oriya 501, 750 Telugu, 607, 758, 771
Uttara Svayamvaram 117

Vaḍḍārādhane 69
Vadhu Darpaṇa Mālā 182, 612
Vāg Vaijayanti 318
Vaidehī Vicched 281
Vaidikī Hiṃsā no Bhavati 91, 571
Vāikar Bhataji 641
Vajrāghāt athavā Vijayanagaracā Vināś Kāl 293
Vallabāhananaya 228
Vaḷḷiyammai Nāṭakam 580
Valmīki Pratibhā 189, 285, 607
Vāmābodhinī 170
Vaṃśa Bhāskar 84, 518
Vānācura Nātakam 273, 645
Vanarāj Cavḍo 207, 606
Varnabodh 241
Vartamān Tarangini 104, 477
Vasantikasvapnah 675
Vasantotsava 246, 734
Vasanta Vijaya 316, 317
Vāṭasarācī Gosṭa 114, 470
Vatsalā Haraṇa 191
Vazhun 148
Vedanta 29, 74, 78, 150
Vedañta Candrikā 437
Vedānta Grantha 435
Vedānta Tattvasāra 258, 630
Veṇa Caritra 120, 156, 547
Venī Saṃhāra, 109, 119, 275; tr. in Gujarati 548, in Kannada 702; in Marathi 513; in Oriya 697 in Telugu 632
Vibhāvarī Svapna 672
Vicār Laharī 104, 500
The Vicar of Wakefield 210, 602, 641
Vicitrapurī 201, 558
Vicuvanātam 284
Vidyā Kalpadrum 107
Vidyāsundar 182, 191, 385, 548
Vidyā Vilās 148
Vidyā Vilāsinī 169, 608
Vidyā Vinodini 306, 647
Vijayalakṣmī 250
Vijayanagara Sāmrājya Patanam 276
Vikāra Vilasit 280
Vikramorvaśī 108, 280; tr. into Kannada 616, 657; Malayalam 663, Marathi 505, Oriya 771; adapt in Urdu 749
Vilāca Nāṭakam 273
Vīra Caritra 237
Vīra Kumāra Nāṭakam 187, 547
Vīr Satsai 127, 512
Vira Tanay 280
Vira Vikram 280
Virapattiravaiyar 187
Viṣāda Sārangadhara 275, 645
Visions of the Past 91
Viveka Bodhinī 306
Viveka Candrikā 209
Viveka Cintāmaṇi 259, 561, 663
Viveka Dīpikā 276, 602
Viveka Vardhani 169, 576
Viveka Vijay 231, 719
Vivekodayam 257, 732
Vividha Jñāna Vistāra 169, 544
Vividhārtha Samgraha 104
Vṛddhāvasthā Vivāha 282
Vyabhicāra Khaṇḍan 186
Vyavahāra Bodhinī 276

Waqi-at-e-Hind 173, 531
The Winter's Tale, tr Kannada 709, Marathi 612, Tamil 632, 637
A Woman in White 204, tr. Bengali 627

Yādgār-e-Dāgh 748
Yādgār-e-Ghālib 689
Yamunā Laharī 54, 447
Yamunā Paryaṭan 19, 112, 115–6, 120, 158, 513, 182, 197, 201, 210; tr. Kannada 182
Yāttiraik Kummi 177
Yoges Kābya 315
Yugalāngarīya 203, 303
Yugāntar, 327, 679
Yurop Prabāsīr Patra 167, 177, 270
Yusuf Zulaikha 224, 314

Zahunnisa 265
Zafar Nāmā 149
Zar Kharid Khursid 191
Zahr-e-Ishq 271
Zenoni, tr into Gujarati 691
Zinat, 297–8, 501
Zubdut-ul-Ākhbar 27, 461
Zunza Rarāv (*Othello* tr. into Marathi) 279

Subject Index

abhaṅga 231
abhijāta 10
Afro-English 1
āgamanī 36
ākhyān 116, 154, 308, 336
Aligarh movement 243
Alwars 51, 344, 349, 545
American literature 1
ammanai 51
aṅkiyā nāṭ 117, 272
Apabhraṃśa 350
Arabian Nights, translations of 67, 75, 109, 178, 179, 303, 471, 497, 537, 602, 632, 668
Arabic 7, 25, 26, 58, 70, 86, 93, 103, 156
Aramaic 6
Arddha Māgadhī 5
Assamese
  and Bengali 138; early prose in 138, first novel in 204–5, 387; new era in 241–2, 323; theatre 281; traditional plays in 117–18; translation of Shakespeare in 228; Sanskritic tradition in 53–4; satirical writings in 260
āṭṭakathā 50, 117
Australian-literature 1
avadhānī 35–6
Avahaṭṭa 5
Awadhi 264

bacan 69
bakhar 68–9
bāṇī 69
barakarī 352
bārāna gīt 253
bāyalatā 118, 190
Bengali
  as a channel of Western influence 233; early prose in 71; essays in 168, 169, 175, 260; novels 196, 199–200, 203–4, 206–7; plays 184–5, 282–3, 284–5, 286–6; poetry 145f, 154–5, 159, 160–1, 247–8; prose 76, 171–2; situation in early 19th century 56; theatre 119–20, 271–2; short story 304, 306–7, 308, 310
Bhakti movement 8, 11, 51, 52, 60, 89
bhāṭ 34
bhāva 56
Biography
  of eminent Europeans 175–7, 262, 264–5; of famous Indians 175–7, 261–2, 263–4, 265–6; growth of 175–7, 262–3, 264; hagiographical traditions 260–1; and national values 107–8, 265–6
blank verse 383
Brahma Saṅgīt 153
Braj 28, 60, 61, 69, 75, 139, 148, 150, 152, 264, 322, 346; and Bharatendu 180; in Duggar 234; impact on Rajasthani 150; as medium of poetry 322, prose in 69, 75; Sikh literature written in, 61
Brajabuli 346
Burañjī 40, 67–8, 69

cābkhā 52, 53
campu 50, 76–7, 84
Canadian literature 2–3
cāran 34, 54, 84, 127, 128, 150
caryā 6, 344, 350
Children's literature 252–4

Dakhni 140
Dalit literature 171
dāstān 211, 308
Dehlvi 4
deśī 10
Dhur Samundri 4
diḍṇi 189
Dogri
  condition during the reign of Ranvir Singh 148; development of drama 272; multilingual situation and 234; traditional poetry in 55, 89
dohā 5
The Dramatic Performances Control Act 192–3, 385–6, 581
Drama
  dominance of Sanskrit 274–6; folk elements in 113, 188; growth of 117–21, 183–96, 271–86; historical plays 283–5; musical plays 181, 189–90, mythological plays 278, 279, 281–3; patriotism and 193–4; performing traditions 117–18, 272–3; Shakespeare and 184–5, 284, 286; transition in 271–86, 311; western impact on 184, 187, 188, 191, 274–5

dṛśya 13, 344
dūta kāvya 50, 51

Education
English education, 29, 30, 41f, 46, 79–80, 86–8, 102–3, 109, 135–6, 151; female education 111f; vernacular education 102f
English
Indian-English literature 78–80, 170, 223–4, 364, 429; Indian response to English 29–30, 79–80, 88, 358–9; introduction of 86–8, 102–4; impact of 57–8, 77–8, 100f, 118; and language hierarchy in India 28–32, 222; and modernity 30, 64; translations from 75, 108–9, 163, 179, 180, 187–8, 227–9, 452, 453, 455, 463, 471, 472, 474, 475, 483, 485, 487, 489, 490, 493, 495, 497, 499, 502–3, 506, 508, 510, 513, 516, 522, 524, 531, 534, 544, 547, 553, 558–9, 567, 571, 576, 581, 585, 590, 594, 598, 602, 603, 612, 616, 621, 627, 631, 637, 641, 646, 651, 656, 662, 669, 674; 680, 685, 690–1, 696–7, 702, 709, 714, 719, 725, 731, 736, 737, 743, 750, 763, 771, tribute to 88
Essay 74, 107–8, 165, 167, 168, 170, 171–2, 173–4, 175–6, 177, 257, 259–60

French
see Translations into Indian Languages

Ganeśotsava 664
ghazal 50, 89, 94, 95, 96, 148, 150, 159
Ghouri 4
gītābhinay 285
Greek 1, 2, 6, 71, 86, 87, 109, 181; first Greek work translated in India 109; translation of Homer 181, 228
Gujar 4
Gujarati
essays in 260; first novel in 201–2, 386; impact of religion 52; novels in 207, 288; *Pandit Yuga* in 245f, 257; plays in 185–6, 278–9, 283; poetry 145f, 245–6, 394; prose in 65, 260; situation in early 19th century 52; short story in 304, 305, 308–9

Hebrew 6, 71
Hindavi 141, 142
Helvetismus 3
Hindi
changes in 152, 178, 193–4; duality in 322; first novel in 388; Khariboli 150, 322, 351; as a medium of linguistic interaction 231; and Urdu 140–9; novel in 214, 206, 239, 292; plays in 119, 193–4, 281; poetry in 53–4, 152, 315, 322–3; prose in 70, 178, 259, 260; rīti tradition 53–4, 55; situation in early 19th century 54; situation in the beginning of the 20th century 239–40

The Ilbert Bill 613
Indian Languages
attitudes towards 31; artificial languages 345–6; code mixing 346; convergences of 9, 341, families of 23; functional hierarchy within 23f, 150–1; hegemony of English 137f; intervention of English 28f; linguistic situation 28, 136–49, 233, 234, 235, 236, language tension 138–9, 140–4; multilingualism 23f, 28, 139, 234, 249; national and regional 9–10; pan-Indian language 9; poems in praise of mothertongue 42, 328, religion and 250–2; two indentities of 10–11, uneven development of 46, 332

Indian literature
arithmetical approach to 8, changes from within 64f; components of 49–64, 353, concept of 1–11, 341; folk literature 353; regional and pan-Indian 9–10; transition of 23–46; unity of 3–11; varieties in 11, 332; views on 8–10, 332
Indian renaissance 355–58
Indian War of Independence 266 *see also* The Rebellion of 1857
Indo-English Literature
first specimen of 29; beginnings of 29–30; early writings 78–80, 90–1; relation with other Indian literatures 80; *Dutt Family Album* 236–7; Toru Dutt 223; new phase 223; prose 223–4
Journals
and prose 75, 77–8, 104, 106, 168–70, 258–60; and short story 305–6, 308

Kabiwālā 188
Kafi 52

Kannada
inscriptional prose in 65; novel 289, 299; period of scholarly activities 238; plays 275; theatre, 190–1, 277–8; short story 305; tradition of religious poetry 153; translations of Bankim Chandra 229–30
Kashmiri
beginnings of prose 235; development of drama 272; local themes in 148; lull in literary activity 234; main streams of 59. 89, 148–9, 312; predicaments of 249
kathak 34
kathakali 50, 117, 273
kathāna sāhitya 594
Khariboli *see* Hindi
Khasi 28
kīrtanīyā 34, 117, 272
kissa 61, 151
Konkani
growth of *mando* songs 140; signs of changes 233; struggle of 139–40, 233, 249
Kubri 4
Kuka Rebellion 537
kuḷuva nāṭakam 701
kummi 51, 551
Kuntalīn puraskār 310
Kuxtoba Dekkani 548

Lallup,
abolished in Manipur 647
Latin 6, 86, 87; translation from 425
laukik 10
lāvṇi 53, 189
lāvnīkār 34
līlā 59, 89
Literary history
criticism of Bateson 11; Croce on 1, 11; Frow on texts 235; Ker on texts 335; models of 341; Wellek on 11–12
Literary history of India
basic framework 11–15; chronology; 341–3; language-literature equation 1–7; mullilingualism 23; periodization 17–19, 58, 332, 347–53; unity of Indian literature 3–11, 341; works on 174–5, 267–8
Literary production
author and the audience 35; changes in readership 39; continuity of the scribal tradition 35f; emergence of printing 36; intermediaries 38–9, 330; modes of transmission 35f, 330, 331, 343–4; participants; 343, 344–5; production of textbooks 43; reading public and the book-market 38–9; Scribes 35, 330; transition of 'listener' to 'reader' 35, 331
Literature as performance
avadhānam 36–7; poetry as game 37; poetry as ritual 36–7; *kabir laḍāi* 37; *mushaira* 36

Magadhi 5
Maharī 281
māhātmya 57
maheśa vāṇī 84, 149
Mahratta 170
Maithili
and Hindi 149, 249; literary journalism in 235; plays 117, 272; *Rāmāyāṇa* in 149, 312; tradition of devotional poetry 55, 84, 149
Malayalam
conflicts between different traditions; 163–4, 321–2; emergence of a new poetry 321–2; essay 260· novel 112, 239, 289, 293–5, 393; performing traditions in 117f; plays 273–4; *prāsāvād* in 655, 751; prose 71, 175, 263; situation in early 19th century 51, 53; short story 307; Venmani movement 161–2
mando 140, 380, 473
maṅgal kāvyas 57
maṇi-pravāḷa 9, 51, 346
Manipuri
abolition of *lallup* 232; changes in 232–3; theatre 272; royal chronicle 69; and Vaishnavism 55–6
Marathi
in early 19th century 53; novel 115–16, 191–8, 201, 205, 209, 215, 292–3; play 119, 186; poetry 53, 156, 246–7, 317–18; prose 68, 168, 169, 171, 173, 177; short story 364, 305, 309; theatre 189–90, 271, 279–80, 282, 284
mārgī 10
marsia 92–3, 148
masnavi 50, 59, 89, 150
meta-phane 43–4, 194, 240, *also see* pro-phane
Multilingual literature
Buddhist and Jain 5; Canadian 2–3;

Spanish 7, Swiss 3

nāndī 119
nāṭ 59, 89
nazm 59
Nayanmars 51, 349
Nepali
glorious phase of 90; indigenous tradition of 312; Joshmani cult and 152; novel 237; plays 238; rivalry between Banaras and Darjeeling 237; theatre 273
Newari
Novel
adbhuta Kādambarī 201; *adbhuta Kathā* 205; *ākhyān* tradition 202f; *dāstān* tradition 211–12; didactism in 197f; growth of 113–16, 197–216, 236, 237–310; historical novel 200–2, 206–7, 288–93; political novel 213–4, 388; romance and realism 198, 206, 209, 239

Ojhāpālī 34
Oriya
early prose 69; essays 259–60; glorious phase of 240–1; language agitation 138–9, 544; novels 204, 295–6; plays 188, 189; religious traditions 55, 312; short story 303, 305; theatre 280–1, 284
Oudhi 4

Pali 5, 67, 347, 348, 349
paḷḷu 656
Parsi theatre, see Theatre
Partition of Bengal 283, 327, 732
Patriotism
beginnings of patriotic literature 80; and biographical writings 264, 265–6; and communalism 131–2, 147, 157–8, 213–14, 327, 328–9; in folk poetry 126–7; and Indian drama 193–4, 282, 284–5; as a major force 222, 336–7; in novel 213, 214, 216, 293; in poetry 127–8, 130–2; 155, 158, 325–8
Patronage
by the Ahom Kings 40, 55; change in 39–44; of the elite 105; by the Fort William College 40f; royal patronage 25, 39, 40, 53, 357
Persian
Indian writers of Persian 26–7, 32, 222; newspapers in 27, 77; Perso-Arabic component of Indian literature 58–60, 303, 334, 351; Persianization 31, 105; prose 67; replaced by English 30, 222; status of 25–7, 222–3; translation from 75, 108, 178, 224, 420, 421, 423, 424, 426, 471, 485, 525, 547, 719, 731, 757, 771; and Urdu 30–1, 59, 142
phāṭakā 53
Poetry
conflict between different models 146–7, 162–4, 311–12; epic tradition 312–14; eroticism in 63; innovations in 64–6, 100f, 148–9, 156–9, 160–1, 317–22; narrative poems 154–8, 314–17; new poetry 145–7, 159–60, 315–16, 318–22, 323; ornate poetry 55, 63, older traditions 50, 56, 61–2, 91–4, 148–51, 322–4; patriotism in 126–32, 324–6, 327; Perso-Arabic traditions in 58–60; performance of 35–8; and the rebellion of 1857 85, 125f; religion and 147f, 152–3, 326–7; and Romanticism 145, 159–60, 320f; and urbanization 101, 378; and Western models 145–7, 154–6, 159, 314–17, 319, 321
Popular literature
growth of 42, 166, 330–1, 363–4; impact of printing on 42; new readership 41–2
Popular themes
Draupadi, story of 314, 465, 651, 668, 736, 757; *Svayamvara* of 708; 690, rape of 498, 521, 644
Harischandra, in Hindi 580, 602; Gujarati 585; Assamese 192, 281, 531; Malayalam 636; Tamil 611, 651, 655; Telugu 611, 651, 655; Sindhi 679
Kichaka Vadh, Kannada 281; Malayalam 273; Marathi 282; Oriya 727; Sanskrit 117; Tamil 281
Nala-Damayanti 186, 274, 272, 512, 562, 566, 585, 598, 636, 662, 684, 690;
Prahlad 54, 430, 558, 561, 584, 626, 649, 651, 679, 714, 736
Sita, marriage of 585, 625, 646, 666, 702, 714; abduction of 281, 283, 514, 763, 734; exile of 182, 522, 553, 612, 621, 712, 757, 762

Portuguese 7, 28, 139
povāḍā 53
prabandha 51, 291

Prakrit 5, 67, 346, 347, 349, 350
Prakritization 57–8
prāsavād 543, 655, 751
Press and Registration of Book Act 541
Printing
  advent of the printing press in India 32f; early printing press 32, 33; first printed work in an Indian language 32; impact of printing 32f, 331, 332, 335, 373; scribal tradition and 34f, 330
pro-phane 44–6, 194, 315, 332; *also see* meta-phane
Prose
  bakhar 68–9; *burañjī* 67–8; Christian missionaries and 70–4, 105; early Indian prose 67–78; forms of 75, 164, 166–78, 259–60; journalism and 75, 77–8, 104, 106, 168–70, 174, 258–60; and ideology 171–2, 257–8; and religious movements 72–3, 172–3; styles 105–7, 165, 169, 255–6; and textbooks 75, 103f, 174
Punjabi
  and *Brajbhāṣā* 60; drama 272; and Gurumukhi script 60, 139, 151; *kissā* literature in, 61, 85, 151, 312; novel 289–90; and the Sikh community 139, 151, 242–3; uniqueness of 60–2
Purāṇa 154, 176, 266, 273, 303

qasīda 92, 98, 129, 150

Rajasthani
  and *Brajbhāṣā* 150; didactic writings in 54–5; drama 272; and Hindi 235–6, 249; *marsia* in 93; patriotic poetry in 84–5, 127–8; situation in early 20th century 235–6
rasa 56
rāsa 55
Readership
  author-reader relationship 35, 156, 248–50; children-reader 252–4; prose and new reader 164f; split in 41–2, 331; spread of literacy 42f; transition of 'listener' to 'reader' 35, 331; underpriviledged class 170–1; women reader 170
The Rebellion of 1857
  criticism of 125; defence of 266, 267; English-educated section on 125; eyewitness account of 379–80; in folkpoetry 126–7, 360; and Ghalib 128–9, 131; growth of patriotic literatire and 130–2, 361; heroes of 126, 127, 265; Hindu-Muslim cleavage 131; Narmad on 379; nationalistic interpretation of 747; and Urdu literature 129; Vishnubhat Godse's account of 270; Zahir Dahlavi on 768
Religion
  caste 104, 120; child marriage 104; and language 250–2; communalization of literature 131–2, 157–8, 213–14, 327, 328–9, 392, 395; and literature 54, 147, 152–3, 172–3, 326; and growth of prose 69, 72–3, 172–3; sects and associations 69, 84, 152, 153, 257–8; widow remarriage 104, 115–16, 120; and writers 110, 151
rekhti 63
rīti 53, 63, 92, 93, 351

Sādhukkari 346
sāhitya 2
sandeśa kāvya 50
sandhyā bhāṣā 346
saṅgīt nāṭak 189–90, 285, 545, 598, 662; 725, 736
Sanskrit
  court poetry 63, 92; and English 30, 164, 222; influence of 76–7, 161–2, 166, 273–5, 334, 345f; and Orientalists 24–5; plays 80; poetics 13; prose 67; Sanskritic component of Indian literature 50–6; status of 24–5; translations from 76–7, 108, 109, 178–9, 224–7, 419, 423, 426, 427, 434, 435, 465, 474, 487, 492, 497, 499, 506, 508, 513, 519, 522, 525, 531, 540, 544, 547, 548, 553, 558, 562, 567, 580, 585, 590, 594, 603, 607, 612, 616, 626, 627, 631, 637, 642, 646, 651, 657, 662, 669, 674, 679, 680, 685, 691, 696, 702, 708, 709, 714, 719, 725, 731, 736, 737, 743, 750, 763, 770–1; writings in the 19th century 91, 265, 376, 391, 536, 557, 683, 684, 688, 694, 695, 700, 706, 708, 723, 745, 753, 762, 768
Sanskritization 57, 105, 106, 161, 256–7 de-Sanskritization 57–8; as part of Hindi-Urdu debate 142–3; and religious movements 144; and Venmani movement 161

Śataka 51
Śauraśenī 5
Script
Devanagari 141, 143, 151; Gurumukhi 60, 139, 151, 169; Perso-Arabic 141, 381, 500, 502; reformed Dogri script 530; Roman script 139–40, 376, 465; Takari script 519; Vaniki 703
Short Story
competition of 310; criticism of 308–9; different terms for 303; first short stories 303–4; stages of growth 302–9; traditions of earlier stories 303–4, 308
Sindhi
dialects of 59–60; drama 191, 272; major trends 66; multilingualism and 150–1; new phase in 240; novels 297–8; and Parsi theatre 191; short story 394
Sohara 55
Sonnet 159
Spanish literature 7
śrāvya 13, 344
sthala purāṇa 163
Swiss literature 3

tala purāṇa 57, 251, 266
tāmāśā 53
Tamil
early traditions 51–2, 162–3; drama 194–5, 273; innovations in poetry 248, 328; Islamic themes 250–1; novel 100, 207–8; prose 69, 174, 176, 177, 266, 267; scholarly works 238;
ṭappā 56
Telugu
controversy on style 255–6; prose 168–9, 175, 239, 260, 261, 267; novel 209–10, 211, 291–2; plays 275–6, 283; poetry 51, 323; short story 305
Theatre
audience 188; in Assam 281; in Bengal 184–5; 279 282–3; Bharatendu and Hindi theatre 191–2; in Gujarat 186, 278–9; Girish Chandra Ghose and 279, 282–3; Kirloskar and 188–9, 279; Kavi in Parsi theatre 191, 385; in Karnataka 277; Marathi theatre 186–7, 260, 279; Oriya theatre 280–1; Parsi theatre 183–4, 190–1, 237 271–2, 498; popular theatre 121; private stage 120–1; production of European plays 118–19; public theatre 192, 278–81; Tagore and 286; Tamil theatre 187
Tilangi 4
tilsami 239
Tradition
changes in 66, 100f, 148–9, 161–2, 232, 241, 315–17; continuity of 49, 50, 58, 60, 89, 153, exposure to Western traditions 28f, 101, 118–21, 154f; indigenous traditions of performing arts 35–7, 117–18, 272; indigenous tradition of prose 67–70; interactions between 154, 275, 308, 311–12, oral tradition 32–5; Perso-Arabic tradition 50, 58f 89, 101, 211, 212, 334; of religious poetry 50–2, 152–3; of *rīti* poetry 54, 55, 241; of Sikh literature 60f, Sanskritic tradition 50f, 55, 59, 89, 101, 117, 119, 200, 232, 235, 236, 311, 333, vitality of tradition 322–4; and the writer 56–8
Translations into Indian languages
from French 76, 181–2, 187, 229, 510, 516, 621, 725, 731, 763; from Greek 109, 181, 228; from Indian languages 76, 108, 180, 182, 229–30; *also see* English, Persian and Sanskrit
Travelogue 164, 168, 177–8, 269–70
tullal 50
tutu 51

ulāmaṭal 579
ulṭa bhāṣā 346
upākhyān 116, 308
upanyāsāmu 768
Urdu
and court poetry 63, 92, 351; *ghazals*: conventions and innovations 92, 96, 159–60; and Hindi 140–4; *marsia* 92–4; novel 202–3, 211–12, 291, 297; and Parsi theatre 190; patriotic poetry 326, 328; Persianization of 105, 142; poetry 95–9, 156–8; plays 121; prose 167, 173, 175; schools of Urdu poetry 62; situation in early 19th century 62–6; short stories 305, 310; triad of 243–4

vacana 344
Venmani movement 161–2, 164, 334
Viduṣaka 119
viṣṇugīt 55, 85
vratu kathā 110

Westernization
beginning of 100f; channels of Westernization 79–80, 86–8, 101, 135–6, 179–82, 227–9, 233; defence of 85–8, 334; diffusion of western knowledge 102–3; impact of the west 145–6, 154–6, 159, 163, 164, 273, 317–24, 332, 339–40; resistance to 125, 132–3, 324–5, 337; Western literary models 114, 118–19, 184–5, 187–8, 189, 195–6, 335
Women
biographies of 175; education of 111–12; first autobiography of an Indian woman 177; new perception of 155, 338–9; in novel 297–300; magazines for 43–4, 169, 170; readers 112–13, 175, writers 110–11, 249–50, 268, 269, 309, 378
Writers
and caste 44, 170–1, 252, 257; economic status of 44, 180; and reader 248–9; and religion 52f, 151, 250–2; and tradition 56, 333–4, 335; women writer 110–11, 249–50, 268, 269, 378

yātrā 118, 119
Young Bengal 80

Zaban-e-Urdu-e-Mualla 140

Index of Organizations

Agra School Book Society 467
Ahmednagar Education Society 617
Alfred Theatre Company 183, 271, 595
All India Muslim League 326, 738
American Baptist Mission 71
American Marathi Mission 432
American Mission Press 33
Ānanda Dāyinī (founded by P. Ramakrishnayya) 710
Āndhra Bhāṣābhimāna Samājamu 697
Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam 617
Anjuman Isah-al-e-Matalib-e-Mufida 531
Anjuman-e-Islami 528
Anjuman-i-Punjab 136, 535
Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu 720
Anjuman Urdu-e-Mualla, Patna, 726
Anuśīlan Samiti 715
Ananya Buddhivardhak Sabhā 103, 492
Arya Samaj 144, 150, 172, 173, 219, 243, 257, 576, 586, 657
Aryan Education Society 686
Aryoddharak Dramatic Company 279
Asamīya Bhāṣā Unnati Sadhinī Sabha 242, 563, 638
Asamīyā Sāhitya Cārā 563
Ātmīya Sabhā 79, 434

Balivala Grand Theatre 738
The Balivala Company 190
Bāmābodhinī Sabhā 531
Bamacharan Mukhopadhyay Bandhab Natyashala, Imphal 272, 720
Baṅga Bhāṣānubād Samāj 492
Baṅgabhāsā Prakāśikā Sabhā 103, 465
Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad 663
Bapist Mission 111, 354
Basel Mission 71, 103, 462, 471
Bellary Press 33
Bengal Academy of Literature 663
Bethune Society 495
Bhārat Śramajībī Samiti 554
Bhāratavarṣīya Brāhma Samaj 535
Bhārata Vilāsam Sabhā 669, 738
Bhāṣā Poṣinī Sabhā 653
The Bombay Association 498
Bombay Education Society 76, 434
Bombay Native Education Society 102
The Bombay Tract and Book Society 458
Brahma Samaj 79, 134, 153, 171, 219, 229, 253, 257, 268, 532, 535; Bhāratavarṣīya Brāhma Samaj (The Brahma Samāj of India) 192, 535; Sadharan Brahma Samaj 172, 219
Brahmacarya Āśram, Bolpur 710

Calcutta Female Juvenile Society 111
Calcutta School Society 111
Śrī Cāmarājendra Karṇāṭaka Nāṭaka Sabhā 190, 608, 671
Church Mission Society 71, 235
The College of Fort William 18, 29, 33, 40, 70, 75, 76, 96, 141, 354, 375, 419; and prose 72–73, 74
Cotton College, Gauhati 710
Cuttack Mission Press 467
Cuttack Printing Press 33

Dakshina Prize Committee 103, 496
Danish Mission 32
Darbhanga Youngmen's Institution 743
Dayaram Jethmal Sindh College Amateur Dramatic Society 670
Deccan Vernacular Society 670
The Deccan Vernacular Translation Society 103, 490
Delhi College 132, 448, 483
Dharma Sabhā 454
Dharma Upakara Amateur Dramatic Society 686
Durbin Printing Press 431
Darul-Ulum of Deoband 538
The Dawn Society 715

East India Association 538
East India Company 70, 83
Elphinstone College 134, 183, 191
Elphinstone Dramatic Society 183
Elphinstone Institute 463, 508
The Elphinstone Native Education Society 103

Forbas Gujarāti Sabhā 535

Gorkha Bhāsa Pracārak Maṇḍalī 647

Gorkha National Theatre Party 272, 758
Gujarati Press 481
The Gujarati Vernacular Society 103, 359, 487, 536

Hindī Sāhītya Sammelan 764
Hindu Bālikā Bidyālaya 490
Hindu College 29, 30, 79, 80
Hindu Melā 541
Hindu Nāṭakojjīvaka Samājamu 638
Hindustani Press 420
Hunter's Commission 251, 608

Ichalakaranjikar Nāṭak Maṇḍalī 490
Indian Association 581
Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science 581
Indian National Congress 18, 219–21, 324, 326, 355, 622
The Indian Reform Association 554

Jana Rañjini 647
Jātīya Śikṣā Pariṣad (National Council of Education) 738

Karnataka Book Depot Press 622
Karṇātaka Vidyāvardhakā Saṅgha 647
Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā 663–4
Kavitāvardhinī Sabhā 554
Kerala Kalpadruman 632
Kirloskar Nāṭak Maṇḍalī 189, 280, 714
Khalsa Tract Society 670
Kolunnallur Kalari 599

Lahore University College 136
London Mission Society 77
The Madras School Book Society 492
The Madras School Text Book and Vernacular Society 440
Madras Hindu Social reform Association 658
Madras Literary Society 431
Madras Vernacular and School Book Publishing Society 33
Madurai Tamil Sangam 710
Maharastra Girls Education Society 608
Mahārāṣṭra Nāṭak Maṇḍalī 726
Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Pariṣad 738
Maithila Hitasādhana Samiti 726
Maithila Vidvajjan Samiti 681
Malayala Manorama Press 638
Malayali Memorial 653
Mānavadharma Sabhā 103, 113, 479
Marāṭhī Jñānaprasārak Maṇḍalī 487
Matba-e-Ahmadī 487
Matba-e-Sultanī 510
Mir Hasan Press 479
Mohammadi Press 463
Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College 586
Mohammedan Literary Society 251
Muhammedan Education Congress 628

The National Council of Education 738
National Theatre 192
Native Board of Education 359
Nawal Kishore Press, 34, 211, 487, 513
New Alfred Company 271
Nirṇayā Sāgara Press 435

Orissa Mission Press 33

Paropokārinī Sabhā 613
Pārasparik Unnati Sabhā 516
Prarthana Samaj 134, 172, 541, 559
Punjab Bible Society 235
Pustaka Prasāraka Maṇḍalī 103, 476

Radhakanta Mancha 576
Rajahmundry Social Reform Association 591
Ramakrishna Mission 692
Rasik Samāj 628
Ravenshaw College 581
Religious Book Society 525
Royal Imperial Opera House 237

Saguna Vilāsa Sabhā 273, 275
Samarth Vidyālaya 732
Sans Souci 109
Śaradāpūjaka Ma.n.dalī 586
Satkāryottejak Sabhā 664
Sarasa Vinodini Sabha (Bellary) 275
Satyaśodhak Samāj 171, 568
Savanur Press 34
The School Book Society 75
Scientific Society 103, 483, 544
Serampore Mission Press 18, 32, 33, 71, 354–5, 419
Servants of India Society 732
Sevā Sadan, Pune 758
Sikandra Press, Agra 33–4

Sikh Sabhā 543
Śikṣan Prasārak Maṇḍal 638, 647
Singh Sabhā 151, 172–3, 257, 568
SNDP Yogam 720, 732
Srī Kṛṣṇadeva Rāyā Andhra Bhāṣānilayam 710
Subodha Nāṭaka Maṇḍalī 572
Svadeśa Hitecchu Maṇḍalī 496

Tattvabodhinī Sabhā 471
Tattvaśodhaka Sabhā 518
Theosophical Society Madras 628
Tohfai Kashmir Press 581
Translation Society 132

The United Press, Ahmedabad 532

Urdu Literature Society, Patna 686
Utkal Association 563
Utkala Bhāṣoddīpanī Sabhā 541
Utkala Hitaiṣinī Sabhā 563
Utkala Sabhā 608
Utkala Sammilanī 720

Vasant Vyakhyāna Mālā 576
Ved Samaj 172
Vernacular Literature Society 103, 359
Vernacular Translation Society 103, 132, 253, 477
Veshnath Press 764
Victoria Theatrical Company 183, 191
Vidya Vilasa Press 510, 519
Vidyāratna Prabhā Kunnamukulam 599
Vidyārthī Nāṭaka Samājamu 599
Vidyotsāhinī Sabhā 103, 500

'The history of Indian literature
in the most comprehensive sense of
the word is the history of a literature, which
not only stretches across great periods
of time and an enormous area,
but also one which is composed in many
languages.'

MAURICE WINTERNITZ
A History of Indian Literautre, Vol. I